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STRYPE'S MEMORIALS OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY T. COMBE, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,

FOR THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

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MEMORIALS

OF THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

WHEREIN

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID ARCHBISHOP, ARE GREATLY ILLUSTRATED; AND MANY SINGULAR MATTERS RELATING THEREUNTO, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED (1694) IN THREE BOOKS.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC LETTERS, AND OTHER ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

VOL. II.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY T. COMBE, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,
FOR THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

1848.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

AMONG those to whom the Editor has been most indebted in the preparation of this volume, he is bound especially to name his grace, the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, patron of the Ecclesiastical History Society, who has liberally permitted him to have free access to the Registers and other MSS. preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth; to whom he would most respectfully beg to be allowed to tender his most grateful thanks. His especial thanks are also due to J. B. Lennard, esq., Privy Council Office, Whitehall, for the facilities kindly afforded by him for the collation of the MSS. Council Books under his care. He would also thankfully acknowledge his obligations to the Rev. J. Thomas, M.A., librarian to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury; the Rev. A. Hackman, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford; the Rev. H. Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., librarian of Sion College; and Felix Knyvett, esq., the Palace, Lambeth.

Ecclesiastical History Society's Office,
Strand, London, July 13, 1848.

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MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

HE CROWNS KING EDWARD.

OUR archbishop, having lost his old master, was not so sorrowful but the hopefulness of the new one did as much revive and solace him; because he concluded, that the matters requisite for the reformation of the church were like now to go on more roundly, and with less impediment. Ann. 1546. Conceives great hopes of king Edward.

One of the very first things that was done in young king Edward the Sixth's reign, in relation to the church, was, that the bishops, who had the care of ecclesiastical matters and the souls of men, should be made to depend entirely upon the king and his council, and to be subject to suspension from their office, and to have their whole episcopal power taken from them at his pleasure; which might serve as a bridle in case they should oppose the proceedings of a reformation. In this I suppose the archbishop had his hand: for it was his judgment, that the exercise of all episcopal jurisdiction depended upon the prince; and that, The archbishop takes a commission to execute his office.

as he gave it, so he might restrain it at his pleasure. And therefore he began this matter with himself, petitioning, "That as he had exercised the authority of an archbishop during the reign of the former king; so that authority ending with his life, it would please the present king Edward to commit unto him that power again." For it seemed that he would not act as archbishop, till he had a new commission from the new king for so doing. And that this was his judgment appeared in the first words of that commission granted to him; in the composing of which I make no question he had his hand. "*Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimodo, tam illa quæ ecclesiastica dicitur, quam secularis, a regia potestate, velut a supremo capite, ac omnium magistratuum infra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine, primitus emanaverit,*" &c. That is, "Since all authority of exercising jurisdiction, and also all kind of jurisdiction, as well that which is called ecclesiastical, as secular, originally hath flowed from the king's power, as from the supreme head, and the fountain and source of all magistracy within our kingdom: we therefore in this part yielding to your humble supplications, and consulting for the good of our subjects, have determined to commit our place to you, under the manner and form hereunder described." And the king then licenseth him to ordain within his diocese, and to promote and present to ecclesiastical benefices; and to institute and invest; and, if occasion required, to deprive; to prove testaments, and the rest of the business of his courts. And so all the rest of his offices were reckoned. This was dated Feb. 7, 1546. But yet all these things were committed to him, with a power of revocation of the exercise of this authority reserved in the king, "*et durante beneplacito.*" Thus a formal commission was made to him; I do not transcribe it, be-

Cranm. Regist. [fol. 28. b.]

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cause the bishop of Sarum hath saved me that pains[a]. And hence I find, that the archbishop in some of his writings is styled, "The commissary of our dread sovereign lord king Edward." P. ii. Coll. p. 90.

One of the first exercises of his episcopal power was the coronation of young king Edward; which was celebrated February the 20th, at the abbey of Westminster, the archbishop assisting now at his coronation, as he had done about nine years before at his christening, when he stood his godfather. The form and solemnity of it, and wherein the archbishop bore so great a part, was in this manner, as I collect and transcribe out of a manuscript in Benet College[b]. King Edward crowned by the archbishop. C. C. C. C. Library. Miscellan. B.

First, there was a goodly stage, richly hanged with cloth of gold and cloth of arras; and the steps from the choir contained two and twenty steps of height; and down to the high altar but fifteen steps, goodly carpeted, where the king's grace should tread on with[c] his nobles. The manner of the coronation.

Secondly, The high altar richly garnished with divers and costly jewels and ornaments of much estimation and value. And also the tombs on each side the high altar richly hanged with fine gold arras.

Thirdly, In the midst of the stage was a goodly thing made of seven steps of height, all round, where the king's majesty's chair-royal stood; and he sat therein, after he was crowned, all the mass-while.

Fourthly, At nine of the clock all Westminster choir was in their copes, and three goodly crosses before them: and after them other three goodly rich crosses, and the king's chapel with his children, following all in scarlet,

[a] [See Burnet's History of Reformation, vol. ii. pt. ii. B. i. No. 2. pp. 131–133. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[b] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cv. p. 235–240; from which the text has been corrected.]

[c] ["Should tread with." Strype.]

with surplices and copes on their backs. And after them ten bishops in scarlet with their rochets, and rich copes on their backs, and their mitres on their heads, did set forth at the west door of Westminster towards the king's palace, there to receive his grace; and my lord of Canterbury with his cross before him alone, and his mitre on his head. And so passed forth[c] in order, as before is said. And within a certain space after were certain blue cloths laid abroad in the church-floor against the king's coming, and so all the palace, even to York-place.

143 Then is described the setting forward to Westminster church to his coronation, unction, and confirmation.

After all the lords in order had kneeled down and kissed his grace's right foot, and after held their hands between his grace's hands, and kissed his grace's left cheek, and so did their homage; then began a mass of the Holy Ghost by my lord of Canterbury, with good singing in the choir, and organs playing. There at offering-time his grace offered to the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine.

Then, after the elevation of the mass, there was read by my lord chancellor[d], in presence of all the nobles, a general pardon granted by king Henry the Eighth, father to our liege lord the king, that all shall be pardoned that have offended before the 28th day of January last past.

When the king's majesty, with his nobles, came to the place of the coronation, within a while after, his grace was removed into a chair of crimson velvet, and borne in the chair between two noblemen unto the north side of the stage, and shewed to the people; and these words spoken to the people by my lord of Canterbury, in this manner,

[c] ["And so past forth." Strype.]

[d] [Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, who was removed from his office immediately after the coronation of Edward VI. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 31. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

saying: "Sirs, here I present unto you king Edward, the rightful inheritor to the crown of this realm; [whose coronation, unction, and confirmation is this day appointed by the nobles of this realm[e]]. Wherefore all ye, that be come this day to do your homage, service, and bounden duty, be ye willing to do the same?" To the which all the people cried with a loud voice, and said, "Yea, Yea, Yea;" and cried, "King Edward;" and prayed, "God save king Edward." And so to the south side in like manner, and to the east side, and to the west side.

After this, his grace was borne again to the high altar in his chair, and there sat bareheaded: and all the nobles[f] and peers of the realm were about his grace, and my lord of Canterbury principal. And there said certain prayers[g] and godly psalms over his grace; and the choir answered with goodly singing, the organs playing, and trumpets blowing.

Then, after a certain unction, blessing, and singing of his grace, he was borne into a place by the high altar, where the kings use always to kneel at the elevation of the parliament-mass. And there his grace was made ready of new garments; and after a certain space brought forth between two noblemen, and sat before the high altar bareheaded. Then after a while his grace was anointed in the breast, his soles of his feet, his elbows, his wrists of his hands, and his crown of his head, with virtuous prayer said by the bishop of Canterbury, and sung by the choir.

Then anon after this, a goodly fair cloth of red tinsel gold was holden over his head[h]: and my lord of Canterbury,

[e] [This paragraph is entirely omitted by Strype.]

[f] ["All his nobles." Strype.]

[g] ["There made certain prayers." Id.]

[h] ["Was hung over his head." Id.]

kneeling on his knees, and his grace lying prostrate[i] afore the altar, anointed[k] his back.

Then, after this, my lord of Canterbury arose and stood up, and the fair cloth taken away. Then my lord protector, duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand a certain space; and immediately after began "*Te Deum,*" with the organs going, the choir singing, and the trumpets playing in the battlements of the church. Then, immediately after that, was the crown set on the king's ma-
144 jesty's head by them two, [viz. Somerset, and the archbishop of Canterbury.] And after that another crown; and so his grace was crowned with three crowns.

The relation breaks off here abruptly. But what is wanting may be supplied by the order of the coronation, as bishop Burnet hath taken it out of the council-book, and given it us in his history[l].

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 93.

At this coronation there was no sermon, as I can find; but that was supplied by an excellent speech which was made by the archbishop. It was found among the inestimable collections of archbishop Usher[m]; and though

The archbishop's speech at the coronation.

[i] ["Laid prostrate." C. C. C. MSS.]

[k] ["Altar and anointed." Id.]

[l] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. B. i. No. 4. pp. 135–139. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[m] [Search has been made from time to time for the original copy of this speech, but hitherto without success. See Jenkyns' Remains of Archbishop Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 118, note [a]. Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 126. Park. Soc. ed. It has been collated for this edition with the second part of "Foxes and Firebrands," (from which Strype has transcribed it, which was published at Dublin, A. D. 1682, by Robert Warre,) who says; "The collections in this second part are most of them either out of the memorials of that great minister of state, the lord Cecil, or from the testimonies of persons that are still living." Part i. To the reader, A. 4.—The inaccuracies of Strype are corrected in the text, and referred to in the following notes.]

published of late years, yet I cannot but insert it here, tending so much to illustrate the memory of this great and good archbishop. Foxes and Firebrands, part ii. [pp. 2–9. ed. Dublin, 1682.]

"Most dread and royal sovereign: the promises your highness hath made here at your coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the bishop of Rome's sense, when you commit any thing distasteful to that see, to hit your majesty in the teeth, as pope Paul the Third, late bishop of Rome, sent to your royal father, saying, 'Didst thou not promise, at our permission of thy coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, and dost thou turn to heresy[n]? For the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not, that it is in our power to dispose of the sword[o] and sceptre to whom we please?' We, your majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive that this promise reacheth not at your highness' sword, spiritual or temporal, or in the least at your highness' swaying the sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the bishop of Rome or to his legates[p], according to their ancient oaths then taken upon that ceremony.

"The bishops of Canterbury, for the most part, have crowned your predecessors, and anointed them kings of this land: yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or to leave their crowns; although the bishops of Rome would encroach upon your predecessors by his bishops' act and oil[q], that in the end they might possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of

[n] ["Run to heresy." Strype.]
[o] ["To dispose of thy sword." Id.]
[p] ["Or his legates." Id.]
[q] ["By their act and oil." Id.]

their crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to their claws, and clip them.

"The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or necessity: they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained, of the sword, which is authorized, of their persons, which are elected by God[r], and endued with the gifts of his Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of his people.

"The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and
145 God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

"To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, the bishop of Rome, (or other bishops owning his supremacy), hath no authority, but he may faithfully declare what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers; that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal majesty what things your highness is to perform.

"Your majesty is God's vicegerent and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah[s], God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josiah[s], who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin,

[r] ["Elected of God," Id.] [s] ["Josias," Id.]

to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents on those kings, who performed not these things, the old law shews how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, in the book of the Kings, thus; 'Like unto him there was no king before him, that turned[t] to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.' This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days. [2 Kings xxiii. 25.]

"Being bound by my function to lay these things before your royal highness, the one as a reward, if you fulfil; the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect them; yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances, much less to draw up indentures between God and your majesty, or to say you forfeit your crown with a clause for the bishop of Rome, as have been done by your majesty's predecessors, king John, and his son Henry of this land. The Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his countenance shine upon your majesty, grant you a prosperous and happy reign, defend you, and save you; and let your subjects say, Amen.

"God save the king."

I find no bishop consecrated this year.

[t] ["There was no king that turned." Id.]

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CHAPTER II.

A ROYAL VISITATION.

Ann. 1547. A royal visitation on foot.

By these and other pious instigations of the archbishop, who was of high esteem with the king, he began early to think of the church, and to take care about rectifying the disorders of its members. For about April there was a royal visitation resolved upon all England over, for the better reformation of religion. And accordingly, in the beginning of May, letters were issued out from the king to the archbishops, that they and all their fellow-bishops should forbear their visitations, as was usually done in all royal and archiepiscopal visitations. And it was enjoined, that no ministers should preach in any churches but their own.

Titus B. 2. [fol. 89.]

In a volume in the Cotton library, there be extant the king's letters to Robert archbishop of York, relating to this visitation; signed by our archbishop, the duke of Somerset the protector[u], and his brother sir Thomas Seymour[v], the lord Russel[w], favourers of the reformation; the

[u] [For an account of the history of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, &c. see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1367 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[v] [Sir Thomas Seymour, afterwards baron Seymour of Sudly, was lord admiral, member of the privy council, and one of those appointed under the will of Henry VIII. to assist his executors; having failed in his attempt to marry the princess Elizabeth, he espoused the queen dowager, Katherine Parr, and having quarrelled with his brother, the lord protector, and endeavoured to displace him, he was sent to the tower, and attainted, and was beheaded March 17, 1549. — See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 691, vol. ii. pp. 7, 30, 36, 110, 112, 200–206. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[w] [John, lord Russel, afterwards earl of Bedford, was one of Henry VIIIth's executors, and appointed a governor of Edward

lord St. John[x], Petre the secretary[y], who went along with it; Gage[z], comptroller of the household, and Baker[a], chancellor of the court of augmentations, back-friends to it. I do not set down the letter itself, because the bishop of Sarum hath already published it in his history[b]. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 103.

VI., and of the kingdom; he held the offices of comptroller of the household, and lord admiral, and was afterwards lord privy seal. He was sent against the Devonshire rebels, whom he defeated; he afterwards took part against the lord protector, and, upon his removal, was one of the governors of the king's person. He was found first on the side of the lady Jane Grey, and then on that of queen Mary, and died at "his house beside the Savoy," March 20, 1554.—Id. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 238, 245, 282, 286, 367, 369, 471; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 21, 335. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[x] [i. e. sir William Paulet, lord St. John, earl of Wiltshire, and marquis of Winchester, an executor of Henry VIII., and governor to his son, who is found taking a conspicuous part in the important transactions of this and the two succeeding reigns.]

[y] [See vol. i. p. 118, n. [u].]

[z] [Sir John Gage was a member of the privy council, and appointed to assist the executors of Henry VIII.; he took part against the protector, was lord chamberlain to queen Mary, and lieutenant of the Tower, when the princess Elizabeth was imprisoned, upon whose accession he quitted the country. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 7, 36, 280, 503, 728, 793.]

[a] [Sir John Baker, a member of the privy council, and appointed to assist the executors of Henry VIIIth's will; he joined the party against the protector, and afterwards was opposed to the settlement of the crown upon the lady Jane Grey, but yielded through fear. Id. vol. ii. pp. 7, 36, 282, 456, 457.]

[b] The following is the letter referred to above from the Cotton MSS. Titus B. ii. fol. 89, British Museum, Original, which is written on vellum. "The king's letter to the archbishop of York, (Robert Holgate), concerning the visitation then intended. — Edwardus Sextus, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, rex, fidei defensor, ac in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum caput, reverendissimo in Christo patri, ac prædilecto consiliario nostro Roberto permissione divina Eboracen. archiepisc. Angliæ primati et metropolitano salutem. Quum nos, suprema authoritate nostra regia, omnia et singula loca ecclesiastica, clerumq; et populum infra et per totum nostrum Angliæ regnum constituta, propediem visitare statuerimus,

Very worthy, sober, and learned men were appointed for visitors, both of the laity and clergy: and there was a book of injunctions prepared, whereby the king's visitors were to govern their visitation. The original of which book of injunctions is extant in Benet College library[c]: there I have seen them, being signed by Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Somerset, sir Thomas

vobis tenore præsentium stricte inhibemus atq; mandamus et per vos suffraganeis vestris confratribus episcopis, ac per illos suis archidiaconis ac aliis quibuscunq; jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra vestram provinciam Eboracens. ubilibet constitutis sic inhibere volumus atq; præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quisquam eorum ecclesias, aut alia loca prædicta clerumve aut populum visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ nostræ visitationis generalis quovismodo attemptare præsumatis sive præsumat sub pœna contemptus, donec et quousq; licentiam et facultatem vobis et eis in ea parte largiend. et impertiend. fore duxerimus. Et quia non solum internam animorum subditorum nostrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, dissentione et contraversiis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam ac misere divulsam esse cernimus; idcirco nobis admodum necessarium visum est ad sedandas et componendas hujusmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeatis, seu inhiberi faciatis omnibus et singulis episcopis, nec alibi quam in ecclesiis suis cathedralibus, et aliis personis ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, ne in alio loco quam in suis ecclesiis, collegiatis, sive parochialibus, in quibus intitulati sunt, prædicent, aut subditis nostris quovismodo concionandi munus exerceant, nisi ex gratia nostra speciali ad id postea licentiati fuerint, sub nostræ indignationis pœna. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum, quo ad causas ecclesiasticas utimur, præsentibus apponi mandavimus. Dat. quarto die mensis Maii, anno Dom. 1547. et regni nostri anno primo.

E. Somerset.
T. Seymour.
T. Cantuarien.
W. Seint John.
Will. Petre, sy.
J. Russel.
John Bakere.
John Gage."

See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. B. i. No. 7. pp. 149, 50. ed. Oxon. 1829. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 10.]

[c] [MSS. C. C. C. C. No. cxxi. pp. 489–514.]

Seymour, and divers others of the privy-council; but no bishop, save Cranmer only; he being, I suppose, the only bishop then a privy-councillor, and now often appearing in the council for the better forwarding of religion. These injunctions are printed in bishop Sparrow's collection[d], and briefly epitomized in the history of the Reformation[e]. Vol. ii. p. 28.

The persons nominated for this present employment were these, as I find them set down in a manuscript formerly belonging to archbishop Parker, but now in the Benet College library[f]: where you may observe the visitors were divided into six sets, and to each set were apportioned particular episcopal sees, and a preacher and a register, in this exact method following: The visitors. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Visitors[g].	*Added by Archbishop Parker.*	*Counties visited.*
Dean of Westminster.	Boston.	York.
Sir John Herseley, Kt.		Durysme.
Nicholas Ridley, preacher, [and bishop of Rochester[h].]		Carlyll.
Edward Plankney, register.		Chester.
Sir Anthony Coke, Kt.		
Sir John Godsalve, Kt.*		Westminster.
Dr. Christopher Nevison.	The elder.	London.
John Gosnold.	A lawyer.	Norwich.
Dr. Madewe, preacher.		Ely.
Peter Lylly, register.		

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* He belonged to the office of the signet, and was protonotary.

[d] [See Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. pp. 1–11. ed. Lond. 1675. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 3. et sqq. and the Appendix to this volume.]

[e] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 56–59. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[f] [MSS. C. C. C. C. No. cxxi. p. 448.]

[g] [The following stands in the MSS. as a head to the list of visitors:—"Aº Dom. 1547. Visitors in King Edward's time aº primo August."]

[h] ["Rochester" is not very distinct in the MSS. which probably was the reason of its omission by the author.]

Visitors.	*Added by Archbishop Parker.*	*Counties visited.*
Sir John Hales, Kt.		Rochester.
Sir John Mason, Kt.		
Sir Anthony Coke, Kt.		Canterbury.
Dr. Cave.	A lawyer.	Chichester.
Mr. Briggs, preacher.	Once of Pembroke.	
Rafe Morice, register.		Winchester.
Dean of Paul's.	Dr. May.	Sarisbury.
Dean of Exeter.	Dr. Hains.	Exeter.
Sir Walter Buckler, Kt.		Bath.
Mr. Cotisford, preacher.		Bristow.
John Redman, register.	Of Haslingfeld.	Glocester.
Dean of Lincoln.	Dr. Taylor.	Peterburgh.
Dr. Rowland Taylor.		Lincoln.
Mr. John Joseph [preacher].	Once of Canterbury, a friar.	Oxford. Coventry.
John Old, register.		Litchfeld.
Mr. Morison.	Once husband to the Earl of Rutland's wife.	Worcester.
Mr. Sydel [of Oxford].		Hereford.
Mr. Ferrer, preacher.	After Ld. Bishop of St. David's.	Landaff. St. David's.
George Constantine, register.		Bangor.
Hue Rawlins, preacher in the Welch tongue.		St. Asse.

Where we may observe, that in every company of visitors was joined one preacher, or more; whose business, in the respective circuits, was to preach to the people, to dehort them from the superstitious use of beads and such-like things, and to learn them to worship God truly in heart and mind, and to obey the prince.

The method of this visitation.

The method, which these commissioners used in their visitation, as we collect from what was done at St. Paul's, London, was this. They summoned the bishop, and the

members of each cathedral; and first sware them to renounce the bishop of Rome, and to the king's supremacy: 148
and then, that they should present all things in their church and diocese needful to be reformed. Then certain interrogatories and articles of inquiry were read to them by the register: to perform which, an oath was administered to them. After that, the printed injunctions, and others not printed, with the book of homilies, were delivered, both to the bishop for his church, and the archdeacons for their respective archdeaconries; strictly enjoining them to see them speedily executed, reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as they should see cause. Their next work was to examine the canons and priests, by virtue of their oaths which they had taken, concerning their lives and doctrines. What was discovered in other places concerning the vices of the clergy, we may conclude from what was found among the dignitaries of St. Paul's: for when the canons Foxe.
and priests belonging to this church were examined, one of them, named Painter, openly confessed that he had often carnally used a certain married man's wife, whom he would not name, and divers others both of the canons and priests, confessed the same of themselves[i].

There be remaining, in the archives of the church of Canterbury, the injunctions of the king's visitors to the dean and chapter there, bearing date September 22, an. 1. Edward VI. subscribed by the visitors' hands; which injunctions do all relate to the particular statutes of the church, and are of no other moment[k].

The homilies, and Erasmus' Paraphrase

There was now a book of homilies prepared for present use, to be read in all churches[l], for the instruction of the

[i] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1310. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[k] [Search has been made for the above injunctions at Canterbury, but at present without success; should the document be discovered it will be given in the Appendix.]

[l] [The following "Letter from

people: and Erasmus' Paraphrase upon the New Testament in English was to be set up in all churches, for the better instruction of priests in the sense and knowledge of the Scriptures. And both these books, by the king's injunctions aforementioned[1], were commanded to be taught and learned.

State Paper Office. Domestic Papers. Temp. Edw. VI. A.D. 1547–48 No. I.

the Privy Council concerning homilies and injunctions," was issued in this year.—"After our most hearty commendations unto your good lordship. Where the king's majesty, with the advice and consent of my lord protector and the whole council, hath commanded a general visitation to be begun through his majesty's realm, in the which his majesty's commissioners, for the better setting forth of the true honouring of God and extinguishment of all superstition and popery, have in commandment to deliver to men of all sorts several Injunctions meetest for their vocations, and to the priests and curates certain Homilies to be by them read to their parishioners, according to the order of the said Injunctions: forasmuch as we would wish the same to be in like sort set forth with you, whereas yet no commissioners be specially addressed, we have thought good to send you herewith certain of the said Homilies and Injunctions, which your lordship may cause to be delivered to the curates, and others, within the limits of your jurisdiction, by the of high Boulogne; after the delivery whereof, we trust that as the same be godly, and set forth by the king's majesty for the good instruction of his majesty's loving subjects, so you will both yourselves, in your own families, observe the same, and help also to have them well obeyed and kept of others.

T. Cantuarien.
W. Seint John.
T. Seymour.
Richard Ryche.
Anthone Browne.
Antony Wyngfeld.
William Paget.
Edward North.
William Petre."]

[1] [See above, p. 12.]

CHAPTER III.

HOMILIES, AND ERASMUS' PARAPHRASE.

ARCHBISHOP Cranmer found it highly convenient to find out some means for the instruction of the people in true religion, till the church could be better supplied with learned priests and ministers. For which purpose he resolved upon having some good homilies, or sermons composed, to be read to the people; which should in a plain manner teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and deliver the people from popular errors and superstitions. When this was going in hand with, the archbishop sent his letters to the bishop of Winchester[m], to try if he could bring him to be willing to join in this business; shewing him, that it was no more than what was intended by the former king, and a convocation in the year 1542, wherein himself was a member, to make such a stay of errors, as were then by ignorant preachers spread among the people. But this bishop was not for Cranmer's turn; in his answer signifying to him, "That since that convocation the king his old master's mind changed, and that God had afterwards given him the gift of pacification," (as he worded it), meaning, that the king made a stop in his once intended reformation. He added, "that there was a convocation that extinguished those devices, and this was still in force: and therefore, that now nothing more ought to be done in church matters[n]." And a copy of this letter he sent to

The archbishop to Winchester concerning the homilies.

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[m] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[n] [The following is the entire letter, to which the author refers; "S. W. to the L. Protector. After most humble commendations to your grace; I have received this day letters from my lord of Canterbury, touching certain homilies, which the bishops in the convocation holden A. D. 1542, agreed

the lord protector, trying to persuade him also to be of his mind.

The archbishop answered these letters of Winchester: wherein he again required these homilies to be made, by virtue of that convocation five years before; and desired

to make for stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people; for other agreement there had not then passed among us. Since that time God gave our late sovereign lord the gift of pacification in those matters, which, established by his highness' authority in the convocation, extinguished our devices, and remaineth of force with your grace; wherein to avoid many encumbrous arguments, which wit can devise against the truth, I send to your grace the copy of mine answer to my lord of Canterbury, to whom I write and offer myself more largely, than I ever did in any matter of the realm, to any man besides my sovereign lord, or the chief governor as your grace. For I am not factious, and use only to say as I am bound to say, as occasion serveth; for that is my duty: having no other thing purposed but truth and honesty, whatsoever any man shall otherwise say of me. I am busier with your grace than needeth; but such commendations as it pleased your grace to send me by Master Coke, (for the which I most humbly thank your grace), have engendered thus much more boldness than ever: methinketh I should desire your grace, not to suffer the king's majesty, our late sovereign lord's determination, to slip the anchor-hold of authority, and come to a loose disputation; for decision whereof afterwards, the burden must rest on your grace, unto whom I desire all prosperous success, and the increase and continuance of such honour as God hath granted to your virtue, not to fall in encumbrance of any bye matter that need not to be stirred. If your grace think not yourself encumbered with my babbling, and inculcating that needeth not unto you, I would answer your grace's letter of 16th of April, so as your grace will, by other letters, withdraw your name; that I may be seen to dispute with one not so far above me in authority, as your grace is; which I have thought requisite to advertise, lest by my silence your grace should deem I thought myself overcome in those matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can shew whereupon to ground me, why I should so think: and thus, desiring your grace to take in good part my doings, I shall continually pray for the preservation of your grace long in felicity. At Winchester, the 10th June, 1547." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 739, 40. 1st ed. 1563.]

Winchester to weigh things. But he replied, "It was true, they communed then of such things, but they took not effect at that time; nor needed they to be put in execution now. And that in his judgment it could not be done without a new authority and command from the king's majesty." Then he used his politics, urging, "that it was not safe to make new stirs in religion: that the lord protector did well in putting out a proclamation to stop vain rumours; and he thought it not best to enterprise any thing to tempt the people with occasion of tales, whereby to break the proclamation. And as in a natural body," he said, "rest without trouble did confirm and strengthen; so it was in a commonwealth, trouble travaileth, and bringeth things to looseness." Then he suggested the danger the archbishop might involve himself in by making alterations: "That he was not certain of his life, (when the old order was broken, and a new brought in by homilies), that he should continue to see the new device executed: for it was not done in a day; he wished there were nothing else to do now. He suggested, that a new order engendered a new cause of punishment against them that offend; and punishments were not pleasant to them that have the execution: and yet they must be, for nothing may be contemned[o]." There were two letters Winchester sent

See his letters to the protector, in Foxe.

[o] ["S. W. to the L. protector.—After my most humble commendations to your grace: since my letters unto your grace, wherewith I sent unto you such letters as I had written to my lord of Canterbury, for answer to his letter touching homilies, I have eftsoons received other letters from my said lord of Canterbury, requiring the said homilies by virtue of a convocation holden five years past, wherein we communed of that which took none effect then, and much less needeth to be put in execution now, nor in my judgment cannot without a new authority from the king's majesty that now is, commanding such a matter to be enterprised. I wrote

to the archbishop, in answer to as many from the archbishop; in which he laboured to persuade the archbishop not to innovate any thing in religion during the king's minority; and particularly to forbear making homilies, and refusing for himself to meddle therein. An imperfect part of one of these letters I have laid in the Appendix, as I transcribed it from the original.

Number XXXV.

So, when it was perceived that Winchester would not

at length to my lord of Canterterbury, and sent the copy of those letters to your grace; not to the intent your grace should lose so much time to read them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my discharge, who never meddled yet, by private letters, with any man in the realm, to persuade or dissuade matters of religion, but with the prince himself, or him that had the managing of the great matters under him. And following this determination, [I] am so bold to send your grace the copy of such letters as I write to my lord of Canterbury, whose letters to me, I could not of congruence forbear to answer, nor answering, forbear to speak freely as I think. And sorry I am to hear the matter of homilies spoken of in this time. Your grace hath done prudently to stop the vain rumours by proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and methinketh [it] is not best to enterprise any thing to tempt the people with occasion of tales, whereby to break the proclamation and offend: and to this effect I wrote to my lord of Canterbury. For like as in a natural body, rest without trouble doth confirm and strengthen it, so is it in a commonwealth: trouble travaileth, and bringeth the things to looseness. And my lord of Canterbury is not sure of his life, when the old order is broken, and a new brought in by homilies, that he should continue to see his new device executed; for it is not done in a day. I would there were nothing else to do now. I have known business to occupy such as were put in trust, when religion hath been untouched. A new order engendereth a new cause of punishment against them that offend, and punishments be not pleasant to such as have the execution, and yet they must be, for nothing may be contemned. And thus I travail in the matter with my lord of Canterbury, because he would I should weigh things. And so do I as indifferently, as ever did man for the preservation of the ship, wherein I sail myself, and so many others, whose prosperity I am bound to wish. I can admit no innovations."—Id. p. 740.]

be brought to comply and join in with the archbishop and the rest, they went about the composing the homilies themselves[p]. Cranmer had a great hand in them: and that homily of Salvation particularly seems to be of his own doing. This, while he was in composing it, was shewn to Winchester by the archbishop; to which he made this objection: "That he would yield to him in this homily, if they could shew him any old writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification; and said that it was against Scripture." Upon this Canterbury began to argue with him, and to shew him how faith excluded charity in the point of justifying. And Winchester denied his arguments. And, in fine, such was his sophistication, that the archbishop at last told him, "He liked nothing, unless he did it himself, and that he disliked the homily for that reason, because he was not a counsellor[q]." The archbishop, &c. compose homilies. 150

[p] ["i. e. Certain sermons, or homilies, appointed by the king's majesty, to be declared and read, by all parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday in their churches, where they have cure. Anno, 1547." These homilies were twelve in number, and were set forth by "the king's most excellent majesty, by the prudent advice of his most dear beloved uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of his majesty's person, and protector of all his highness' realms, dominions, and subjects, with the rest of his most honourable council, most graciously considering the manifold enormities, which heretofore have crept into his grace's realm, through the false usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and the ungodly doctrine of his adherents, not only unto the great decay of Christian religion, but also, (if God's mercy were not), unto the utter destruction of innumerable souls, which through hypocrisy, and pernicious doctrine, were seduced, and brought from honouring the alone, true, living, and eternal God, unto the worshipping of creatures, yea, of stocks and stones, unto voluntary works, and phantasies invented of men, from true religion, unto popish superstition."—See Preface, ed. Lond. (Whitchurch) 1547.]

[q] ["Upon Friday last past, my lord of Canterbury sent for me to the dean of Paul's house, whither I went with some gazing of the world. There I found my lord of

Winchester in the Fleet.

The council had now put this bishop in the Fleet[r] for his refractoriness to the king's proceedings; where, if his

Canterbury, accompanied with the bishop of Rochester*, Master Dr. Coxe, and Master Aire; and I was brought thither by the bishop of Lincoln†. What report my lord of Canterbury hath made thereof I cannot tell. My lord of Canterbury was in hand with his homily of Salvation, but nothing heard or saw I to save my conscience in agreeing to him; but heard that I should justly confirm me in mine own conscience. I made offer to yield to them in that homily, if they could shew me any old writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification. It is against Scripture's plain words, and to swerve from Scripture without any one doctor to lean to it, were sore. Where Scriptures and doctors want, my lord of Canterbury would fall to arguing, and overcome me that am called the sophister, by sophistry. When I heard my lord's argument, I denied it, and would enter none other declaration; for I keep that answer till some others than were there be present; my solution whereunto, when I declare it, shall make all the rest of the matter very weak, and my lord not like his argument at all. One argument I could not assoil, to come again to the Fleet. My lord of Canterbury charged me, that I like nothing, unless I do it myself; whereof I am not guilty. I was never author of any one thing, either spiritual or temporal. I thank God of it. I am also charged that all the realm hath received these homilies without contradiction, save I; whereunto I answer, I think they have not read that I have read in these books. What hath been done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know, though I would. When I was abroad, I never sought to know more, than was brought by common fame; for this shall be found true: I never advised any man to object any thing against these books, no one man, not my chaplains."—S. W. to the L. protector, —dated, "at the Fleet, the 14th of October," [A. D. 1547.] Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 742. 1st ed. 1563.—"And this matter I write unto your grace, to declare unto you in what straits I am tied inwardly in my conscience by very truth, so I am tied outwardly in the world with shame, whereby appeareth that I resist not this matter of a wilful purpose, or that I like it not because I was not a councillor, (which words my lord of Canterbury used to me)." Id. p. 744.]

[r] [Gardiner had been committed to the Fleet, September 25th, 1547: he was, however, set at liberty,

* [Nicholas Ridley.]

† [Henry Holbeach.]

complaint to the lord protector were true, he was somewhat straitly handled: for he was allowed no friend or servant, no chaplain, barber, tailor, nor physician[s]: a sign he gave them high provocation. While he was here the archbishop sent for him once or twice to discourse with him, and to try to bring him to comply with their proceedings in reforming religion. He dealt very gently with him, and told him, "That he was a man, in his opinion, meet to be called to the council again; but withal told him, that he stood too much in obstinacy; that it was perverse frowardness, and not any zeal for the truth[t]:"

January 7th following, but was again confined in the Tower, on the last day of June 1548, where he was held a prisoner somewhat more than five years, being liberated August 3, 1553, four weeks after the accession of queen Mary.]

[s] ["It is now twenty days ago since I spake with my lord of Canterbury, when the strongest arguments he made me, were, to agree, with hope to be a councillor again, or go to the Fleet from whence I came: for, when I made request to the contrary, he said he had no such commission from the council. And so here I remain without bail or mainprise, without comfort of any of my friends or servants, as one divided from the world, no chaplain to accompany me in prayer, no barber, nor tailor for bodily necessities, nor liberty to use physician for relief of disease, whereof I have need."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 744. 1st. ed. 1563.]

[t] ["And yet my lord of Canterbury, when he sent for me last out of the Fleet, handled me with fair words, declaring me a man meet in his opinion to be called to the council again, adding how we, (he said), did daily choose in others, that were not appointed by our late sovereign lord. They were worldly comfortable words, and as far contrarious on the one side, as the Fleet is on the other side. But I have not, I thank God, that deceit which my lord of Canterbury thought to be in me, or would seem to think so, whereby to induce others to think the same, as though I were not moved to say as I do, for any zeal to the truth, but of perverse frowardness, as one that like not his estate, and therefore cared not, what became of him."—Id. p. 743.]

and laboured to bring him to allow the book, which was now finished, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus.

The bishop of Winchester's censure of the homily of Salvation.

The former he could not allow of, because of the doctrine therein by Cranmer asserted of justification by faith without works, which Cranmer took pains to persuade him about; telling him, his intent was hereby only to set out the freedom of God's mercy. But Winchester challenged him to shew Scripture for it, or any one ancient writer, that faith in justifying excludeth charity[u]. This Winchester afterward declared at large to the lord protector; and added, that the archbishop in that homily of Salvation had taken such a matter in hand, and so handled it, as, if he were his extreme enemy, he would have wished him to have taken that piece in hand, and so to have handled it as he did. He represented one of the archbishop's arguments for faith excluding charity to be thus, out of that homily; "We be justified by faith without all works of the law. Charity is a work of the law. Ergo, We are justified without charity[v]." But I warn the reader to

[u] ["And although I have to maintain me, both the plain Scriptures, the doctors plain, and the plain act of parliament, yet, for conformity, offered to my lord of Canterbury, to yield, if he could shew me one Scripture affirming faith to exclude charity in justification, or Scripture failing, as it doth indeed, to shew me but one ancient writer that writeth so, with offer to yield and give place: which offer excludeth all stubbornness, and all evil opinion that might be conceived of wilfulness in me." Id. p. 744. "My lord of Canterbury told me his intent is only to set out the freedom of God's mercy,——and shewing myself so humble a scholar as I have done, it is much to be beaten because I do not learn where no man teacheth me, and so willing to learn as I ask but one Scripture, or, Scripture failing, (as it doth for my lord of Canterbury's purpose), I ask but one ancient doctor."—Id. pp. 745, 6.]

[v] ["Be your grace assured, the foundation of my ground is a zeal to the truth, although I have many worldly considerations to allege for me, which serve to purge me of wilfulness, which I assure your grace is not my fault. I will not trouble your grace with

consult the homily itself before he pass his judgment upon Cranmer's argument, as it is here represented by one that was none of his friend. In fine, he said, "There were as many faults in that homily of Salvation as he had been weeks in prison, and that was seven, besides the matter, viz. making a trouble without necessity [w]."

In short, he charged the archbishop "for troubling the world with such a needless speculation as this is; because," he said, "that in baptism we are justified, being infants, before we can talk of the justification we strive for. For all men receive their justification in their infancy in baptism: and if they fall after baptism, they must arise again by the sacrament of penance. And so this doctrine," he said, "was to be sent to the universities; where it is meet to be talked and disputed of, and not fit for homilies [x]." And, to disparage further

And of the archbishop for it.

all I could say of my knowledge: whatsoever my words be of my lord of Canterbury, which the matter enforceth me to speak, I am in none enmity with his person, and that I am able to prove; but my lord hath in the homily of Salvation, taken such a matter in hand, and so handled it, as if I were his extreme enemy, I would have wished him to have taken that piece in hand, and so handled it as he hath done. For that asseveration, how faith excluded charity, can neither be proved by Scripture, nor confirmed by any ancient writer, or persuaded by any effectual argument. And one argument my lord hath devised, which he frameth thus: 'we be justified by faith without all works of the law. Charity is a work of the law. Ergo, we are justified without charity.' The answering of which argument, which I can do plainly by authority, shall declare that either my lord is deceived himself, if he take it for a strong argument, when the opinion of his learning shall be hindered; or, if he use it willingly, knowing the fault in it, the lack is greater another way."—Id. p. 745.]

[w] ["As for my lord of Canterbury's homily of Salvation, [it] hath as many faults, as I have been weeks in prison, which be seven, besides the general, that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the parliament."—Id. p. 749.]

[x] ["For it is as I say, when we have all talked, for we all are jus-

the archbishop's judgment, he told the protector, "That if my lord of Canterbury would needs travail in this matter, he should never persuade that faith excluded charity in justification, unless he borrowed prisons of the protector; and then he might percase have some to agree to it: as poor men kneel at Rome when the bishop of Rome goeth by, or else are knocked on the head with a halberd[y]." And then he made some scoffing mention of the strength of God's spirit in the arch-
151 bishop, and his learning in his laws, so as to be able to overthrow with his breath all untruths, and establish truths. I make no reflection upon all this unseemly language of this bishop, but leave it to the reader to

tified in baptism while younglings, and falling after baptism, we must arise by the sacrament of penance, which must be confessed of all men, unless they be such as deny all sacraments, as some have done in deed, wading so far in the sifting of only faith that they have left nothing but faith alone, and yet spent a great deal of their faith in the handling of it, or rather all. And that is a general fault I find, that such as write in that matter, do not handle it faithfully, in alleging the doctors and Scriptures right as they be. Now if this be true that I have written, which is true indeed, were it not an horrible part of you to say, 'why trouble ye the world for a thing not necessary,' and so put it from the country, and make it, as it were, a chequer-chamber case? And so to be sent to the universities, for whom it is meet soberly to talk, and not for homilies; wherein the people shall hear that they shall never practice, because they learn it too late, being justified before in their infancy in baptism."—Id. p. 745.]

[y] ["And it is a terrible matter to think on, to see such a contention to rise upon a matter not necessary to be spoken of; wherein if my lord of Canterbury will needs travail, my judgment is, that he shall never persuade that faith excludeth charity in justification, unless he borrow, of your grace's authority, prisons, and then he shall percase have some agree unto it, as poor men kneel at Rome, when the bishop there goeth by; that is to say, knocketh on the head with a halbert, if they kneel not, for that is one piece of the office of the bishop of Rome's guard."—Id. pp. 745, 6.]

judge hereby of the learning and spirit that was in him. And could we have retrieved the archbishop's own arguments and replies to these barkings of Winchester, they would have left to the world a full vindication of Cranmer and his doctrine.

Winchester's censure of Erasmus' Paraphrase.

As to Erasmus' Paraphrase, the said bishop pretended, "He found divers things in it to condemn the work: and that he agreed with them that said, 'Erasmus laid the eggs, and Luther hatched them:' and that of all the monstrous opinions that have risen, evil men had a wondrous occasion ministered to them from that book[z]." He also wrote to the protector the particular objections he made against it. He said, "He might term it in one word 'abomination', both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus' pen; and also for the arrogant ignorance of the translator of it: considering that book was authorized by the king, and a charge was laid upon the realm of twenty thousand pounds, by enjoining every parish to buy one: whereof he had made an estimate by the probable number of buyers, and the price of the book. He

[z] ["First, as touching the book of Paraphrasis, whereof I wrote to your grace special faults, and others I have to shew as great as they, I trust. And [I] doubt not the matter itself shall sufficiently declare, that I have done well to speak against that book, assuring your grace that since my coming to prison, many days together when I looked on it, I saw every day some new thing in such sort of fault, as ought worthily to condemn the work. I have favoured Erasmus' name as much as any other, but I never studied over this book till now, and now I agree with them that said, 'Erasmus laid the eggs, and Luther hatched them:' adding further, that of all the monstrous opinions that have arisen, evil men had a wondrous occasion ministered to them of that book; and therefore I trust the matter of that book will purge the evil opinion as might be gathered of me, wherein I offer to prove that I said with any learned man, [under] pain of shame and rebuke, and to be taken for a malicholic beast."—Id. p. 744.]

charged the translator with ignorance, both in Latin and English; a man," he said, "far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part[a]."

"Finally, the matter he had to shew in both the books was in some part dangerous; and the concealment thereof a great fault, if he did not utter it. And that," he pretended, "made him some while ago write to the council, declaring his mind in relation thereunto[b]." For which he was sent to the Fleet.

[a] ["For meseemeth I have deserved thanks of your grace and the realm, for the disclosing of the faults of the Paraphrasis, wherein I have written some specialities, but not all: and have such to shew as I may term that book at one word, 'abomination,' both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus' pen, and also the arrogant ignorance of the translator into English, considering the book should be authorized by a king, and, by the injunctions, charge the realm for buying rather above £20,000 than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books. The translator sheweth himself ignorant, both in Latin and English; a man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part, whereby your grace may take an argument, what moved them that counselled your grace to authorize such a book in the realm."—Id. p. 749.]

[b] ["Finally, in the two books the matter I have to shew is some part so dangerous, as, after I knew it as I know it, the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the council in your absence, and on my knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of imprisonment. I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they shewed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the civil law, that the deed of a number is no one man's act, with this also, the authority is to be honoured, which rule I observe in thought, word, and deed. After which sort I remain, with such suits as I have made to your grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my body, how little soever I do, and have cause to set by it, which I most humbly desire your grace to consider, and to send me

His account of his commitment.

The true occasion whereof, as I take it from his own letter, written with his own hand, which I have before me, was this. Upon the departure of the lord protector against the Scots, the king's visitors began their visitation. "Then as soon as the bishop heard of the visitation, and the books of homilies and injunctions were come to his hands, he wrote to the council, trusting, upon such earnest advertisements as he made, they would incontinently have sent for him; and, upon knowledge of so evident matter as he thought he had to shew, would have staid till the protector's return. He saw," as he said, "a determination to do all things suddenly at one time. Whereunto, though the protector had agreed, yet of his wisdom, as the bishop conjectured, he had rather these matters should have tarried till his return, had he not been 'pressed on both sides,' (an expression which the protector in a letter to him had used). "He reckoned, that if he could have staid this matter in his absence, though by bringing himself into extreme danger, besides his duty to God and the king, he should have done the protector a pleasure, of whom he had this opinion, that willingly and wittingly he would neither break the act of parliament, nor command books to be bought by authority, that contained such doctrine as those books did. Thus he had," he said, "remembrance of his grace in these his letters to the council; but he chiefly made not his grace, but God, his foundation, with the preser- 152

Inter Foxii MSS.[c]

some answer by this bearer. And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your grace's felicity. Your grace's humble bead-man."—Id. ibid.]

[c] [See Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 84–90. British Museum. Original and holograph. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 741, 2. 1st ed. 1563, by whom the entire letter has been printed, to which the author refers.]

vation of the late deceased king's honour, and the surety of the king then being. His writing, he confessed, was vehement; but he would have none offended with it, for he wrote it with a whole heart; and if he could have written it with the blood of his heart, he would have done it, to have staid the thing till it had been more maturely digested." He touched lively one point in his letter to the council, and considered "whether the king might command against a common law, or an act of parliament; and shewed the danger of it in the late lord cardinal[d], and the lord Tiptoft[e] before him, who was executed on Tower-hill for acting against the laws of the land, though it were by the king's commission; and by other precedents."

Not long after these letters of the bishop to the council, they sent for him. "When he came before them, he came furnished with his trinkets, his sleeves and bosom trussed full of books, to furnish his former allegations. He was heard very well, and gently." Then he shewed matter that he thought would have moved them: for there he shewed the two contrary books, [meaning the homilies and Erasmus' Paraphrase]. "But the council told him they were not moved," and added, "that their consciences agreed not with his;" using many good words to bring him to conformity. After he had been aside from them, and was returned again, they entered a precise order with him, either to receive the injunctions, or to refuse. "In which case," they told him, "that the pro-

[d] [i. e. Wolsey.]

[e] ["1443. 2. John de Tiptoft, son and heir (of John de Tiptoft), created earl of Worcester 16 July, 1449, being then just of age; beheaded and attainted 1470, when his honours became forfeited." His son and heir Edward de Tiptoft, 1471, was restored in blood but died, 1485, "S. P. infra ætatem," since which time this barony has been in abeyance.—See Nicholas' Synopsis of the Peerage of England, pp. 643, 4. ed. Lond. 1825.]

tector was privy to what was done there." The bishop answered, "That he would receive them as far as God's law and the king's would bind him. And because he saw they drew to such preciseness," he told them, "there were three weeks of delay to the coming of the visitors to him." In the mean time he offered to go to Oxford to abide the discussion there. That offer was not allowed. He desired to go to his house at London, and have learned men speak with him there. This was not accepted. He entered then "the allegation of the gospel, of the servant that said he would not do a thing, and yet did it: and so," the bishop said, "it might be, that although he then said nay, as his conscience served him, yet he might change, and was a man that might be tempted. But as his conscience was then, he thought that God's laws and the king's letted him." They then asked him, if he had spoken to any man of what he found in the books. To which he answered truly, [acknowledging he had;] but told the lords, that "he thought it hard, unless there were a greater matter than this, to send him to prison for declaring his mind beforehand, what he minded to do, before it had been by him done; who had all the mean time to repent himself."

In the end, the council committed him to the Fleet. Of his behaviour under this censure, he hath these words: "That he had well digested it; and so all might be well, he cared not what became of his body. That he departed as quietly from them as ever man did, and had endured with as little grudge. He had learned this lesson in the world, never to look backward, as St. Paul saith, 'nor remember that is past.' That he would never grudge or complain of any thing for himself."

To the lord protector, to whom he wrote all this ac- 153

count of himself, turning his discourse, he said, "That he thought it very weighty to have these books recommended to the realm in the king's name, by his (the protector's) direction, since the king himself knew nothing of them, and therefore nothing could be ascribed to him: and his grace had been so occupied, as all men knew, that he had no leisure to peruse them. And yet of such sort were the books, according to the account he had before written; and that if no man had advertised the council, as he had, it was because they had not read them as he had done."

Erasmus vindicated.

In vindication of the learned author of the Paraphrase, so bedashed by Winchester, I will here use the words of him that writ the Epistle Dedicatory before the translated Paraphrase on the Acts. "I cannot but judge, that whoso are prompt and hasty condemners of Erasmus, or eager adversaries unto his doctrine, do, under the name and colour of Erasmus, rather utter their stomach and hatred against God's word, and the grace of the Gospel, which Erasmus for his part most diligently and most simply laboureth to bring to light." And to such as said that his doctrine was scarcely sincere, and that he did somewhat err, he answered, "That Erasmus, forasmuch as he was a man, and so esteemed himself, would that his works should none otherwise be read or accepted than the writings of other mortal men. And that, after his judgment, a little trip among so many notable good works for the interpretation of Scripture, and for the help of the simple, should rather be borne withal, than so many good things to be either rejected or kept away from the hungry Christian reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing; and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of nothing, would have the igno-

rant to lack so much good edifying, as may be taken of Erasmus[d]."

Mention was made a little above of the bishop of Winchester's objections against the Paraphrase of Erasmus, sent by him in a letter to the lord protector. This paper I have met with in Sir John Cotton's library[e]; and being somewhat long, I have put it into the Appendix: wherein may be seen at large the bishop's quarrels, both against the Paraphrase and the homilies; labouring here to shew, that the book of homilies and Erasmus' Paraphrase did contradict each other, and therefore could not both be received; and that there were errors in each, and so neither ought to be admitted. Moreover, he urged the danger of making alterations in religion contrary to the laws then in force; designing thereby, if he could over-persuade the protector, to enervate the king's late injunctions. For the papists, whose chief instrument was Winchester, saw it was time now to bestir themselves to overthrow these proceedings that were in hand, if it were possible.

Winchester's letter to Somerset concerning these things.

Number XXXVI.

When this affair happened between the council and the bishop, for which they cast him into the Fleet, Somerset, the protector, was absent in an expedition against the Scots; by whose conduct, in the month of September, God blessed the king with a very glorious victory, in a battle fought near Musselburgh[f]. Which redounded

The archbishop appoints a thanksgiving for a victory.

[d] [See "the Paraphrase of Erasmus Englished." Preface to Acts of the Apostles, fol. 1. b. ed. (Whitchurch) Lond. 1548.]

[e] [Cotton MSS. Vespasian D. 18. fol. 139. British Museum. Copy. The objections of Gardiner will also be found in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, 1 p. 740–743. 1st ed. 1563.]

[f] ["On the 10th of September [A.D. 1547] the two armies drew out and fought in the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh," in which engagement the Scots were defeated. — See Burnet's Hist.

much to the protector's honour, wherein was more dan-
154 ger than he looked for, which gave him the greater occasion to shew his valour: for there were but few lost on the English side; but fifteen thousand Scots reckoned to be slain, and two thousand taken prisoners. For this victory a public thanksgiving was thought fit to be celebrated. And the archbishop required of the bishop of London[g] to procure a sermon at St. Paul's, before the mayor and aldermen, and immediately after a procession in English, and "*Te Deum.*" The archbishop's letter, (which will shew what the court thought of that good success), was as followeth:

The archbishop to the bishop of London. Cranm. Reg. [fol. 55.]

"After our right hearty commendations: Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to send the king's majesty such victory against the Scots, as was almost above the expectation of man, and such as hath not been heard of in any part of Christendom this many years: in which victory above the number of 15,000 Scots be slain, 2,000 taken prisoners; and among them many noblemen, and others of good reputation; all their ordnance and baggage of their camp also won from them: the king's majesty, with the advice of his highness' privy council, presently attending upon his majesty's most royal person, well-knowing this, as all other goodness, to be the gifts of God, hath and so doth account it. And therefore rendereth unto him the only glory and praise for the same: and so hath willed me, not only in his majesty's cathedral church, and other churches of my diocese, to give thanks to Almighty God, but also to require, in his name, all other bishops in the province of Canterbury to do, or cause to be done, semblably in their course[h]. Which,

of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 69, 70. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[g] [Edmund Boner.]

[h] ["In their cures." Cranm. Reg.]

his majesty's pleasure, I have thought good to signify unto you: requiring you, not only to cause a sermon to be made in your cathedral church the next holy day after receipt hereof, declaring the goodness of God, and exhorting the people to faith and amendment of life; and to give thanks to God for this victory; but also at the same time, immediately after the sermon, and in presence of the mayor, aldermen, and other the citizens of London[i], to cause the procession in English, and "*Te Deum*," to be openly and devoutly sung. And that you do also cause the like order to be given in every parish church in your diocese, upon some holy day, when the parishioners shall be there present, with as much speed as you may; not failing, as you tender his majesty's pleasure. Thus fare you heartily well. From Otelands, the 18th day of December *[j], the year of our Lord God, 1547.

* It should be Sept. I suppose.

"Your loving friend,

"THOMAS CANTUARIEN.

"The counsellors' pleasure is[k], you shall see this executed on Tuesday next. [To the Dean and Chapter of] St. Paul's in London, this be given in haste[l]."

[i] ["Citizens of the city of London." Cranm. Reg.]

[j] [It is written December in Cranm. Reg., which is probably a mistake for September. See Heylyn's Hist. of Reformat. p. 47. ed. Lond. 1674.]

[k] ["The council's pleasure." Cranm. Reg.]

[l] [See Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 324, n. [r]. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 417, 18. Park. Soc. ed.

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CHAPTER IV.

A CONVOCATION.

A convocation in the first year of the king. C.C.C.C. Library. Vol. intit. Synodalia.[m]

THE parliament now sat: and a convocation was held November the 5th. Some account of what was done here I will in this place set down, as I extracted it out of the notes of some member, as I conceive, then present at it.

Session I. Nov. 5.

"John Taylor, dean of Lincoln[n], chosen prolocutor by universal consent."

Session II. Nov. 18.

"This day the prolocutor was presented to the archbishop and bishops in the upper house."

Session III. Nov. 22.

"It was then agreed, that the prolocutor, in the name of the whole house, should carry some petitions unto the most reverend father in God, the archbishop, viz.

"I. That provision be made, that the ecclesiastical law may be examined, and promulged, according to that statute of parliament in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII.

"II. That, for certain urgent causes, the convocation of this clergy may be taken and chosen into the lower house of parliament, as anciently it was wont to be.

"III. That the works of the bishops and others, who by the command of the convocation have laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing the divine service, may be produced, and laid before the examination of this house.

[m] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxxi. p. 5 a.]

[n] ["Succeeded in 1548, and in 1552 was made bishop of this see." Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 141, 146. and Cranm. Reg. fol. 335 b.]

"IV. That the rigour of the statute of paying the king the first-fruits may be somewhat moderated in certain urgent clauses, and may be reformed, if possible."

The fourth session is omitted in the manuscript, the writer probably being then absent.

Session V. Nov. ult.

"This day Mr. Prolocutor exhibited, and caused to be read publicly, a form of a certain ordinance, delivered by the most reverend the archbishop of Canterbury, for the receiving of the body of our Lord under both kinds, viz. of bread and wine. To which he himself subscribed, and some others, viz. Mr. Prolocutor, Mr. Cranmer, archdeacon of Canterbury, Mr. May, Mr. Jenyngs, Mr. Williams, Wilson, Carleton," &c.

Session VI. Dec. 2. 156

"This session, all this whole session, in number sixty-four, by their mouths did approve the proposition made the last session, of taking the Lord's body in both kinds, "nullo reclamante."

"The same day with consent were chosen Mr. Dr. Draycot, Bellasis, Dakyns, Jeffrey, Elize ap Rice, Oking, Pool, and ap Harry, to draw up a form of a statute for paying tithes in cities," &c.

This was a thing the clergy now were very intent upon. For I find in the archbishop's reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, there is a law made for paying tithes in cities, as was done in London.

Session VII. Dec. 9.

"By common consent were nominated and assigned Mr. Rowland Merick, John ap Harry, John Williams, and Elizeus Price, DD.LL. to obtain the following effects, viz. That the petition made to have this house adjoined to

the lower house of parliament, may be granted. Item, That a mitigation of the sore penalty expressed in the statutes against the recusants, for non-payment of the perpetual tenths, may be also obtained.

"And the same day were likewise appointed Mr. Dean of Winchester[n], and Mr. Dr. Draycot, to accompany Mr. Prolocutor to my lord of Canterbury, to know a determinate answer, what indemnity and impunity this house shall have to treat of matters of religion, in cases forbidden by the statutes of this realm to treat in."

Session VIII. Dec. 17.

"This day was exhibited a certain proposition under these words, viz. That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs, heretofore made, had or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony, or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity, or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect. To which proposition many subscribed, partly in the affimative, partly in the negative."

In the affirmative,	In the negative,
53 voices.	22 voices.

And here I will insert a few words, which I take out of a book writ very near this time, and by one who was well acquainted with the affairs of this convocation: "The affirmants," saith he, "of this proposition were almost treble so many as were the negants. Amongst which affirmants, divers were then unmarried, and never did afterwards take the liberty of marriage; as Dr. Taylor the bishop, Dr. Benson, Dr. Redman, Dr. Hugh Weston, Mr. Wotton, &c. Of them that denied it, notwithstanding their superscriptions to the contrary, as few as they

Defence of priests' marriage, p. 352.[o]

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[n] [William Kingsmill.]

[o] [See vol. i. p. 113. n. r.]

were, yet some of them took upon them the liberty of marriage not long after, as Dr. Oken, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Wilson, &c."

Dr. Redman's judgment of priests' marriage.

This subscription following was made by the hand of John Redman, S. T. P.[p] in this very convocation, who, being absent this session, (for his name is not among the fifty-three), was desired to declare his own sense in this point, under his own hand, being so learned a man, and in such great credit universally, for his ability in deciding questions of conscience.

"I think that although the word of God do exhort and counsel priests to live in chastity, out of cumber the of the flesh and the world, that thereby they may more wholly attend to their calling: yet the band of containing from marriage doth only lie upon priests of this realm by reason of canons and constitutions of the church, and not by any precept of God's word; as in that they should be bound by reason of any vow, which, in as far as my conscience is, priests in this church of England do not make: I think that it standeth well with God's word, that a man which hath been, and is but once married, being otherwise accordingly qualified, may be made a priest. And I think that forasmuch as canons and rules made in this behalf be neither universal nor everlasting, but upon considerations may be altered and changed: therefore the king's majesty, and the higher powers of the church, may, upon such reasons as shall move them, take away the clog of perpetual continency from the priests; and grant that it may be lawful to such as cannot, or will not, contain, to marry one wife. And if she die, then the said priest to marry no more, remaining still in his ministration."

[p] [John Redman, S.T.P. was appointed the first master of Trinity college, Cambridge, A. D. 1546, and died A. D. 1551. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 436.]

Some larger account of this memorable convocation, especially as to some of these matters then under their hands, may be read in bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum, published by him from a manuscript volume once belonging to archbishop Cranmer[q].

Irenic. p. 387.

The archbishop's influence on the parliament.

In this convocation the archbishop bore the great sway; and what things were agitated herein were chiefly by his motion and direction: some whereof were turned into laws by the parliament, that was now sitting, through his activeness and influence. As particularly that repeal of the statute of the Six Articles, and of some other severe laws, decreeing divers things treason and felony, made in the former king's reign. For when the archbishop in the convocation had made a speech to the clergy, exhorting them to give themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and to consider what things in the church needed reformation, that so the church might be discharged of all popish trash, not yet thrown out; some told him, that, as long as the Six Articles remained, it was not safe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council: upon which they ordered this act of repeal.

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 40[r].

The communion in both kinds established.

By his means also another great thing, moved in the convocation, was now ratified, and made a law by this parliament: which was, for the administration of the communion under both kinds throughout the kingdom of
158 England and Ireland. And upon this the king appointed certain grave and learned bishops, and others, to assemble at Windsor Castle, there to treat and confer together; and to conclude upon and set forth one perfect and uniform order of communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the use of the primitive church. And this being framed, it was enjoined to be used throughout the realm

Foxe.

[q] [See Stillingfleet's Irenicum, pp. 387, 393. ed. Lond. 1660.]

[r] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 83. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

by a proclamation, and all required to receive it with due reverence[s].

[s] ["Moreover in the same session, (i. e. of parliament, 1° Ed. VI. A. D. 1547, 8), his majesty with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, throughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the apostles and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the said holy sacrament should be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only, and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles, and primitive church, that the people being present should receive the same with the priest than that the priest should receive it alone, did by their authority moreover enact, that the said holy sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions under both the kinds of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise required; and also, that the priest that should minister the same, should at the least one day before, exhort all persons, which should be present, likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, (wherein should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them, which worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to them, which presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come thereunto), the said minister should not without a lawful cause deny the same to any person, that would devoutly and humbly desire it: any law, statute, ordinance, or custom, contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding.

"After which most godly consent of the parliament, the king, being no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures, and first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish the same by the authority of his own regal laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned bishops and others of his realm, to assemble together, at his castle of Windsor, there to argue and intreat upon this matter, and conclude upon

The archbishop's queries concerning the mass.

I meet with a writing of the archbishop, without date, consisting of queries concerning the mass, in order to the abolishing it, and changing it into a communion. Which I know not where so well to place as here, now the convocation was employed upon this matter: for it seems to have been drawn up by the archbishop on purpose to be laid before the consideration of this house. The queries were these[t]:

"What or wherein John, fasting, giving alms, being baptized, or receiving the sacrament of the altar[u] in England, doth profit and avail Thomas, dwelling in Italy, and not knowing what John in England doth?

"Whether it profit them[v] that be in heaven, and wherein?

"Whether it lieth in the faster, giver of alms, receiver of the sacrament, him that is baptized, to defraud[w] any member of Christ's body of the benefit of fasting[x], almsdeeds, baptism, or receiving of the sacrament; and to apply the same benefit to one person more than to another?

"What thing is the presentation of the body and blood of Christ in the mass, which you call the oblation and sacrifice of Christ? And wherein standeth it, in act, gesture, or word[y]; and in what act, gesture, or word[y]?

and set forth one perfect and uniform order according to the rule and use aforesaid." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1299. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[t] [Stillingfleet MSS. Lambeth library, 1108. fol. 40. Original. These and the following questions will also be found in the Appendix with the answers made to them by the bishops of Worcester*, Chichester†, and Hereford‡, and by many other bishops and divines.]

[u] ["Sacrament of thanks." Still. MSS.]

[v] ["Whether the said acts of John do profit them." Id.]

[w] ["Whether it lieth in the said John to defraud." Id.]

[x] ["Of his fasting." Id.]

[y] ["Gesture or words." Id.]

* Nicholas Heath. † George Day. ‡ John Skyp.

"Is there any rite or prayer, and expressed[z] in the Scripture, which Christ used or commanded at the first institution of the mass, which we be now bound to use; and what the same be?

"Whether in the primitive church there were any priests that lived by saying of mass, matins, and even-song, and praying for souls, only? And where any such state[a] of priesthood be allowed in the Scriptures[b], or be meet to be allowed now?

"For what cause were it not expedient nor convenient to have the whole mass in the English tongue[c]?

"[d] Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution?

"What time the accustomed order began first in the church, that the priests alone[e] should receive the sacrament?

"Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm?

"Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue; that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed?

"Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass to the understanding of the people being present?

"Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?"

The archbishop assists at the funeral of the French king.

To proceed to some other things wherein our archbishop was this year concerned. In June the church of St. Paul's was hanged with black, and a sumptuous hearse set up in the choir, and a *"Dirige"* there sung for the French king, 159

[z] ["Prayer not expressed." Id.]

[a] ["And whether any such state." Id.]

[b] ["In the Scripture." Id.]

[c] ["Whole mass in English." Id.]

[d] [Stillingfleet MSS. Lambeth library 1108. fol. 6. Original.]

[e] ["The priest alone." Still. MSS.]

who deceased the March precedent. And on the next day the archbishop, assisted with eight bishops more, all in rich mitres, and their other pontificals, did sing a mass of requiem; and the bishop of Rochester preached a funeral sermon[f]. Stow.

The marquis of Northampton's divorce committed to the archbishop.

A nice matter was now put by the council to the archbishop, having some other bishops and learned men joined with him, to the number of ten. The case was, "Whether a man divorced from his wife for her adultery might not lawfully marry again?" This was propounded upon the account of a great man in those times, namely, the brother of queen Katherine Par, marquis of Northampton, who had gotten a divorce from his wife, the daughter of Bouchier, earl of Essex, for adultery. The canon law would not allow marrying again upon a divorce, making divorce to be only a separation from bed and board, and not a dissolving the knot of marriage. This was a great question depending among the civilians. And it being committed to the determination of our archbishop, and

[f] ["On the same 19. of June was a 'Dirige' sung in every parish church in London, for the French king late deceased, (to wit, on the 22d of March last before passed)*, also the church of St. Paul in London, being hanged with black, and a sumptuous hearse set up in the quire, a 'Dirige' was there sung, and on the next morrow, the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted of eight bishops, all in rich mitres, and other their pontificals, did sing a mass of 'Requiem,' and the bishop of Rochester† preached there a learned sermon." Stow's Chronicle, p. 594. ed. Lond. 1631.]

* "Il (i.e. François I.) mourut au chateau de Raimbouillet, le dernier jour de Mars 1547, âgé de cinquante-deux ans, après en avoir regné trente-deux." Biograph. Univer. tom. xv. p. 347. ed. Paris. 1811–47.

† Henry Holbeach was then bishop of Rochester, not having been elected to Lincoln till August 9th, 1547; it was not Holbeach, however, but Ridley, who preached this sermon, and he was not at that time even bishop elect of Rochester, as the *congé d'élire* was not issued till the 1st of August following. Stow is in error in this particular. See Gloucester Ridley's Life of bp. Ridley, pp. 184, 210, 211.

some other delegates, (though the marquis staid not for their resolution, but in this interval married Elizabeth, daughter of the lord Brooke, [lord Cobham]), he searched so diligently into the Scriptures first, and then into the opinions of fathers and doctors, that his collection swelled into a volume, yet remaining in the hands of a learned bishop of this realm; the sum whereof is digested by the bishop of Sarum[g]. Cranmer seemed to allow of marriage in the innocent person.

Bp. of Wigorn. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 56.

He was a means also to the council of forbidding processions: wherein the people carried candles on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday; because he saw they were used so much to superstition, and looked like festivals to the heathen gods. So that this year on Candlemas-day, the old custom of bearing candles in the church, and on Ash-Wednesday following, giving ashes in the church, was left off through the whole city of London[h].

Processions forbid by his means.

Stow.

He was a member of a committee this winter, appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to consider where they needed reformation, and accordingly to reform them. Of this commission were most of the bishops, and several others of the most learned divines in the nation. And a new office for the communion was by them prepared, and by authority set forth, as was observed before[i], and received all over England.

Examines the offices of the church.

[g] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 115–120. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[h] ["And on the 2. of February, being the feast of the purification of our lady, commonly called Candlemas-day, the bearing of candles in the church was left off throughout the whole city of London."—"The Wednesday following, [viz. Shrove-Sunday, Feb. 12, Monday, and Tuesday,] commonly called Ash-Wednesday, the use of giving ashes in the church was also left."—Stow's Chronicle, p. 595.]

[i] [See above, p. 40.]

CHAPTER V.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S CATECHISM.

The archbishop puts forth a catechism.

This year the archbishop put forth a very useful catechism, intituled, "A short instruction to Christian religion, for the singular profit of children and young people[j]." This catechism went not by way of question and answer, but contained an easy exposition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the
160 two Sacraments. The first and second commandments were put together as one, and the whole recital of the second omitted, according to the use in those times. But that commandment is explained under the first. The substance of this book is grave, serious, and sound doctrine. It is said in the title-page, "to be overseen and corrected by the archbishop." Indeed it was a catechism wrote originally in the German language, for the use of the younger sort in Nuremburg; translated into Latin by Justus Jonas junior, who now was entertained by the archbishop in his family; and thence turned into our vulgar tongue by the said archbishop, or his special order. But it is certain, so great a hand he had therein, that in the archbishop's first book of the sacrament, he said, that it was "translated by himself, and set forth[k]." Bishop Gardiner, in his book against the archbishop, takes

[j] [The catechism here referred to was that set forth A.D. 1548, translated from the Latin of Justus Jonas, who had made this version from the original German, in which he had written it.]

[k] ["And as for 'the catechism of Germany' by me translated into English," &c. Answer to Gardiner.—See Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 190. Park. Soc. ed. —"And in a catechism by me translated and set forth, I used like manner of speech, saying that with our bodily mouths we receive the body and blood of Christ."—Id. p. 226.]

advantage of two things in this catechism against him, as though he himself, when he put it forth, was of the opinion of the corporal presence. The one was a picture that stood before the book, where was an altar with candles lighted, and the priest apparelled after the old sort, putting the wafer into the communicant's mouth[l]. The other is an expression or two used somewhere in the book, "That with our bodily mouths we receive the body and blood of Christ:" and, "that in the sacrament we receive truly the body and blood of Christ:" and, "this we must believe, if we will be counted Christian men." But to both, Cranmer in his next book against Gardiner made answer, "That as for the picture, it was that was set before the Dutch edition of the book, and so none of his doing; but that he afterwards caused the popish picture to be altered into a picture representing Christ eating his last supper with his disciples. As for the expressions," he said, "he taught, that we in the sacrament do receive the body and blood of Christ spiritually; and that the words really and substantially were not used, but truly[m]."

[l] ["But with such matter he filleth his leaves, and forgetting himself, maketh mention of the catechism by him translate, the original whereof confuteth these two parts of this book in few words, being printed in Germany, wherein, besides the matter written, is set forth in picture the manner of the ministering of this sacrament; where is the altar, with candle-light set forth, the priest apparelled after the old sort, and the man to receive kneeling, bare head, and holding up his hands, whiles the priest ministereth the host to his mouth, a matter as clear contrary to the matter of this book, as is light and darkness, which now this author would colour with speeches of authors in a book written to instruct rude children; which is as slender an excuse as ever was heard, and none at all, when the original is looked on."—Gardiner's Explication, &c. touching the Sacrament of the altar.—Id. pp. 226, 7.]

[m] ["And as concerning the catechism, I have sufficiently answered in my former book. But in this place may appear to them that have any judgment, what

And in his answer to Dr. Richard Smith's[n] preface, wrote against the said archbishop, who it seems had twitted him also with this catechism, he spake largely of these his expressions in his own vindication[o].

And a book against unwritten verities.

There was another book of the archbishop's against Unwritten verities, which I do by conjecture place here, as put forth under this year, or near this time[o]. Which

pithy arguments you make, and what dexterity you have in gathering of author's minds, that would gather my mind, and make an argument here of a picture, neither put in my book, nor by me devised, but invented by some fond painter or carver, which paint and grave whatsoever their idle heads can fancy. You should rather have gathered your argument upon the other side, that I mislike the matter because I left out of my book the picture that was in the original before. And I marvel you be not ashamed to allege so vain a matter against me, which indeed is not in my book, and if it were, yet were it nothing to the purpose. And in that catechism I teach not, as you do, that the body and blood of Christ is contained in the sacrament, being reserved, but that in the ministration thereof we receive the body and blood of Christ; whereunto if it may please you to add or understand this word, 'spiritually,' then is the doctrine of my catechism sound and good in all men's ears, which trow the true doctrine of the sacraments." Id. p. 227. — Facsimiles of the engravings prefixed to the exposition of the Lord's Supper in the original Latin catechism of Justus Jonas, and of that which was substituted in the English translation may be seen in Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iii. p. 345.]

[n] [See vol. i. p. 178. n. z.]

[o] ["And if D. Smith understood him (i. e. Peter Martyr) otherwise in his lectures at the beginning, it was for lack of knowledge, for that then D. Smith understood not the matter, nor yet doth not, as it appeareth by this foolish and unlearned book, which he hath now set out; no more than he understood my book of the catechism, and therefore reporteth untruly of me, that I in that book did set forth the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament." — The Answer to Smith's Preface.—See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 374. Park. Soc. ed.]

[o] ["It is stated in the title-page that this 'Confutation of Unwritten verities,' was 'made by Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury,' and 'translated and set

I suppose Dr. Smith nibbled at in his book of traditions, which this year he recanted. The book was in Latin, and consisted only of allegations out of the Bible and ancient

forth by E. P.' Strype goes farther, and supposes that it was not only 'made' by the archbishop, but published by him in Latin in 1547. Yet it certainly was not 'made' by Cranmer in its present form: for the Preface and some other parts were avowedly written by the translator. And it may be doubted, whether it was ever prepared by him for publication at all; no complete copy of it in Latin, either printed or in manuscript, having been yet discovered. The citations however, of which the work chiefly consists, are for the most part to be found in one of the archbishop's commonplace books in the British Museum, arranged under the same heads as in the 'Confutation.' And hence, perhaps, it may be conjectured, that, according to his usual practice, he formed a collection of authorities on the subject for his private use; that this collection fell after his death into the hands of the person designated by the letters E. P.; and that it was moulded by him, by addition, omission, and transposition, into the shape in which it now appears. Under these circumstances it cannot safely be quoted as evidence of Cranmer's tenets, and perhaps it scarcely ought to be admitted into a collection of his works.—Strype has ascribed to Cranmer another tract on Unwritten verities, published anonymously in 1548. But he does not bring forward any evidence in support of his opinion; and as he has manifestly fallen into much confusion on this matter, his judgment is of no great weight. And it is clear that the 'Confutation' .. is the only work on this subject by the archbishop, which was known to his contemporary Bale." —Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 144.—"The probability is, that Strype confounded this short tract with a larger book bearing a similar title, which was put forth in 1557 by an exile, designating himself by the initials E. P., and which professed to be a translation from the Latin of the archbishop. But neither is this larger book free from all suspicion. Notwithstanding the statement in its title-page, bishop Tanner* has remarked, that though written, it seems never to have been printed in Latin: and it is indeed not unlikely, that it was com-

* "The following is his remark: 'Confutation of Unwritten verities, written against Rich. Smith's book, De veritatibus non scriptis; qui liber Latine scriptus, nunquam ut mihi quidem videtur, in ea lingua impressus fuit.'—Tanner, Bibliotheca."

writers. In queen Mary's days the book was again published by an English exile, naming himself E. P. The title it now bore was, "A Confutation of Unwritten verities, by divers authorities, diligently and truly gathered out of the Holy Scripture, and ancient fathers, by Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop, and burned at Oxford, for the defence of the true doctrine of our Saviour. Translated and set forth by E. P." Before it is a preface of the translator to his countrymen and brethren in England. In it he lamented the woful state of things in England, by the restoring of popery, and the persecution of protestants there; and shewed what a kind of man the chief bishop then in England, viz. cardinal Pole, was, who in
161 the last king's reign went from prince to prince, to excite them to make war against his own prince and country.

This treatise is but a bare collection of places of holy Scripture, and ancient fathers, to prove, "That the canon of the Bible is a true, and sound, and perfect doctrine, containing all things necessary to salvation: that neither the writing of the old fathers, without the word of God, nor general councils, nor the oracles of angels, nor apparitions from the dead, nor customs, can be sufficient in religion to establish doctrine, or maintain new articles of faith." Then reasons are given against unwritten verities, and the places of holy Scripture, and other writers, which

piled by E. P. out of some manuscript notes by the archbishop, still preserved in the British Museum. It is at least certain, that the preface and the conclusion, together with some parts of the body of the work, must be ascribed entirely to the translator."—Id. Preface, vol. i. p. lvi. —As it, however, contained much matter which was put together by Cranmer, though probably without any design of publication, Dr. Jenkyns reprinted it in vol. iv. pp. 145–244. The other tract, being thought to be altogether spurious, was placed by him in the Appendix (vol. iv. p. 358) to the Remains of abp. Cranmer.]

the papists bring to maintain unwritten verities, are answered. At last the objections of the papists are confuted, in a concluding chapter. Which last part was not writ by the archbishop, but by the translator. For relating here the story of the holy maid of Kent, he saith, she was examined by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury[p]. And at last he saith, "I have plainly and fully answered to all that I remember the papists do, or can allege by writing, preaching, or reasoning, for the defence of their unwritten verities; on which they build so many detestable idolatries and heresies. But yet, if any be able to answer so plainly and truly to the Scriptures, authorities, and reasons rehearsed by me as I have done to theirs, and to prove their doctrines by as plain testimonies and reasons as I have done mine, I shall not only acknowledge my ignorance and error, but I shall gladly return into England, recant my heresies," &c[q]. Hence it is plain, that the conclusion of the book, as well as the preface, was writ by the translator.

I will add one passage taken out of this book, about the middle, whereby it may be seen what a clergy was now in England. Having quoted the canons of the apostles, "Let not a bishop or deacon put away his wife," &c.,[r] he makes a heavy complaint against the frequent practice of beastly sins in the priests, adultery, &c. and that they never were punished. "And in my memory, (as he proceeds), which is above thirty years, and also by the information of others, that be twenty years elder than I, I could never learn that one priest was punished[s]." Can. 3.

[p] [See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 65. Park. Soc. ed.]

[q] [Id. p. 67.]

[r] [Id. p. 37. Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείσθω. Can. Apost. Can. 5. Bruns. p. 2. ed. Berol. 1839.]

[s] [See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 37, 8.]

His care of Canterbury.

This is some account of the care he took for the church in general as metropolitan. But he had a particular care of his own dioçese, now his power was not checked, as it was in the former reign, especially of the city of Canterbury; which had been formerly the backwardest in religion of any other place of his diocese. He supplied this city with store of excellent learned preachers, Turner, the two Ridleys, Becon, Besely, and John Joseph, who this year went along with the king's visitors as one of their preachers[t]. These converted not a few to sincere religion; as may appear by those numbers of Canterbury that in queen Mary's reign suffered the torment of fire for their profession of the gospel. But in that reign all the preachers fled, so that there was scarce one remaining in the city: which was looked upon as a particular sign of God's displeasure against that place, because the professors there, and others, reformed not themselves according to those
162 opportunities of grace, which God had put into their hands. And so I find in a letter to them, wrote by some eminent person in prison in queen Mary's reign: "Alas! how few faithful servants hath the Lord of life in these troublesome days within Canterbury, to whom above all other people, in comparison of multitude, he hath sent most plenteously his word, in the mouths of most excellent preachers. But even as the people were negligent, hard-hearted, nothing willing to take the lively word unto their defence against the world, the devil, and the flesh——even so hath he permitted the same preachers to be dispersed, that not one of them should be a comfortable example to such an unkind people[u]."

Foxe's MSS.

[t] [See above, pp. 13, 14.]

[u] ["A letter from a prisoner for the gospel in queen Mary's time" is preserved in the Harl. MSS. 416. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 159. but the above passage is not found therein: it is probable that either Strype was incorrect in his reference, or that some portion of this document may have been destroyed.]

CHAPTER VI.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S CARE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The archbishop's influence upon the university.

The archbishop was a great patron of all solid learning, being a very learned man himself. And knowing very well how much the "libertas philosophandi," and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting of the gross errors and frauds of popery, which could subsist only in the thick darkness of ignorance; these things made him always cast a favourable aspect upon the universities, and especially that of Cambridge, whereof he himself was once a member: which the governors and the rest of the gremials very well knew, and therefore did frequently apply to him, as often as they had need of the favour of the court or parliament. Roger Ascham, fellow of St. John's College, and one of the floridest wits of this university, and who succeeded sir John Cheke in reading the Greek lecture, said of him in a letter he sent him, (wherein he styled him "literarum decus et ornamentum"), "That he was the man, who was accustomed to express great joy at the good progress of learning, such was his singular goodwill towards it; and when it went otherwise than well with it, he alone could apply a remedy; such was his sway and authority[w]." And so much was he the known Mecœnas of learning, that according to the public encou-

[w] ["Quoniam tu is es, qui literis progredientibus plurimum gaudere soles, propter singularem tuam erga illas voluntatem: et eisdem laborantibus unice medêri potes, propter summam tuam authoritatem. Unde literarum decus et ornamentum."—Epist. Rog. Aschami, p. 200. ed. Lond. 1590.]

ragement or prejudice it received, so the vulgar accounted the praise or dispraise thereof to redound upon Cranmer. So that if learning were discountenanced, it was esteemed to cast some disparagement upon him; if it flourished, it was a sign that Cranmer prevailed at court. For to that purpose do those words of the said Ascham to the archbishop, in another letter, seem to tend: "Nulla hoc tempore literis vel insperata clades, vel expectata commoditas accidere potest, cujus tu non aut author, ad magnam commendationem, aut particeps ad aliquam reprehensionem, voce ac sermone omnium jactatus eris[x]."

Some of St. John's College apply to him upon the apprehension of a danger.

163 In this year 1547, and in the month of October, there fell out an accident in St. John's College in Cambridge, which made those of that college that favoured learning and religion, (as that house was the chief nursery thereof in that university), judge it highly necessary to apply themselves to the archbishop to divert a storm from them. The case was this; a French lad of this college, sizer to one Mr. Stafford there, had one night, in hatred to the mass, secretly cut the string whereby the pix hung above the altar in the chapel. The like to which was indeed done in other places of the nation by some zealous persons, who began this year, without any warrant, to pull down crucifixes and images out of the churches: as was particularly done in St. Martins, Ironmonger-lane, London[y]. This affront to the popish service made a great noise in the college; and the sober party among them feared the ill effect it might have upon the whole college, either to its disparagement or prejudice, when the news of it should come to court; especially by the means of such, who stomached much the decay and downfall of superstition, and endeavoured what in them lay to obscure and

[x] [Epist. Rog. Aschami, p. 315.]

[y] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 17. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

eclipse the rising light of the gospel. Therefore, after the matter had been taken into examination by themselves, quietly and without tumult, they thought fit, by consent, to acquaint the archbishop with it in a letter; which one of their members, Thomas Lever, a learned and grave man, carried; who likewise should inform him of all circumstances: and so committed both the cause and person to his grace's judgment and censure. But withal letting him know, that the youth was well learned, and before this had carried himself quietly and modestly; and that Mr. Stafford, who was a great student, could not tell how to be without him: but however, such was his prudence, that he was willing to leave his scholar and his fault to the archbishop's discretion. By which message, they warily avoided the odium of this action, as though they had countenanced any violent or illegal methods for the removal of superstition, before it were done by public authority; and likewise rescued their scholar from expulsion, or too rigorous punishment, which some in the college would have been apt to inflict upon him, had not the matter been thus prudently removed from them.

Offended with some of his college, and why.

Let me here insert another matter that happened the year after in the same college; whereat divers took occasion so to represent it to our archbishop, as to create in him, as much as they could, an ill opinion of the better sort of the members thereof. About November or December, in the year 1548, some of the college got this question to be disputed in the chapel concerning the mass, "Ipsane cœna dominica fuerit, necne?" It was handled with great learning by two learned fellows of the house, Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinson. The noise of this soon spread in the university, and many were much displeased at it. At last Ascham, being a very fit person to undertake it, was prevailed with by the rest to bring this question out of

the private walls of the college, into the public schools: yet, as was pretended, with this mind and meaning, not dogmatically to assert any thing, but modestly and freely to learn from learned men what could be fetched out of the holy Scriptures to defend the mass, which had taken up, not only the chiefest place in religion, and men's consciences, but took away in effect all the use and benefit of
164 the faithful ministry of the word and sacraments from Christians. This business they set about with quietness; they conferred their common studies together, propounded to themselves the canonical Scriptures, by the authority whereof they wished the whole might be decided: they took also along with them, concerning this matter, the ancient canons of the early church, the councils of fathers, the decrees of popes, the judgments of doctors, the great plenty of questionists, all the modern authors, both German and Roman. But this design of theirs was not only the subject of talk in the university, but noted in the public sermons; and such labour there was among some in opposition to it, that Dr. Madew, then vice-chancellor, was prevailed with by his letters to forbid the disputation. They obeyed, but took it hardly that they might not as well dispute in favour of the question, as others might preach as much as they would against it. But it ended not here; for their adversaries industriously carried the report hereof to our prelate, and did so blacken the business by their slanders, and loud and tragical clamours, that he became somewhat offended with the undertakers. These on the other hand, no question, applied themselves to him with their just defence: and not only to him, but to others, and particularly to Mr. Cecyl, one formerly their colleague, who was now master of requests to the protector, letting him know the whole matter; that he might upon occasion represent the cause

the more favourably to the archbishop. And Ascham himself was their scribe; whose epistle, penned in a handsome Latin style, being not extant among his printed epistles, and being subservient to the history of the university in those times, I have thought worthy to be inserted among the originals. In this letter he charged the other party as well with malice as ignorance: for this their question was very agreeable to Thomas Aquinas, who proved that the mass exceeded the Lord's supper in many prerogatives, and much differed from it by many notes; as, women, children, bastards, maimed persons, were not allowed to partake of the mass, but they were received to the holy supper. So that should any say, (as he proceeds in his letter), that the mass and the supper were the same, they might exclaim against them much more. Their adversaries had charged them with being too rash, in not staying for what reformation the state should make: but he said that all Cambridge wanted rather spurs to put them forward, than a bridle to keep them back. But though their dispute were prohibited, yet their studies upon the same argument had in a manner increased; having now written a just treatise of the mass, which they intended shortly to present to the protector; and waited only for Cecyl's and Cheke's advice therein. But I must beg pardon of the reader for this excursion. Number XXXVII.

And as I have given an instance or two of the private address of a particular college to him in a particular case, so I will subjoin another more public of the university in general. In the year abovesaid, being the first year of the king, the university laboured under the fears of the encroachments of the town upon their privileges, and likewise under great suspicions of being spoiled of its revenues, or at least of having them much diminished; she having observed how those of her sister, the church, The ill condition and low estate of the university.

165 were daily invaded by secular hands. These fears put Cambridge now in a decaying state, and the studies of good literature began to be but little minded. Add also hereunto, that ecclesiastical preferments, which formerly were the peculiar rewards of academics, were now ordinarily enjoyed by mere unlearned laymen. So the earl of Hartford held a deanery, a treasurership of a cathedral church, and four of the best prebends; and his son three hundred pounds a year out of the bishopric[z]. And learned men were seldom taken notice of, or had honours

Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 8.

[z] ["There was a clause in the king's (Henry VIII.) will, requiring his executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways. Whereupon sir William Paget, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, were required to declare what they knew of the king's intentions and promises; the former being the secretary whom he had trusted most, and the other two, those that attended on him in his bedchamber during his sickness.—Paget declared, that, when the evidence appeared against the duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, the king, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him, that he intended to bestow their lands liberally: and since by attainders, and other ways, the nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some peers; and ordered him to write a book of such as he thought meetest: who thereupon proposed the earl of Hartford to be a duke: ——so, after many consultations, he ordered the book to be thus filled up: 'The earl of Hartford to be earl marshall, and lord treasurer, and to be duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hartford, and his son to be earl of Wiltshire, with £800 a year of land, and £300 a year out of the next bishop's land that fell void;'——And having, at the suit of sir Edward North, promised to give the earl of Hartford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships; at his suit he agreed, that a deanery and treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries.——It may perhaps seem strange, that the earl of Hartford had six good prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurership. But it was ordinary at that time. The lord Crumwel had been dean of Wells; and many other secular men had these ecclesiastical benefices without cure conferred on them."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 11–14, 16. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

conferred on them; and if they obtained any rewards, they were but small. Nor were scholars now in any repute or value: so that neither poor nor rich abode long at their studies in the university, to attain to any considerable degrees of learning. The poor could not, because the encouragements there were scarce capable to maintain them; and the richer sort would not, choosing rather to follow some other course, because of the obscure and neglected condition learning then lay under. The grammar schools also became disused, parents choosing any other calling for their children, rather than to bring them up to letters: as Roger Ascham, a man that well knew the state of the university, complains in a letter to the marquis of Northampton. This was the cause that the said Ascham pensively thus writ unto our archbishop not long after: "That the university was then in so depressed and drooping a condition, that very few had hope of coming thither at all, and fewer had any comfort to make long tarrying when they were there: and that abroad it retained not so much as the shadow of its ancient dignity[a]."

An address of the university to the archbishop.

At this low ebb the university now was, when king Edward the Sixth came to the sceptre. But there being a parliament this year in the month of November, the chief officers thereof thought it advisable however to prevent it, if they could, from sinking lower, and to keep at least what they had, by getting their ancient privileges

[a] ["Hoc omnes scimus, Academiam nostram, quomodo nunc est, per se satis depositam et inclinatam esse, quo veniendi paucissimis spes, et hic diu manendi paucioribus alacritas est. Itaque, si Academia extrinsecus et foris, ne umbram quidem veteris dignitatis et loci tueri queat, intus autem et domi vincula nervique salutis ejus concidantur, quid regnum, quid religio, quid regia majestas ab hac Academia sperare amplius possit, non videmus." Epist. Rog. Aschami, p. 312. ed. Lond. 1590.]

confirmed by that parliament. And for this purpose they writ their earnest letters to the archbishop: John Madew their vice-chancellor, the bearer, urging to him, "not only that it was a thing usual at the beginning of princes' reigns, to shew that favour to the university to have their privileges renewed by parliament; but chiefly, that the favour his grace should do to it would be a true piece of service to the religion which he had such a tender care of. That every one knew how much it concerned the commonwealth that account should be made of learning; but how much it concerned the pure religion, (as they styled that of the Reformation), he alone did consider above all others. That he knew how that about five hundred years past, or more, the knowledge of letters, by the fault of kings, who ought to have cherished it, began to withdraw itself from men, and to hide itself in darkness. In which dark times, so involved in ignorance, that notable wild boar out of the wood spoiled the vineyard of Christ above measure: not only treading down the kings of the earth, and conferring upon himself the empire of the world, but so invaded and broke into the holy seat and temple of conscience, that now there were scarce any manners of men, any course of life, any rite
166 of ceremonies, any sacrament of the church, any footstep of Christ, which were not either laid waste by his thunder, or defiled by his breath: or, to speak in milder, but more significant terms with St. Paul, which were not most foully corrupted and adulterated by the wisdom of human will-worship. That it was this night of discipline, and want of knowledge, which robbed us of God's word, and advanced the empire of man's doctrine to that arbitrary height, that, instead of the true worship of God, the right using of things divine, a holy and pure course of life; hypocrisy, idolatry, and adultery were most cun-

The sum thereof.

ningly conveyed and brought in. That they did the more willingly mention this pest of ignorance, conceiving great hope that the honour of learning would be restored anew, now when all things tended in a wonderful manner to the illustrating of true religion, which good learning did necessarily accompany. And that since God had now raised him up on purpose for the restoring of the gospel, and had so long reserved him for that end, they doubted not but he would give all his pains and authority to preserve the welfare of learning. And that somewhat for this reason, because at that time there could happen no calamity or advantage thereunto, but every man would be apt either to charge him with the blame of the one, or attribute to him the praise of the other." This eloquent letter indited by the pen of Ascham, then the university orator, having some remarkable passages of the state of the university at that time, and of the great sway the archbishop then carried in the public, and the marvellous good will he was esteemed to bear towards learning, I have therefore placed in the Appendix, though printed before. Number XXXVIII.

This favour of having their privileges confirmed, sued for in the forementioned letter, the university then got, partly by the means of their cordial patron, the archbishop, and partly by the intercession and friendship of queen Katherine Par, a great favourer of learning and pure religion, of Wriothesly, lord chancellor, the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, and sir William Paget; to all whom at that time they addressed their letters: whether it were out of fear of the difficulty of getting the thing done, or to take this opportunity to obtain the countenance of the great men of the court. The success of the university's address to him and others.

Some time after, upon another occasion, the heads of the university made another application to their patron, the archbishop; which was, to befriend them at court Another address to him against the townsmen.

against the townsmen, their old enemies, who were now wresting from them one of their ancient undoubted privileges; namely, the use of the prisons of the tollbooth and castle. The occasion was this: in the time of Sturbridge fair, the proctors, upon great complaints made to them, going their rounds one night, had taken certain evil persons in houses of sin, and had brought them to the tollbooth, in order to the commitment of them there. But having sent to the mayor for the keys, he absolutely refused to part with them. So they were fain to carry their prisoners to the castle, where they left them in custody. But the mayor's son, after an hour or two, let
167 them all out, to return, if they pleased, to their former lewdness; to the breach of law, and affront of the magistrate. Upon this the university sent their letters to the archbishop, making certain of their grave members the bearers, to relate the matter more fully; earnestly requiring that such insolence might be punished: and that the king and his council would make such men feel what it was to violate laws, and to cherish impunity, and to break their oaths, which they had taken to maintain the university privileges[b]. They urged to him, "how ser-

[b] ["Great was the alteration which followed in Cambridge, upon king Edward's coming to the crown. Stephen Gardiner, chancellor of the university, was put out of his office, and into the Tower. Edward Seymour, lord protector, and duke of Somerset, was chosen in his room. The townsmen of Cambridge began now to hope their time come to cast off the yoke (as they counted it) of the university; as if, on the alteration of religion, the ancient privileges of scholars should be abolished, under the notion of superstition. Ungratefully, therefore, they began their pranks; I say, ungratefully. For, although particular scholars might owe money to particular townsmen, yet the whole town owes its well being to the university. Amongst their many insolencies, two were most remarkable: First, one Maxwell, by profession once a jail-keeper, then a bear-ward, promoted at last purveyor to provide

viccable and ready their university had been to him in his pious labours and counsels, in establishing the true doctrine in the church; and what fit and worthy men they had sent him for his assistance in that good work. In like manner they required and expected of him, that their dignity might be maintained and preserved by his aid and authority. That the university was then but in a low condition, and that abroad it scarcely retained the shadow of its former glory. But if at home, and within itself, the bonds and sinews of its safety should thus be cut, as not to have a power to restrain vice by imprisonment, what could the kingdom, religion, and the king's majesty hope for any more from that university? They inculcated, how learning and the true religion rise and fall together;

carriages for the king's fish, (which commonly came from Cambridge), seized on an ambling nag of the master of Peter House, [i.e. Ralph Aynsworth] (which the old and infirm doctor kept for his health), merely that his man might thereon ride after the king's carriages. This horse, I may say, had a *long reach;* the injury seeming small and personal, concerned the whole university, both in present and posterity. Secondly, when the proctors, at Sturbridge fair, had, according to their office and ancient custom, fetched out many dissolute persons, out of vicious places, at unseasonable hours, the mayor refused to give them the keys of the toll-booth, or town-prison, to secure such offenders therein. Yea, when they had carried such malefactors to the castle, within an hour or two comes the mayor's son, sets open the jail, and lets loose those lewd persons, to the great injury of the university, and encouragement of all viciousness. It was now high time for Dr. Madew, the vice-chancellor, and master Roger Ascham, the university-orator, to bestir themselves. The latter belettered all the lords of the privy-council, and amongst the rest, sir Thomas Wriothesly, the lord chancellor of England, ('whom,' saith he, 'the university partly commandeth, as once a member, partly requesteth, as now a patron thereof'), with some gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; and by them procured the confirmation of the university privileges in the following parliament. However, these oppidane animosities, in some degree, continued all this king's reign."—Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 179. Lond. 1840.]

and that if it went otherwise than well with the one, the other would feel the smart of it. And truly, (say they), no remarkable damage can light upon the studies of learning, which by the same motion draws not along with it the true religion into the same catastrophe [c]." And these considerations they made use of, to excite his grace to assist them in vindicating their privileges, and in having that gross infringement of them punished. Upon the same occasion they wrote their letters also to sir William Paget, a great friend of theirs, and eminent patron of good

[c] ["Quantas quotidie curas laboresque exhauris, reverendissime pater, in repurgandis fæcibus illis, quæ per sentinam papisticam in ecclesiam Anglicanam derivatæ influxerunt, universi nos cum summa et laude tua, et congratulatione nostra accepimus. Et cum tibi sedulo imprimis incumbenti ad hanc puram tradendam constituendamque doctrinam, hæc nostra Academia, singularem opem, paratissimum studium, instructissimos semper viros præstiteret: vicissim illa a te postulat et expectat, ut mutua ope authoritateque tua, ejus dignitas atque salus conservetur. Hoc omnes scimus, Academiam nostram, quomodo nunc est, per se satis depositam et inclinatam esse, quo veniendi paucissimis spes, et hic diu manendi paucioribus alacritas est. Itaque, si Academia extrinsecus et foris, ne umbram quidem veteris dignitatis et loci tueri queat, intus autem et domi vincula nervique salutis ejus concidantur, quid regnum, quid religio, quid regia majestas ab hac Academia sperare amplius possit, non videmus. Et profecto literarum studiis, nulla insignis pernicies importari potest, quæ non veram etiam religionem, eodem motu, in eundem occasum et interitum trahat. Quamobrem, in hanc spem ducimur, nullam noctem et tenebras literarum studiis offundi posse, in his potissimum temporibus, quæ ad splendorem veræ germanæque religionis mirifice illucescunt. Et cum hæ duæ res sic inter se cohærent implicitæque sunt, ut si hæc fluat, illa consistere non possit: non dubitamus, quin, quam curam in vera doctrina illustranda suscepisti, eandem ipsam in Academiæ nostræ dignitate constituenda collocaturus sis. Nos autem perpetuo laborabimus, ut nostra in studiis diligentia, in moribus modestia, in religione sinceritas, hoc beneficio tuo nos non indignos sit demonstratura." — Epist. Rog. Aschami, pp. 311, 12. ed. Lond. 1590.]

learning. What the issue of these applications was, I find not; but may conclude, they received a success proportionable to the good will and authority of those to whom they were made.

Roger Ascham's application to him for a dispensation for eating flesh.

And as the whole body of the university knew what favour our prelate bore to it, so every single ingenious member confided in him, and applied to him in their needs. Roger Ascham, the university orator, whom I had occasion to mention before[d], was a man of a weak constitution, and had contracted more frailty by reason of a long ague that then hung about him, and his complexion became melancholy by the relics of that stubborn distemper. He had also in his nature a great averseness to the fish-diet. Upon these reasons he addressed his letters to the archbishop with an humble suit, very handsomely penned, that he might be dispensed with as to abstinence from flesh-meats, Lent and fish-days being then strictly observed in the colleges. And this license he desired might be not only temporary, but perpetual, as long as he lived; which was somewhat extraordinary. But to incline the archbishop to yield to his suit, he told him, "That it was not to pamper his flesh, nor out of an affectation of doing that which was unusual, or against common custom, but only for the preserving his health, and that he might the more freely pursue his studies." He added, "That the air of Cambridge was naturally cold and moist, and so the 168
fish-diet the more unwholesome. He desired therefore, that by his authority he might no longer be tied by that tradition, which forbad the use of certain meats at certain times." He said, "That those who granted this liberty to none but such as laboured under a desperate disease, did like them who never repaired their houses but when

[d] [See above, p. 53.]

they were just ready to fall down by age. Thrifty housekeepers did otherwise: so did skilful physicians, who did not use to prescribe their physic when it was too late, but always put a stop to beginnings. That they who never would impart the using of this liberty, (of eating flesh), to any, but when all health was despaired of, knew not what good a prudent foresight did in all commonwealths, and did too insolently abuse a good thing bestowed upon us by God, when little or no use at all could be made of it. Nay, that such a good was no good at all, being external, but in that respect only, as there might some use be made of it. That we ought not therefore unprofitably to abuse food to diseases that are desperate, but to accommodate it to the preservation of health. And so did St. Paul command, 'Therefore I exhort you to take some food, for this is for your health.'" Then he subjoins a passage of Herodotus in his Euterpe, concerning the Egyptian priests, from whom issued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always conversant in learned studies. These, saith that author, religiously tied themselves ever to abstain from all eating of fish. "No doubt for this only cause," saith Ascham, "'Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præstantia, ullo frigido succo, quem esus piscium ingeneraret, extingueretur.' 'That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality in them, might not be quenched by some cold juice, which the eating of fish might engender.' And that it was somewhat unjust," he adds, "that when so many kinds of superstition flowed in such a plentiful measure from the Egyptians, as might easily be proved, and thence derived themselves, first to the Greeks, then to the Romans, and afterwards to our times, through that sink of popery, that that single worthy counsel and remedy of those most learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and spreading of learning, should be debarred us to

follow; and that by such as were either unlearned themselves, or superstitious men: whereby the best wits received so great prejudice and damage. That none knew better than his lordship whence this custom arose, by whom cherished, and by what kind of men brought down to us. And, lastly, how unwholesome and unfit all eating of fish was in the spring-time. And that he might obtain this favour, he would use it without giving offence, or making any common speech of it, with quietness and silence, with abstinence and thanksgiving[e]."

[e] ["Sed quorsum hæc pertinent? dicis: ut scias, cum Dei imprimis proviso, amicorum aliquid cura, nonnihil mea me voluntas, omnem ut ætatem meam in literarum studio contererem, commovisset, atque in ipsam studiorum viam, non infæliciter ingressus fuissem: ecce tibi partim otiosum hoc literarum studium, et vitæ institutum quod sequor: partim situs loci, et cœli intemperies, in qua vivo: partim imbecillitas naturæ, et febris quartanæ vis, qua non paucos menses gravissime jactabar, ita omnes salutis meæ, et salubrioris sanitatis rationes, vel urgent hæc singula, vel opprimunt universa, ut eum cursum, quem in literarum studio conficere instituerim, nec constanter ad laudem, nec diligenter ad usum, diu tenere potuero. Itaque, cum nec meæ me fortunæ sinant, hoc solum, sedis mutatione vertere: nec mea voluntas, et animi inductio gestiant vitæ institutum relinquere: nec curatio ulla possit naturæ imbecillitatem corrigere: nec tempus adhuc valuit amissas vires restituere: vel colluviem illam fæcemque melancholiæ et reliquias quartanæ febris ejicere: et cum me contra, ab optimo remedio victusque ratione excludunt, partim constitutiones humanæ, in quas impetum facere nefas esse duco: partim superstitiosæ aliquot hominum conscientiæ, quarum nullam ducere rationem iniquum esse scio: cum inquam, fortunarum angustia, loci intemperies, studiorum rationes, naturæ imbecillitas, melancholiæ vis lex dura, hominum sive imperitia, sive superstitio, gravi impetu in salutem corporis facto, immensum in modum cursum studiorum meorum impediunt: rogo dominationem tuam per hanc Academiæ sedem, quam incolo: per vitæ studiorumque rationem, quam sequor: per naturæ valetudinisque imbecillitatem, qua graviter implicatus premor: ut ego, authoritate tua non amplius tenear, ea traditione, qua certus ciborum delectus, certis tempori-

Favourably granted by the archbishop.

This letter he got his friend Poinet, the archbishop's chaplain, (the same I suppose who after was bishop of

bus præcipitur. Quam meam petitionem, nec cura carnis ad concupiscentiam finxit: nec licentia ulla ad insolentiam subornavit: sed salutis meæ ratio tantum, ad expeditiorem studiorum meorum progressum excogitavit: cujus si compos fuero, vulgi, nec in offensam, nec in sermonem efferendo sed tacite, considerate, quiete, abstinenter cum gratiarum actione usurpabo. Qui nemini, nisi desperato morbo laboranti, hanc libertatem concedunt, perinde faciunt, ac hi homines solent, qui nunquam ædes suas, nisi vetustare ruinosas, et jamjam collapsuras reparant. Frugi patres familias aliter faciunt, aliter periti medici, qui non sero medicinam parant, at principiis semper obstare solent. Itaque, qui nunquam nisi desperata salute, hujus divini beneficii usum hominibus impartiunt, et imperiti sunt, quid prudens in omnibus respublicis proviso facit, et nimis insolenter abutentes sunt divinitus nobis dato bono, quo tempore usus ejus aut nullus, aut exiguus esse potest, cum tamen hujusmodi bonum, bonum non est, quia externum est, nisi ex ea parte tantum, quatenus usus aliquis ejus consequatur. Cibo ergo non ad desperatos morbos inutiliter abuti, sed ad salutem vitæ nostræ retinendam accomodare debemus, jubente ipso Paulo, ubi ait, *διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς προσλαβεῖν τροφῆς, τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχει.* Sed hanc causam urgere, nec loci oportunitas, nec epistolæ modus, nec temporum tuorum ratio, nec rei ulla obscuritas requirit, eruditissime præsul: unum hoc tamen tacitus præterire nullo modo possum, quod Herodotus, in Euterpe, de sacerdotibus Ægyptiis memoriæ prodidit. Hi homines, (cum ab illis, tanquam ab ipsis fontibus, omnes artes, omniaque disciplinarum genera profluxerunt, quod Homerus, Pythagoras, et Plato, tres viri omnis doctrinæ et ingenii principes, eo nomine Ægypto peragrata intellexerunt), in studio literarum semper versati, et in natura virtutisque contemplatione omnem, et mentis cogitationem, et ætatis cursum conterentes, ab omni piscium esu, religione quadam obstricti, perpetuo abstinebant, ob hanc causam solam, sive omni controversia: ne ignea vis ingenii, atque præstantia, ullo frigido succo, quem esus piscium ingeneraret, extingueretur. Et hîc inique comparatum est, ornatissime præsul, ut cum tot superstitionum genera ab Ægyptiis, (quod facile probari potest), primum ad Græcos, deinde ad Romanos redundarunt, post in nostra tempora, per sentinam illam papisticam derivata sunt, unum istud præclarum sapientissimorum virorum consilium ac remedium, ad doctrinam amplificandam susceptum, sic esset, vel ab indoctis

Winchester), to put into his grace's hand, and to further his request what he could[f]. The issue whereof was to his heart's desire: for though the archbishop knew him not, nor was easily drawn to dispense with the church's ancient discipline and rites; yet he received his suit with all humanity; and such he found to be the modesty and ingenuity of the man, and what he requested to be grounded upon such reasonable and just causes, that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out of his power to grant a license of that latitude, to discharge a person for all time to come from the obligation of keeping Lent, or to avert the censure he might incur if he should have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of law rather than religion, he put himself to the trouble of procuring the king's license under the privy seal for this man: and when he had done that, considering an academic's poverty, he released him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himself: and so conveyed it to him by Dr. Tayler, the master of his college. 169

The archbishop's opinion

And indeed the archbishop's opinion concerning Lent made way for his more ready yielding to Ascham's re-

propter imperitiam, vel ab imbecillis propter superstitionem, cum magno magnorum ingeniorum incommodo, nobis interceptum. Itaque, cum nemo melius quam dominatio tua intelligat, unde hæc consuetudo orta sit, a quibus alta atque fota sit, per quos ad nos deducta sit, et per quos potissimum ad nos pertinent: et cum omnis sit esus piscium, vernis temporibus ineptus, uliginosis locis inutilis, studiorum nostrorum rationibus insalubris, valetudini melancholiæ pestiferus, et stomacho meo semper odiosus, precor te per literas ipsas, quibus omnia tribuere soles, ornatissime præsul, ut quemadmodum ego, in possessionem hujus libertatis irruere nunquam instituerim, ita per tuam authoritatem, liceat mihi quiete, in eam immigrare: quam si integram recuperare, et in ea sedem ac domicilium collocare non permittis, at saltem vel pedem ponere, et in ea, si non domum ad habitationem, certe diversorium aliquod ad commorationem, condonare mihi velis."—Epist. Rog. Aschami, pp. 193–196.]

[f] [Id. p. 200.]

concerning Lent.

quest: for he held the keeping of Lent, as founded in a positive law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it necessary that so the people should be taught and instructed. As appears by his articles of visitation in the second year of king Edward: one whereof ran thus, "That inquiry should be made, whether the curates had declared, and to their wit and power had persuaded the people, that the manner and kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, was but a mere positive law: and that therefore all persons having just cause of sickness, or other necessity, or being licensed by the king's majesty, may moderately eat all kind of meat without grudge or scruple of conscience[g]."

[g] [See abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 156, Park. Soc. ed., and the Appendix, in which "the Articles of Visitation" are given in full from Wilkins' Concilia, and Sparrow's Collection of Articles. The following "Proclamation for the abstaining from flesh in Lent time. Dated the 16th day of January, an. reg. prim." was also issued about this time*. "The king's highness, by the advice of his most entirely beloved uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and other of his privy council; considering that his highness hath not only cure and charge of the defence of his realms and dominions, as a king, but also as a Christian king, and supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, a desire, will, and charge, to lead and instruct his people, to him committed of God, in such rites, ways, and customs, as might be acceptable to God, and to the further increase of good living and virtue, and that his subjects now having a more perfect and clear light of the gospel, and true word of the Lord, through the infinite clemency and mercy of Almighty God by the hands of his majesty, and his most noble father of famous memory, promulgate, shewed, declared, and opened unto them, should and ought thereby, in all good works and virtues increase, be more forward, and diligent, and plentiful: as in fasting, prayer, and almsdeeds, in love, charity, obedience,

[* Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 20. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. N. a. Repository of Originals, pp. 343-346. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

The same Ascham knowing well how the archbishop's mind stood affected to Cambridge, his old nurse, and how well he wished it for the sake of religion, acquainted him

Ascham acquaints him with the present state of the

and other such good works commanded to us of God in his holy Scripture: Yet his highness is advertised and informed, that divers of his subjects be not only to all these more slow and negligent, but rather contemners and despisers of such good and godly acts and deeds; to the which, if they were of their own minds bent and inclined, they needed not by outward and princely power be appointed and commanded. But forsomuch as at this time now alate, more than at any other time, a great part of his subjects do break and contemn that abstinence, which of long time hath been used in this his majesty's realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, and the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times; his highness is constrained to see a convenient order herein set and appointed: not minding thereby that his subjects should think any difference to be in the days or meats, or that the one should be to God more holy, more pure, or more clean, than the other; for all days and all meats be of one and equal purity, cleanness, and holiness, that we should in them, and by them, live to the glory of God, and at all times, and for all meats, give thanks unto him, of the which none can defile us at any time, or make us unclean; being Christian men, to whom all things be holy and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience and vice: but his majesty hath allowed and approved the days and times before accustomed, to be continued and still observed here in this church of England; both that men should on those days abstain and forbear their pleasures, and the meats wherein they have more delight; to the intent to subdue their bodies unto the soul and spirit; unto the which to exhort and move men, is the office of a good and godly head and ruler: and also for worldly and civil policy certain days in the year to spare flesh, and use fish, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and profit of his majesty's realm: whereof many be fishers, and men using that trade of living unto the which this realm on every part environed with the seas, and so plentiful of fresh waters, doth easily minister occasion; to the great sustenance of this his highness' people. So that hereby both the nourishment of the land might be increased by saving flesh, and specially at the spring time, when Lent doth commonly fall, and when the most common and plenteous breeding of flesh is. And also, divers of his loving

university, as to their studies. Epistol. libro 2.

with the state of the university about the beginning of king Edward's reign, and the course of the studies that were then used. "That there were very many began to

subjects have good livings, and get great riches thereby, in uttering and selling such meats as the sea and fresh water doth minister unto us; and this his majesty's realm hath more plenty of ships, boats, crays, and other vessels, by reason of those which by hope of lucre do follow that trade of living. Wherefore, his majesty, having consideration, that where men of their own minds do not give themselves, so oft as they should do, to fasting, a common abstinence may and should be by the prince enjoined and commanded; and having an eye and mind to the profit and commodity of his realm and subjects, and to a common and civil policy, hath willed and commanded, and by these presents doth will and command, by the advice aforesaid, all manner of person and persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, (other than such as already be, or hereafter shall be excused by law, or licensed or authorized sufficiently to the contrary), to observe and keep from henceforth such fasting days, and the time commonly called Lent, in abstaining from all manner of flesh, as heretofore in this realm hath been most commonly used and accustomed: upon pain that whosoever shall, upon any day heretofore wont to be fasted from flesh, and not by the king's highness or his predecessors abrogate and taken away, eat flesh contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the king's high indignation, and shall suffer imprisonment, and be otherwise grievously punished, at his majesty's will and pleasure. And further the king's highness, by the advice aforesaid, straitly chargeth and commandeth all mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers and rulers of cities and towns, and all justices of peace in the shires where they be in commission, to be attendant and diligent to the execution of this proclamation; in committing to prison the offenders contrary to this proclamation, upon sufficient proof thereof by two sufficient witnesses, before them had and made: there to remain during the king's pleasure, according to the true purport, effect, and meaning of the same; as they tender the king's majesty's will and pleasure, and will answer the contrary at their peril. And where the late king of most famous memory, father to his highness, hath given divers years' license to his subjects in the time of Lent, to eat butter, cheese, and other meats, commonly called white meats, the king's highness, by the advice aforesaid, considering the same to have been done not

affect the study of divinity." [A new study, it seems, then; the pope's laws and the school-men having before employed the heads of almost all.] "That the doctrines of original sin and predestination were much canvassed. But many went rather according to Pighius, highly applauding him, than according to St. Augustin, though he exceeded all others that either went before or followed after him, for the excellency of his wit and learning, and the greatness of his industry and opportunities. That others among them made the reading of God's word their daily exercise. And for the helping their understandings in the sense of it, they made use of, and adhered to the judgment of St. Augustin chiefly, and studied hard the tongues. The knowledge of languages began to be affected. And such as studied them were reckoned the best masters; as qualifying them best for teaching of others, or understanding themselves. That for oratory, they plied Plato and Aristotle; from whose fountains among the Greeks 'loquens illa prudentia,' (as he styled oratory), 'that speaking prudence' might be fetched. And to these among the Latins they added Cicero. They conversed also in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, the three lights of chronology, truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought a great lustre to their other studies. The Greek poets which they took delight in, were Homer, Sophocles, and 170
Euripides; the one the fountain, the two others the streams, of all eloquence and learned poetry. Which, they were of opinion, did more largely water their other studies, than Terence or Virgil; which in some former years were

without great considerations, doth give likewise license and authority to all his loving subjects from henceforth freely for ever in the time of Lent, or other prohibited times by law or custom, to eat butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats, any law, statute, act, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

chiefly read[h]." Thus was the method of university studies altered, (so much for the better), from reading the schoolmen, and metaphysical niceties, the pope's canons and decretals, to converse in politer and more manly learning, which tended so much to solid knowledge, and preparation of men's minds to the entertainment of the gospel.

Sir John Cheke, the archbishop's dear friend, the prime instrument of politer studies there.

The great setter on foot of this ingenuous learning in the university, was sir John Cheke of St. John's college, now preferred to be the king's tutor, a person for whom the archbishop had a very tender love and affectionate kindness. For so Aseham writ to him in his former letter, "That many had addicted themselves to this

[h] ["Ad sacrarum literarum cognitionem viam affectant plurimi, ad eam tamen diversi homines diversa voluntatum studiorumque ratione delectati, alium atque alium aditum sibi patefaciunt. Quidam, et hi sane multi, insano tamen judicio, immensum quantum Pigio tribuunt, et in illa controversia de peccato originali, ac prædestinatione Dei, ejus vestigiis insistentes, præcipites in errorem ferri malunt, quam cum divo Augustino rectam viam persequi, qui, et ingenii, eruditionisque præstantia superiore, et industria, oportunitateque id plenissime illustrandi majore, reliquos omnes, qui ætate, aut antegressi aut subsequuti sunt, superavit. Alii, ad quotidianam Verbi Dei lectionem, Augustini imprimis sententiam, et eam quam possunt maximam linguarum cognitionem, quasi subsidio comparant. Linguæ passim ab iis discuntur, qui cum discendi, tum intelligendi magistri optimi habiti sunt: ut nec ratio propter infantiam nimium obmutesceret nec oratio propter imprudentiam loquaciter insolescere queat. Ad hanc rem Platonem et Aristotelem, (ex quorum fontibus inter Græcos, loquens illa prudentia optime hauriri potest), adhibemus: ad quos, e Latinorum turba, solum fere Ciceronem adjungimus. Herodotus, Thucidides, et Xenophon, tria temporum, veritatis, et Grecæ eloquentiæ lumina, magnum splendorem cæteris studiis nostris apportant. Homerus, Sophocles, et Euripides, elegantis omnis doctæque poeseos, hic fons, illi duo flumina, affluentius nunc ad cæterorum studiorum nostrorum irrigationes redundant, quam his proximis superioribus annis Terentius et Virgilius."—Epist. Rog. Aschami, pp. 197, 8.]

course of study, by the aid and conduct, example and counsel of that excellent man: and that they bore the better his going from them to the court, who had brought them on in so good a course, because they knew their disprofit was abundantly recompensed by the profit and safety that would accrue to the whole commonwealth by him. Applying that of Plato to him, 'Plurimum reipub. interesse, ut unus aliquis existat semper præstans excellensque, vir, ad cujus virtutis imitationem, cæteri voluntate, industria, studio, et spe erecti, totos sese effingant et accommodent[i].'"

The impediments of the universities flourishing state laid before him.

Afterwards he acquainted the most reverend person, to whom he wrote, with those things which proved great hinderances to the flourishing estate of the university; that by his counsel and authority, if possible, they might be redressed. And they were two. "The one was, that they wanted elderly men, very few such remaining among them, by whose example the younger sort might be excited to study, and by whose authority the manners of the rest might be rightly formed and fashioned. The other impediment was occasioned by such as were admitted; who were for the most part only the sons of rich men, and such as never intended to pursue their studies to that degree as to arrive at any eminent proficiency and per-

[i] ["Et in hanc optimam studendi viam, potissimum Joannis Checi vel ope ac præsidio adjuti, vel consilio et exemplo excitati, plurimi sese dediderunt: cujus a nobis digressum, per quem in tam facilem paratumque cursum producti fuerimus, eo facilius ferimus, quo certius cognoscimus, hanc nostram incommoditatem cum universa reipublicæ commodo ac salute conjunctam et implicatam esse. Hinc tamen facile quam vera illa Platonis sententia sit, intelligi potest, nempe, plurimum reipub. interesse, ut unus aliquis existat semper præstans excellensque vir, ad cujus virtutis imitationem, cæteri voluntate, industria, studio, et spe erecti, totos sese effingant et accommodent."—Id. pp. 198, 9.]

fection in learning, but only the better to qualify themselves for some places in the state, by a slighter and more superficial knowledge. The injury accruing thence to the university was double; both because, by this means, all hope of ripe and completed learning was immaturely cut off in the very bud; and also all the expectations of the poorer sort, whose whole time was spent in good studies, was eluded by these drones occupying those places and preferments, which more properly belonged unto them. For parts, learning, poverty, and election, were of no strength at home, where favour and countenance, and the letters of noblemen, and such-like extraordinary and illegal courses from abroad, bore all the sway."

["Istis studiorum nostrorum rationibus, hoc modo satis in præclaro cursu expeditis, duo inferuntur gravissima impedimenta: alterum, quod nescio, quo fato, vel potius quorum facto effectum sit, ut pauci admodum majores natu viri, in Academia commorentur, quorum exemplo, studia literarum excitari, authoritate mores adolescentium fingi atque formari rectissime potuissent: alterum, quod illi fere omnes, qui huc Cantabrigiam confluunt, pueri sunt, divitumque filii, et hi etiam qui nunquam inducunt animum suum, ut abundanti aliqua perfectaque eruditione perpoliantur: sed ut ad alia reipub. munera obeunda, levi aliqua et inchoata cognitione paratiores efficiantur. Et hic singularis, quædam injuria bifariam Academiæ intentata est: vel, quia hoc modo omnis expletæ absolutæque doctrinæ spes, longe ante messem, in ipsa quasi herbescenti viriditate, præciditur: vel, quia omnis pauperum inopumque expectatio, quorum ætates omnes in literarum studio conteruntur, ab his fucis eorum sedes occupantibus exclusa illusaque præripitur. Ingenium enim, doctrina, inopia, judicium, me quicquam domi valent, ubi gratia, favor, magnatum literæ, et aliæ persimiles extraordinariæ illegitimæque rationes vim foris adferunt."—Epist. Rog. Aschami, pp. 199, 200.]

CHAPTER VII. 171

DR. SMITH AND OTHERS RECANT.

And now, before I conclude this year, let me pass from more public matters, and present the reader with two or three passages, wherein the archbishop had to do with private men.

Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Cross.

May the 15th, Richard Smith, D. D. Master of Whittington college[k], and reader of divinity in Oxford[l], a hot turbulent man, made his recantation at Paul's Cross, convinced and moved thereunto by the pains of the archbishop. What his errors were, that he had publicly vented in the university, and in his writings, may be known by the words of his recantation, which were these:

"I do confess and acknowledge, that the authority, as well of the bishop of Rome, whose authority is justly and lawfully abolished in this realm, as of other bishops, and others called the ministers of the church, consisteth in the dispensation and ministration of God's word, and not in making laws, ordinances, and decrees over the people, besides God's word, without the consent and authority of the prince and people. I say and affirm, that within this realm of England, and other the king's dominions, there is no law, decree, ordinance, or constitution ecclesiastical, in force, and available by any man's authority, but only by the king's majesty's authority, or of his parliament."

His books.

This man had wrote two books in favour of popish doctrine; and those he also now disclaimed, viz. A book of traditions, and another of the sacrifice of the mass. In

[k] [See Maitland's Hist. of London, vol. ii. pp. 1042–1044. ed. Lond. 1756.]

[l] [See vol. i. p. 178. n. z, and above, pp. 48, 9.]

the former of which he maintained, "That Christ and his apostles taught and left to the church many things without writing; which," he asserted, "were stedfastly to be believed, and obediently fulfilled, under pain of damnation." In the other book he maintained, "that Christ was not a priest after the order of Melchisedec, when he offered himself upon the cross for our sins, but after the order of Aaron: and that when Christ did offer his body to his Father, after the order of Melchisedec, to appease his wrath, it was to be understood not of the sacrifice of the cross, but of the sacrifice that he made at his maundy, in form of bread and wine." In which book were other errors. He that is minded to see his recantation of these his books, may have it in the Appendix, as I transcribed it out of an old book made by Becon, intituled, "Reports of certain Men." This recantation he not long after made at Oxon, viz. in August following: where he also protested openly, "That he would abide in the sincere and pure doctrine of Christ's gospel, all human trifling traditions set apart, even unto death, though it should cost him his life." And this recantation he also printed, for further satisfaction to the world.

Num. XXXIX.

Gardiner offended with this recantation.

Bishop Gardiner, who was now at Winchester, was very uneasy at the news of this recantation, which some took care to bring down to him. He signified to the protector, "That Smith was a man with whom he had no familiarity, nor cared for his acquaintance: that he had not seen him in three years, nor talked with him in seven. He was greatly displeased with the first words of his recantation, (which yet were but the words of Scripture), 'Omnis homo mendax:' making all the doctors in the church, (as he inferred), to be liars with himself: how it argued his pride; for he that sought for such company in lying, had small humility; and that he would hide himself by that

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Psal. cxvi. 11.

number: that his depraving of man's nature in that sort was not the setting out of the authority of Scripture." He said, "he neither liked his tractation, nor yet his retractation. That he was mad to say in his book of Unwritten verities, that bishops in this realm could make laws, wherein," he said, "he lied loudly[m]." About this time Chadsey[n], Standish, Young, Oglethorpe, and divers

Other university-men recant.

[m] ["And in the mean time Dr. Smith recanted, which a priest of this town, [i. e. Winchester], (who to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your grace's chaplain, but I believed it not), brought down with speed, and made by means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and bye filled all the country hereabouts of tales of me. And when I saw Dr. Smith's recantation begin with 'Omnis homo mendax,' so Englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the doctors of the church liars with himself, knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your grace for the ease of my conscience: giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his tractation of Unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation, and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him, and saw him not, that I wot these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the commonwealth. And whereas in his Unwritten verities he was so mad to say, bishops in this realm may make laws, I have witness, that I said at that word, we should be then daws, and was by and bye sorry that ever he had written of the sacrament of the altar, which was not, as it was noised, untouched, with that word, all men be liars, which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house than a liar.——If Smith had only written of bishops' laws, and then said he had, (saving your honour), lied loudly, or to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that seeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And this much as touching Smith, of whom, nor his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1347. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[n] ["Examples whereof, in this king's (i. e. Edward VI.) days, be not far to seek. For as touching the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel did join together, marvellous it was how error and popery were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to shew their faces. Insomuch that then, both Dr. Smith, Chadsey, Standish,

others, recanted, (whose recantations Foxe had by him to shew), as well as Smith, whom we have now before us.

Smith affronts the archbishop.

After this recantation he carried not himself according to it, but favoured the old errors; and in the year 1549, offered some affront unto archbishop Cranmer, opposing him in the doctrine of the lawfulness of priests' marriage, and endeavoured to make a rout in Oxford, to the endangering Peter Martyr's life; and printed a book the same year against him, "De votis monasticis." Whereupon incurring, as he apprehended, some danger, he fled into Scotland. But weary of being there, and willing to have his peace made in England, he wrote two letters to the archbishop from thence; professing that he would out of hand, by open writing in the Latin tongue, revoke all that erroneous doctrine which he had before taught and published, and set forth the pure doctrine of Christ: and, for a proof hereof, he would straight after his return into England set forth a book in Latin, in defence of the most lawful marriage of priests. In the year 1550, he wrote certain treatises against Peter Martyr, printed at Louvain: and the same year came out his book against the archbishop's treatise of the sacrament[o].

Young, Oglethorpe, with many more recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to shew."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1373. — "Concerning which Dr. Chadsey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of king Edward's reign he recanted, and subscribed to thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully consented and agreed with his own handwriting to the whole form of doctrine approved, and allowed then in the church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also the doctrine of the two sacraments then received, denying as well the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, the sacrifice and veneration of the mass, as also all other like excrements of popish superstition, according to the king's book then set forth."—Id. p. 2102.]

[o] [The title of Smith's book was, "A confutation of the true and catholic doctrine," &c. See Appendix No. lxi. and Process. contra Cranmerum, at the end of vol. iii. of this edition.]

His inconstancy.

This man was of a most inconstant, as well as turbulent spirit: for in the reign of queen Mary he turned to the religion then professed; and was great with bishop Boner in those times, but greatly despised for his fickleness. He once attempted to discourse with Hawkes in Boner's house in London; Hawkes threw in his dish his recantation. To which when he said it was no recantation, but a declaration, the other gave him this rub: "To be short, I will know, whether you will recant any more ere ever I talk with you, or believe you?" and so departed from him[p]. We shall hear of him again in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when he again complied, and submitted himself to archbishop Parker[q]: and last of all returned to his old opinions, and fled to Louvain.

The archbishop's admonition to the vicar of Stepney.

Pass we from this man to another of the same strain, with whom the archbishop had to do. As the popish clergy in the former king's reign had made all the rudest and eagerest opposition they dared against the steps that were then made towards a reformation, so they ceased not to do in this king's; nay, and more, hoping to shelter themselves under a milder government. One instance of this appeared in what was done by the quondam abbot of

[p] ["And as I stood, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in print), saying, that he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, He is Dr. Smith. Then said I, Are you he that did recant? And he said, It was no recantation, but a declaration.

"Hawkes. You were best to term it well, for your own honesty.

"Dr. Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?

"Hawkes. To be short with you, I will know whether you will recant any more, or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1591. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[q] [See Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 95. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

173 Tower-hill, London: who, for some recompense of the loss of his abbey, was made vicar of Stepney-church; succeeding, I suppose, Mr. Hierome, burnt to death in the year 1540, with Dr. Barnes and Garret[r]. He being a bold man, and addicted to the old superstition, would commonly disturb the preachers in his church, when he liked not their doctrine, by causing the bells to be rung when they were at the sermon; and sometimes beginning to sing in the choir before the sermon were half done; and sometimes by challenging the preacher in the pulpit: for he was a strong, stout, popish prelate. Whom therefore the godly-disposed of the parish were weary of, and especially some of the eminentest men at Limehurst[s], whose names were Driver, Ive, Poynter, March, and others. But they durst not meddle with him, until one Underhil, of the band of gentlemen-pensioners, of a good family, and well respected at court, came to live at Limehurst. He, being the king's servant, took upon him to reprehend this abbot for these, and such-like his doings: and by his authority carried him unto Croydon to the archbishop there, the persons above named going along as witnesses. In fine, the mild archbishop sent him away with a gentle rebuke, and bade him to do no more so. This lenity offended Underhil, who said, "My lord, methinks you are too gentle unto so stout a papist." To which Cranmer replied, "Well, we have no law to punish them by." "No law, my lord?" said the other. "If I had your authority, I would be so bold to unvicar him, or minister some sharp punishment upon him, and such other. If ever it come to their turn, they will shew you no such favour." "Well," said the good archbishop, "if God so provide, we must abide it."

[r] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1197 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[s] [i. e. Limehouse, the adjoining parish to Stepney.]

"Surely," replied the other again, "God will never con you thanks for this, but rather take the sword from such as will not use it upon his enemies." And so they parted. And this indeed was the constant behaviour of the archbishop towards papists, and such as were his enemies. For which he was now, and at other times, taxed by men of hotter spirits: but his opinion was, that clemency and goodness, as it was more agreeable to the gospel, which he laboured to adorn, so was more likely to obtain the ends he desired, than rigour and austerity.

The archbishop did one thing more this year of good conducement to the promoting true religion, and exposing false: and that was in countenancing and licensing an earnest preacher in the south-west parts, named Thomas Hancock, a master of arts, whose mouth had been stopped by a strict inhibition from preaching in the former king's reign. The archbishop saw well what a useful man he had been in those parts of England where he frequented, having been a very diligent preacher of the gospel, and declaimer against papal abuses, in the dioceses of two bigoted bishops, Gardiner of Winchester, and Capon of Sarum[t]. In this first year of the king, many zealous preachers of the gospel, without staying for public orders from above, earnestly set forth the evangelical doctrine, in confutation of the sacrifice of the mass, and the corporal presence in the sacrament, and such like. And of the laity there were great numbers every where, especially in populous towns, of such as did now more openly shew their heads, and their good inclinations to the "new 174
learning," as it was then called. In Southampton, of the diocese of Winchester; in Salisbury, Poole and Dorset, of the diocese of Sarum; did this Hancock chiefly con-

The archbishop licenseth an eminent preacher.

[t] [i.e. John Salcot, alias Capon.]

verse and officiate in the latter end of king Henry, when he was suspended "a celebratione divinorum," by Dr. Foxii MSS. Raynold, commissary under Dr. Steward, then chancellor to bishop Gardiner, upon pretence of the breach of the act of Six Articles; because he had taught, out of the ninth to the Hebrews, "That our Saviour Christ entered once into the holy place, by the which he obtained unto us everlasting redemption. That he once suffered, and that his body was once offered, to take away the sins of many people. And that one only oblation sufficed for the sins of the whole world." And though all this was but mere Scripture, yet they found it to contradict their notions, and therefore they thought convenient to suspend him. But as these bishops did what they could to stifle all preaching of God's word, so the archbishop's principle was to encourage and send forth preachers. So Hancock, notwithstanding his former suspension, obtained a license from our archbishop to preach[u].

Who preacheth against the errors and superstitions of the church. Foxii MSS.

Now to follow this preacher a little after his license obtained. At Christ-Church, Twineham, in the county of Southampton, where he was born, (as I take it from his own narration), he preached out of the sixteenth chapter of St. John, "The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, &c. because I go to the Father." The priest being then at mass, Hancock declared unto the people, "That that the priest held over his head, they did see with their bodily eyes; but our Saviour Christ doth here say plainly, that we shall see him no more. Then you," saith he, "that do kneel unto it, pray unto it, and honour it as God, do make an idol of it, and yourselves do commit most horrible idolatry." Whereat the vicar, Mr. Smith, sitting in his chair, in the face of the pulpit,

[u] [Harl. MSS. 425. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 124. British Museum. Original.]

spake these words; "Mr. Hancock, you have done well until now; and now have you played an ill cow's part, which, when she hath given a good mess of milk, overthroweth all with her foot, and so all his lost." And with these words he got him out of the church[w].

Is bound to answer for his sermon at the assizes.

Also, in this first year of the king, the same person preached in St. Thomas' church at Salisbury, Dr. Oking, chancellor to bishop Capon, and Dr. Steward, chancellor to bishop Gardiner, being present, with divers others of the clergy and laity. His place was, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out." Whence he inveighed against the superstitious ceremonies, holy bread, holy water, images, copes, vestments, &c.: and at last against the idol of the altar, proving it to be an idol, and no God, by the first of St. John's Gospel, "No man hath seen God at any time;" with other places of the Old Testament. But "that the priest held over his head, they did see, kneeled before it, honoured it; and so made an idol of it: and therefore they were most horrible idolaters." Whereat the doctors, and certain of the clergy, went out of the church. Hancock, seeing them departing, charged them, "They were not of God, because they refused to hear the word of God." But when the sermon was ended, Thomas Chaffen the mayor, set on, as is likely, by some of the clergy, came to him, laying to his charge the breach of a proclamation, lately 175
set forth by the lord protector, "That no nicknames should be given unto the sacrament, as 'Round Robin,' or 'Jack in the box.'" Whereto he replied, "That it was no sacrament, but an idol, as they used it." But, for all this excuse, the mayor had committed him to jail, had not six honest men been bound for his appearance the next

[w] [Id. ibid.]

assizes, to make his answer: as Dr. Jeffery, about this time, had committed two to prison for the like cause[x].

How far the reformation had proceeded.

So that now, if we look back upon this first year of the king, we may perceive how busy and diligent our archbishop was in redressing abuses, and restoring the church to its true state of Christian piety and devotion; by procuring a royal visitation over England for inspection into the manners and abilities of the clergy, and for taking away of superstitions; by getting a book of plain homilies to teach the common people, (in the composing whereof he himself had a very great hand), and Erasmus' Paraphrase in English upon the New Testament, for the better furnishing the clergy and others with a sound and sober understanding of the Scriptures; and by encouraging preachers, and such like means. So that if you would particularly know in what forwardness the archbishop had already put religion, taking in his endeavours in the last king's reign hitherto, I recommend to your reading his homily or sermon "Of Good Works:" shewing out of what abundance of superstitions the church was now emerged. "Briefly, to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit religion[y], [he means, of monks and friars], let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady-psalters and rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St. Bernard's verses, of St. Agathe's letters[z], of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and

Part 3.

[x] [Harl. MSS. 425. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 124. b.]

[y] ["Counterfeit religions." Ed. 1547.]

[z] ["Agatha was a martyr of the third century.—The story is, that when the emperor Frederic II. was about to destroy Agatha's native city, Catana, while engaged in prayer to the Virgin Mary, the book he had opened exhibited these words in golden letters: 'Noli offendere patriam Agathæ quia ultrix injuriarum est.' This was done three times, and what result followed such a miracle need not be told." Pilkington's Works, pp. 177, 536. Park. Soc. ed.]

jubilees, of feigned relics, of hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, psalms[a], candles, fire, and such other[b]. Of superstitious fastings, of fraternities, or brotherhoods, of pardons, with such-like merchandize; which were so esteemed or abused, to the great prejudice of God's glory and commandments, that they were made most high and most holy things; whereby to obtain to the everlasting life[c], or remission of sins[d]. Yea also vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees, and conceits, of Rome[e]; wherein such were advanced[f], that nothing was thought comparable in authority, wisdom, learning, and godliness unto them. So that the laws of Rome, as they said, were to be received of all men, as the four Evangelists: to the which all the laws of princes[g] must give place. And the laws of God also partly were left off[h], and less esteemed, that the said laws, decrees, and councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be more duly kept[i], and had in greater reverence. Thus were the people, through ignorance, so blinded with the godly shew[j] and appearance of those things, that they thought the keeping of them[k] to be a more holiness, a more perfect service and honouring of God, and more pleasing to God, than the keeping of God's commandments. Such have been the corrupt inclinations of man[l], ever superstitiously given to make new honouring of God of his own head;

[a] ["Palms." Ed. 1547.]

[b] [See Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. i. pp. 37, 8. n. "the archbishop's letter." Ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[c] ["To the eternal life." Ed. 1547.]

[d] ["Of sin." Ed. 1547.]

[e] ["Counsels of Rome." Ed. 1547.]

[f] ["Were in such wise advanced." Ed. 1547.]

[g] ["All laws of princes." Ed. 1547.]

[h] ["Were omitted." Ed. 1547.]

[i] ["Duly observed." Ed. 1547.]

[j] ["Thus was the people .... with the godly shew." Ed. 1547.]

[k] ["The observing of them." Ed. 1547.]

[l] ["Such hath been the corrupt inclination of man." Ed. 1547.]

and then to have more affection and devotion to keep that[m], than to search out God's holy commandments, and to keep them. And furthermore, to take God's commandments for man's commandments[n], and man's commandments[n] for God's commandments, yea, and for the highest and most perfect and holiest of[o] all God's commandments. And so was all confused, that scant well-learned men, and but a small number of them, knew, or at the least would know, and durst affirm the truth, to separate or sever God's commandments[p] from the commandments of men. Whereupon did grow such error[q], superstition, and idolatry[r], vain religion, overthwart judgments[s], great contention, with all ungodly living[t]."

A BISHOP CONSECRATED.

Ridley consecrated bishop. Cranm. Reg. fol. 321.

September the 5th, being Sunday, Nicholas Ridley, D. D prebend of Canterbury, was consecrated bishop of Rochester[u], by Henry bishop of Lincoln[x], assisted by John suffragan of Bedford, and Thomas suffragan of Sidon, in the chapel belonging to the house of May, dean of St. Paul's. He was consecrated according to the old custom of the church, by the unction of holy chrism, as well as imposition of hands. Present, among others, John Whitwel, the archbishop's almoner; Richard Tayler, M. A. Nicholas Bullingham, Gregory Todd, and Thomas Bernard, his chaplains.

[m] ["To observe that." Ed. 1547.]

[n] ["Men's commandments." Ed. 1547.]

[o] ["And holy of." Ed. 1547.]

[p] ["To separate God's commandments." Ed. 1547.]

[q] ["Grow much error." Ed. 1547.]

[r] ["Superstition, idolatry." Ed. 1547.]

[s] ["Preposterous judgment." Ed. 1547.]

[t] [See Homilies, ed. Lond. (Whitchurch) 1547.]

[u] [See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 15, 251.]

[x] [Henry Holbeach.]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHURCH'S GOODS EMBEZZLED. NEW OPINIONS BROACHED.

As the reformation of abuses in religion went forward under such a king, and such an archbishop, so there wanted not for evils accompanying it, as there do commonly the best things; the profaneness of some, and the covetousness of others, giving occasion thereunto. Sacred places, set apart for divine worship, were now greatly profaned; and so probably had been before by ill custom: for in many churches, cathedral as well as other, and especially in London, many frays, quarrels, riots, blood-sheddings were committed. They used also commonly to bring horses and mules into and through churches, and shooting off hand-guns: "making the same, which were properly appointed to God's service, and common-prayer, like a stable, or common inn, or rather a den, or sink of all unchristiness;" as it was expressed in a proclamation which the king set forth about this time[y], as I suppose, (for I am left to conjecture for the date), by reason of the insolency of great numbers using the said evil demeanors, and daily more and more increasing: "therein forbidding any such quarrelling, shooting, or bringing horses and mules into, or through the churches, or by any other means irreverently to use the churches, upon pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment." For it was not thought fit that, when divine worship was now reforming, the places for the said worship should remain unreformed.

Ann. 1548.

Churches profaned.

Cotton Lib. Titus B. 2.

Besides the profanation of churches, there prevailed now another evil, relating also to churches, viz. That the utensils and ornaments of these sacred places were spoiled,

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Church ornaments embezzled.

[y] [Cotton MSS. Titus B. 2. fol. 39. British Museum.]

embezzled, and made away, partly by the church-wardens, and partly by other parishioners. Whether the cause were, that they would do that themselves, which they imagined would ere long be done by others, viz. robbing the churches; which, it may be, those that bore an ill-will to the reformation might give out, to render it the more odious. But certain it is, that it now became more or less practised all the nation over, to sell or take away chalices, crosses of silver, bells, and other ornaments. For the stopping of this, in the month of April, the protector, and the lords of the council, writ to our archbishop this letter, upon the information and complaint, as it is likely, of the said archbishop himself, in whose diocese especially this sacrilege prevailed.

The council's letter to the archbishop thereupon. Cranm. Regist. [fol. 55 b.]

"After our right hearty commendations. Whereas we are informed that the church-wardens and parochians of divers parishes do alienate and sell away their chalices, crosses of silver, bells, and other ornaments of the church, which were not given for that purpose, to be alienated at their pleasure; but either to be used to the intent [that] they were first given, or to some other necessary and convenient service of the church. Therefore this is to will and require you immediately, upon the sight hereof, to give strait charge and commandment, on the king's majesty's behalf, to every parish-church within your diocese, that they do in no wise sell, give, or otherwise alienate any bells, or other ornament, or jewel, belonging unto your parish-church, upon pain of his highness' displeasure, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril. Thus fare you well. From Westminster, the last day of April 1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerset.	Will. Seint-John.	J. Russel.
"H. Arundel.	Thomas Cheyney.	William Paget.
"Thomas Smith.	A. Denny.	W. Herbert.
"John Baker."		

It is not an improbable conjecture, that the archbishop procured this letter to arm church-wardens with an answer to such greedy courtiers and gentlemen, as used often to resort to them; and in their own, or the council's name, required these goods of their churches to be yielded up to them; and threatened them if they did not.

A form of prayer sent to the archbishop.

The next month the council sent the archbishop a form of prayer, to be used by himself and those of his diocese: wherein God was implored to grant the nation peace and victory over her enemies: for now all things round about appeared in a posture of war; and preparation of arms was making, which caused the king also to raise forces. And, for a blessing upon them, the privy-council sent to the archbishop, together with the form, an order for the speedy using of it. The tenor of the letter follows:

178 With the council's letter. Cranm. Regist. [fol. 55 b.]

"After our hearty commendations to your good lordship. Hearing tell of great preparation made of foreign princes, and otherwise being enforced, for the procurement and continuance of peace, to make preparation for war: forsomuch as all power and aid vailable cometh of God, the which he granteth, as he hath promised by his holy word, by nothing so much as by hearty prayer of good men: the which is also of more efficacy, made of an holy congregation together gathered in his holy name: therefore this is to will and require you to give advertisement and commandment to all the curates in your diocese, that every Sunday and holy-day, in their common-prayer, they make devout and hearty intercession to Almighty God for victory and peace. And to the intent that you should not be in doubt what sort and manner thereof we do like, we have sent unto you one, [the] which we would that you and they should follow, and read it instead of one of the collects of the king's majesty's procession. Thus we

pray you not fail to do with all speed, and bid you farewell. From Westminster, the 6th of May, 1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerset. R. Rich, canc. W. Seint-John.

"J. Russel. Thomas Cheyney[z]."

[To our very good lord, the archbishop of Canterbury.]

New opinions broached.

Now that the liberty of the gospel began to be allowed, divers false opinions and unsound doctrines began to be vented with it; of which public cognizance began now to be taken. As, "that the elect sinned not, and that they could not sin. That they that be regenerate never fall away from godly love. That the elect have a right to take so much of the things of the world as may supply their necessities." And there were some that openly preached these doctrines, and set forth and published books to the same tenor.

Cranm. Regist. [fol. 72.]

Several of these heretics, in the month of April, were convented before the archbishop of Canterbury; sir Thomas Smith; Richard Cox, Hugh Latimer, doctors of divinity; William May, dean of St. Paul's; William Cook, Richard Lyel, doctors of law; and others the king's commissioners. Then did one John Champneys, of Stratford on the Bow, abjure. He taught, and wrote, and defended; "1. That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin. 2. That the outward man might sin, but the inward man could not. 3. That the gospel hath been so much persecuted and hated ever since the apostles' times, that no man might be suffered openly to follow it. 4. That godly love falleth never away from them which be regenerate in Christ: wherefore they cannot do contrary to the commandments of Christ. 5. That that was the most prin-

[z] [See also Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 26.]

cipal of our marked men's doctrine, to make the people believe that there was no such spirit given unto man, whereby he should remain righteous, and always in Christ. Which is, [as he wrote and asserted], a most devilish error. 6. That God doth permit to all his elect people their bodily necessities of all worldly things."

All these he revoked, granting or confessing now, "1. That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, may sin, being destitute of his spirit. 2. That the inward man doth sin, when that the outward man sinneth actually with the consent of the mind. 3. That divers times, since the apostles' times, hath been suffered to follow openly the gospel of Christ. 4. That godly love falleth from them that be regenerate in Christ, being destitute of his spirit: and that then they may do contrary to the commandments of Christ. 5. That it is no erroneous doctrine, the which he affirmed in his book to be a devilish error, and our marked men's doctrine, viz. To make the people to believe that there was no such spirit given unto man, whereby he should remain righteous always in Christ. But I confess, [saith the abjurer], that a man, having the spirit, may afterwards fall, and not be righteous. 6. That God doth not permit to all his elect people their bodily necessities of all worldly things to be taken, but by a law and order approved by the civil policy: in which words by me now spoken I mean, nor understand any other sense than hath been here opened;" to use again his very words in his abjuration. And so, touching the holy gospel with his hand, before the king's commissioners, he abjured, promising, "That he should never hold, teach, believe [write, print, or cause to be written or printed] the said errors, heresies, or damned opinions above rehearsed." And so subscribed his name. 1. 179 Champneys revokes six articles.

Then the archbishop in his own name, and in the name And abjures.

of the other commissioners, gave him his oath. "1. That he should not by any means hereafter teach or preach to the people, nor set forth any kind of books, in print or otherwise, nor cause to be printed or set forth any such books, that should contain any manner of doctrine, without a special license thereunto of the king's majesty, or some of his grace's privy council first had and obtained. 2. That the said Champneys, with all speed convenient, and with all his diligence, procure as many of his books, as are passed forth in his name, to be called in again, and utterly destroyed, as much as in him should lie. 3. That he should the Sunday following attend at Paul's Cross upon the preacher, all the time of the sermon, and there penitently stand before the said preacher with a faggot on his shoulder." And then he had two sureties bound in five hundred pounds, that he should perform his penance[a]. This was done April 27.

Other heresies vented.

There were other heresies also now vented abroad, as the denial of the Trinity, and of the deity of the Holy Ghost, and the assertion, "That Jesus Christ was a mere man, and not true God, because he had the accidents of human nature; such as hungering and thirsting, and being visible: and that the benefit men receive by Jesus Christ was the bringing them to the true knowledge of God." There was one John Assheton, a priest, that preached these doctrines, who on the 28th of December was summoned to Lambeth, to appear there before the archbishop. Where John Whitwel, the archbishop's almoner, and Thomas Langley, both priests, and his grace's chaplains, exhibited a schedule of divers heresies and damned opinions against the said Assheton; which are recited in

Cranm. Regist. [fol. 73.]

[a] [The above and the following extracts have been corrected for this edition from the Cranmer Register.]

the abjuration which he made. The tenor whereof is as followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you, most learned father in God, lord Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate, and metropolitan of all England, commissary of our most dread sovereign lord, and excellent prince, Edward VI. by the grace of God, &c. I, John Assheton, priest, of my pure heart, free-will, voluntary and sincere knowledge, confess and openly recognize, that in times past I thought, believed, said, held, and [presumptuously] affirmed [by subscription of my proper hand writing] these errors, heresies, and damnable opinions following; that is to say, 1. That the Trinity of Persons was established by the confession of Athanasius, declared by a psalm, "Quicunque vult," &c. and that the Holy Ghost is not God, but only a certain power of the Father. 2. That Jesus Christ, that was conceived of the Virgin Mary, was a holy prophet, and especially beloved of God the Father; but that he was not the true and living God; forasmuch as he was seen, and lived, hungered and thirsted. 3. That this only is the fruit of Jesus Christ's passion; that whereas we were strangers from God, and had no knowledge of his testament, it pleased God by Christ to bring us to the acknowledging of his holy power by the testament. 180 Assheton's recantation.

Wherefore I, the said John Assheton, detesting and abhorring all and every my said errors, heresies, and damned opinions, willingly, and with all my power, affecting hereafter firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ and his holy church, purposing to follow the true and sincere doctrine of holy church with a pure and free heart, voluntary mind, will, and intent, utterly to forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the said detestable errors, heresies, and abominable opinions: grant-

ing and confessing now, 1. That the blessed Trinity consisteth in three distinct Persons, and one Godhead; as God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, coequal in power and might. 2. That Jesus Christ is both God and man, after his godly nature eternally begotten of his Father, of his own substance; in his humanity was conceived by the Holy Ghost incarnate, and for our redemption, being very God, became man. 3. That by the death of Jesus Christ we be not only made partakers of his testament, and so deduced to the knowledge of his godly will and power, but also that we have full redemption and remission of our sins in his blood." Then he subscribed his hand to this confession before the archbishop, exhibiting it for his act; and, lifting up his hand, besecched his grace to deal mercifully and graciously with him; and touching the gospel, gave his faith that he would faithfully and humbly obey the commands of the holy mother-church, and whatsoever penance the said most reverend father should lay upon him.

Other errors still.

To these erroneous doctrines we must add others, that now also spread themselves: as, that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin: that the baptism of infants was not profitable. Of which error one Michael Thombe of London, butcher, recanted the year following, viz. 1549, May 11, having been then convented before the archbishop at Lambeth.

181 [Cranm. Reg. fol. 74.]

"I Michael Thombe of London, butcher, of my pure heart and free-will, voluntarily and sincerely acknowledge, confess, and openly recognise, that in times past I thought, believed, said, held, and affirmed these errors, heresies, and damnable opinions following: that is to say, that [whether] Christ took no flesh of our Lady; and [that whether I believe that I have said] that the baptism of infants is not profitable, because it goeth

without faith. Wherefore I, the said Michael Thombe, detesting and abhorring all and every such my said errors, heresies, and damned opinions; [willing] and with all my power affecting hereafter firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ, and of his holy church, purposing to follow the true and sincere doctrine of holy church with a pure and free heart, voluntary mind, will, and intent, utterly to forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the said detestable errors, heresies, and abominable opinions; granting and confessing now, that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and that the baptism of infants is profitable and necessary." And by this submission and penance doing, Thombe escaped.

But another of the same opinion, more obstinate, came to a sadder end, and was burnt; namely, Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent[a]. Her opinion is in the instrument drawn

Joan Bocher's heresy. [Cranm. Regist. fol. 75.]

[a] ["Much undeserved odium has been thrown upon archbishop Cranmer in connection with this case of Joan Bocher, in consequence of an erroneous statement of Foxe, the martyrologist*, respecting the importunity with which he urged, if not forced, the young king into the signature of the death warrant upon which she suffered. All classes of objectors to the Reformation have availed themselves of this presumed fact, to magnify the clemency of the king by way of contrast to the primate's 'importunity for blood†.' Cranmer's advocates have apparently felt this passage in his life to be one extremely difficult, if not incapable, of defence. They have mostly contented themselves with alleging that it was contrary to the general tenor of his life, and with bringing forward the entry in the privy-council book to prove that he was not present when her fate was finally determined, and may therefore be presumed to have exhibited but little of the eager spirit of a persecutor. The last writer of the history of the Reformation‡ has gone a little further, and has ventured to impugn the authority of this particular passage in Foxe, on the ground of the silence not merely of the king's journal, but also of the Romanist libellers of the pri-

* [Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 699. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

† [Hayward's Ed. vi. p. 16. ed. 1636.]

‡ [Soames, vol. iii. p. 544.]

up against her in the archbishop's register: which ran thus; "That you believe that the Word was made flesh

mate, respecting the alleged interview. Nothing is more likely than that if the king's feeling had been such as Foxe represents, the entry in his journal would have been different from the one we find there§; whilst, if such an interview had really taken place, Sanders, and other writers of that class, would have been delighted to avail themselves of it against Cranmer; but it is unfortunate that Cranmer's defenders have not produced the whole entry in the privy-council book, instead of merely referring to it, in proof of the single fact of Cranmer's absence. Had that been done, it would long ago have occurred to some one, that it contained evidence that Foxe's story, for which he does not assign any authority, could not be true. Amongst the minutes of the business transacted by the council, (who, be it remembered, under the will of Henry VIII. were the actual governors of the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI.), on the 27th of April 1550, is the following entry:—'A warrant to the lord chauncellor to make out a writt to the shireff of London for the execuçon of Johan of Kent, condempned to be burned for certein detestable opinions of heresie.'—It appears from these words, that, in conformity with the ordinary legal practice of the period, Joan Bocher was executed upon a writ *de hæretico comburendo,* addressed to the sheriff of London, and issued out of chancery, upon the authority of a warrant signed, not by the king, but by the council. It would have been contrary to constitutional custom for the king to have signed any such document; it is quite clear, from the entry quoted, that, in point of fact, he did not sign it; and the narrative, which the worthy martyrologist was misled into inserting, and Cranmer's difficulty to cause the king to 'put to his hand,' and the tears, by which subsequent writers have declared that his submission to the stern plead-

§ ["Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding, 'that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary:' being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April, the bishop of London, (Ridley), and the bishop of Ely, (Goodrich), were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." The preacher was Dr. Scory, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and she was burnt May 2nd. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 230. pt. ii. p. 18. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 386. ed. Lond. 1840, 1. Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iv. pp. 52, 3. ed. Lond. 1845. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 43–45. Stow's Chronicle, p. 596. ed. Lond. 1631. Fabyan's Chronicles, p. 710. ed. Lond. 1811.]

in the Virgin's belly; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin you believe not, because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully gotten, and born in sin. But the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh." This she stood perversely in. So the archbishop himself excommunicated her judicially; the sentence being read by him, April [12] 1549, in St. Mary's chapel, within the cathedral church of Paul's, sir Thomas Smith, William Cook, dean of the arches, Hugh Latimer, Richard Lyell, LL. D. the king's commissioners, assisting[b]. She was committed afterwards to the secular arm; and certified so to be by an instrument made by the commissioners to the king. After she was condemned, she was a sevennight in the lord chancellor Rich's house; and every day the archbishop and bishop Ridley came and reasoned with her, that, if possible, they might save her from the fire: but nothing would do. I will here produce Latimer's censure of her, who well knew her case, being one of the commissioners that sat upon

Latimer's censure of her.

ing of his spiritual father were accompanied, all vanish.—That no doubt may remain upon the subject I will add, i. That it was not customary for the king to attend the meetings of the council. ii. That whenever the council desired that the king should be consulted, or communicated with, an entry was made upon the council-book similar to the following, which occurs on the same day as the preceding: 'It was agreed by the whole counsaill, that the king's majestie should be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debtes, and his leases yet ungiven.' iii. That the persons present on the day referred to were, 'The Lorde Chauncellor, the L. High Threasorer, the L. P. Seale, the L. Great Chamberlaine, the L. Chamberlaine, the L. Pagett, the Busshopp of Ely, Mr. Threasorer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. of the Horse, Mr. Vicechamberlaine, Sir Rauf Sadler, Sir Edward Northe.'"—Preface to Hutchinson's Works, pp. iii–v. Park. Soc. ed. See also Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 147–153.]

[b] [The sentence against Joan Bocher will be found in the Appendix.]

her. "She would say," saith he in his sermon on St. John Evangelist's day, "that our Saviour was not very man, nor had received flesh of his mother Mary: and yet she could shew no reason why she should believe so. Her opinion was this; The Son of God, said she, penetrated through her as through a glass, taking no substance of her. This foolish woman denied the common creed, 'Natus ex Maria Virgine,' and said that our Saviour had a fantastical body[c]."

George van Paris.

A Dutchman, an Arian, named George van Paris, denying Christ to be true God, came to a like end with Joan, namely, that of burning to death, being condemned for heresy; that was in the year 1551[d]. But though I make

[c] ["I told you, the last time, of one Joan of Kent, which was in this foolish opinion, that she should say our Saviour was not very man, and had not received flesh of his mother Mary: and yet she could shew no reason why she should believe so. Her opinion was this, as I told you before. The Son of God, said she, penetrated through her, as through a glass, taking no substance of her. But our creed teacheth us contrariwise; for we say, 'Natus ex Maria Virgine,' 'Born of the Virgin Mary:' so this foolish woman denied the common creed, and said that our Saviour had a phantastical body; which is most untrue, as it appeareth evidently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where St. Paul plainly saith, that Christ was made of the woman, that he took his flesh from the woman."—Latimer's Works, vol. ii. p. 114. Park. Soc. ed.]

[d] ["After this, (i. e. the sentence against Joan of Kent, Cranm. Reg. fol. 78), followeth the process, and sentence of condemnation of one George van Parre, a Dutchman, for obstinately maintaining the like opinions; together with a petition imploring the execution thereof, and the assistance of the secular power, conform to the tenour of that above-written, bearing date the 6th of April, anno Dom. 1551.

"The judges and commissioners of this process were, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas (Ridley) bishop of London, William May, Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, Miles Coverdale, Richard Lyell, John Gosnold, and Christopher Nevison.

"His heresy 'that he believeth,' is, 'That God the Father is only God: and that Christ is not very God, is non-heresy.' And being asked, by an interpreter, 'Whether

some anticipation in my history, yet I do it that I may lay these heresies here together, that started up, or rather shewed themselves more visibly, in this reign.

he would abjure the said opinion,' he answered, 'No.'" Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. B. 1. No. 35. pp. 238, 9. ed. Oxon. 1829. — See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1297. ed. Lond. 1583. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 155.]

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CHAPTER IX.

THE ARCHBISHOP VISITS.

The archbishop visits his diocese.

The archbishop in this year held a visitation in divers places throughout his diocese: wherein inquiry was to be made concerning the behaviour both of the priests and the people, in eighty-six articles[e]. Whereby may be seen the archbishop's conscientious care and solicitude for the abrogating of superstition, and the promoting of true religion; that he might reduce the clergy to learning, sobriety, and diligence in their vocation; and the people to loyalty and obedience to the king, and the sincere worshipping of God.

His articles for the clergy.

Concerning the priests, he ordered inquiry to be made; "Whether they preached four times a year against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and in behalf of the king's power and authority within his own realms. Whether, in their common prayers, they used not the collects made for the king, and mentioned not his majesty's name in the same. Whether they had destroyed and taken away out of the churches all images and shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindals, or rolls of wax, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and superstition; and moved their parishioners to do the same in their own houses. Inquiries were made concerning their due administration of the sacraments; concerning their preaching God's word once at least in a quarter; and then exhorting their parishioners to works commanded by Scripture, and not to works devised by men's fancies, as wearing and praying upon beads, and such like. Concern-

[e] [These "articles to be inquired of," &c. will be found in the Appendix to this volume.]

ing the plain reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments in English, immediately after the Gospel, as often as there were no sermon. Concerning the examining of every one that came to confession in Lent, whether they were able to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, in English. Concerning the having learned curates, to be procured by such as were absent from their benefices. Concerning having the whole Bible of the largest volume in every church, and Erasmus' Paraphrase in English. Concerning teaching the people of the nature of the fast of Lent, and other days in the year, that it was but a mere positive law. Concerning residence upon benefices, and keeping hospitality. Concerning finding a scholar in the universities, or some grammar-school, incumbent on such priests as had an hundred pounds a year. Concerning moving the parishioners to pray rather in English than in a tongue unknown, and not to put their trust in saying over a number of beads. Concerning having the New Testament in Latin and English, and Erasmus' Paraphrase, which all priests under the degree of bachelors in divinity were examined about. Concerning putting out of the church-books the name of Papa, and the name and service of Thomas Becket, and the prayers that had rubrics, containing pardons and indulgences." And many the like articles: which may be seen by him that will have 183
recourse to them, as they are printed in bishop Sparrow's Collections[f].

Those articles that related to the laity were, "Concern- And for the laity.
ing the letters or hinderers of the Word of God read in English, or preached sincerely. Concerning such as went out of the church in the time of the Litany, or common-

[f] [See Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. pp. 25–33. ed. Lond. 1675.]

prayer, or sermon. Concerning ringing bells at the same time. Concerning such as abused the ceremonies, as casting holy-water upon their beds, bearing about them holy-bread, St. John's Gospel; keeping of private holy-days, as tailors, bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, &c. did. Concerning the misbestowing of money arising from cattle, or other moveable stocks of the church, as for finding of lights, torches, tapers, or lamps, and not employed to the poor man's chest. Concerning abusing priests and ministers. Concerning praying upon the English Primer set forth by the king, and not the Latin, for such as understand not Latin. Concerning keeping the church-holy-day, and the dedication-day, any otherwise, or at any other time, than was appointed. Concerning commoning and jangling in the church at the time of reading the common-prayer or homilies, or when there was preaching. Concerning maintenance of error and heresy. Concerning common swearers, drunkards, blasphemers, adulterers, bawds. Inquiries were also to be made after such as were common brawlers, slanderers; such as used charms, sorceries, inchantments, and witchcraft; such as contemned their own parish-church, and went elsewhere. Concerning marrying within the degrees prohibited, and without asking the banns. Concerning the honest discharge of wills and testaments, in such as were executors or administrators. Concerning such as contemned married priests, and refused to receive the communion and other sacraments at their hands. Concerning such as kept in their own houses images, tables, pictures, painting, or monuments of feigned miracles undefaced, &c.

An exchange made between the archbishop

In this year also the archbishop, with the dean and chapter of Canterbury, granted the patronage, rectory, &c. of Riceborough Monachorum, in the county of

Bucks[g], to the lord Windsor, for fourscore and nineteen years: and, in exchange, the said lord granted to the archbishop the advowson, patronage, and nomination of Midley in Kent, for the same duration of years[h]. and the lord Windsor.

September the ninth, being Sunday, Robert Farrar, D. D. was consecrated bishop of St. David's, by Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, endued with his pontificals, and assisted by Henry bishop of Lincoln[i], and Nicholas bishop of Rochester[k], at Chertsey in the diocese of Winton, in the archbishop's house there. Then certain hymns, psalms, and prayers being recited, together with a portion of Scripture read in the vulgar tongue out of St. Paul's Epistles, and the Gospel of St. Matthew, the archbishop celebrated the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. There communicated the reverend fathers, Thomas bishop of Ely[l], Thomas bishop of Westminster[m], Henry bishop of Lincoln, Nicholas bishop of Rochester, and Farrar the new bishop; together with William May, dean of St. Paul's, Simon Hains, dean of Exon, Thomas Robertson and John Redman, professors of divinity, and others. The archbishop then distributed the communion in English Bishop of St. David's consecrated. Cranm. Regist. fol. 327[b.]

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[g] [i.e. Monks Risborough, in the Hundred of Aylesbury, which "the see of Canterbury continued to possess from the time of Dunstan, A.D. 959, to that of abp. Cranmer." See Lipscomb's Hist. of Bucks, vol. ii. pp. 410. et sqq. ed. Lond. 1847.]

[h] ["This church (Midley), was formerly appurtenant to the manor of Midley above mentioned, and continued so in king Edward VIth's reign, in the third year of which, anno 1548, William, lord Windsor, exchanged the advowson and patronage of this church with Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, for that of Riceborough Monachorum, in the county of Bucks, for the term of ninety-nine years. Which exchange was with the consent of the dean and chapter of Canterbury." Hasted's Hist. of Kent, vol. iii. pp. 503, 4. ed. Canter. 1778–99.]

[i] [Henry Holbeach.]

[k] [Nicholas Ridley.]

[l] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[m] [Thomas Thirlby.]

words. The bishop, (as it is writ in the margin of the register), was the first that was consecrated upon the bare nomination of the king, according to the statute that for that purpose was published in the first year of his reign[n].

[n] ["Towards the close of 1547, Cranmer was principally concerned in the formation of an act*, which withdrew from deans and chapters the election of bishops, and admitted the prelates to their sees by the letters patent of the crown, and which declared 'all jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal to be derived from the king, in whose name therefore all episcopal citations and processes should now run, and with whose arms, instead of their own, their official documents should be sealed. Under their own names and seals the prelates again† acted in the reign of Mary, and have since continued so to do. The admission however to their sees by the letters patent has been shewn to be‡ no innovation, but a recovery to the crown of its ancient right. The renewal of it in England has been the wish of one of our most learned divines. §'It would be much easier,' he observes, 'if, instead of the mock elections of bishops by *congé d'élire*, and the operose way of suing out so many instruments, and going through so many offices, and there paying so many fees for them, in order to their full settlements in their preferments, bishops were made here in the same manner as they are [in] Ireland, *by the king's letters patent;* in which case there would be nothing further necessary than those letters presenting them to the benefice, as in the case of all other ecclesiastical benefices in the king's gift, and his mandate to the archbishop

* [1°. Edward VI. cap. 2. intituled "An act for the election of bishops, and what seals and style they and other spiritual persons exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical shall use;" (see Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pp. 3, 4.) which was repealed by 1°. Mary, cap. 2. (Id. p. 202.) By 1°. Elizabeth, cap. 1. (Id. pp. 350–355.) the statute "restraining the payment of annates &c. 25°. Henry VIII. cap. 20. (Id. vol. iii. pp. 462–464.) was revived, which provided for the election of archbishops and bishops by deans and chapters, &c. under the king's license and letters missive, (viz. by *congé d'élire*, but in default of such election, by the king's letters patent,) instead of the act 1°. Edward VI. cap. 2, which had in fact repealed the 25°. Henry VIII. cap. 20. It is upon this statute that the elections of archbishops and bishops have proceeded from that time to the present.]

† [Heylin's Hist. of Reformat. p. 51. ed. Lond. 1674.]

‡ [Ibid. p. 53.]

§ [Life of dean Prideaux, p. 113.]

The form of the king's letters patents, whereby he constituted Farrar bishop, is extant in the register, dated from Leghes, August 1, in the second year of his reign[o].

Some account of this bishop.

At this bishop of St. David's I will stay a little: proving unhappy by his preferment unto a church, whose corruptions while he endeavoured to correct, he sunk under his commendable endeavours[p]. He was an active man, and made much use of in public affairs in king Henry and king Edward's days; having been first a canon of St. Mary's in Oxon. He was with bishop Barlow[q] when he was by king Henry sent ambassador to Scotland, anno 1535. Another time employed in carrying old books of great value from St. Oswald's, a dissolved monastery, as it seems, unto the archbishop of York. And in the royal visitation in the beginning of king Edward, he was one of the king's visitors, being appointed one of the preachers, for his great ability in that faculty: and being chaplain to the duke of Somerset, was by his means advanced to be bishop; and upon his fall he fell into great troubles.

to consecrate, institute, and instal them. By these means a great deal of trouble and expense would be saved, and deans and chapters delivered from the great danger of a *præmunire*, to which they are liable in all such elections, if they do not within twenty days return elected the person, whom the king in his letters missive nominates to them.'" Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, pp. 31–33. See also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 300, 1. vol. ii. pp. 88–92. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[o] [Cranm. Reg. fol. 327 b, 328.]

[p] [For "the history of Dr. Robert Farrar, bishop of St. David's in Wales," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1544 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Harl. MSS. 420. Plut. lxv. E. art. 17–27. fol. 80–178. British Museum, Originals, from which and Foxe's narrative Strype most probably drew the above statement respecting the bishop of St. David's.]

[q] [Successively bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, Bath and Wells, (of which he was deprived A. D. 1553.) and Chichester, (to which see he succeeded upon the death of John Christopherson, who was deprived in the first year of Elizabeth.) See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 22, 33, 58, 514.]

This bishop, not long after his first entrance upon his bishopric, resolved to visit his diocese, like a careful pastor, hearing of very great corruptions in it, and particularly among those that belonged to the chapter of the church of Carmarthen; and chiefly Thomas Young, chaunter, after archbishop of York[r], (who pulled down the great hall in the palace there for lucre of the lead), and Rowland Merrick, one of the canons, after bishop of the said see of St. David's[s], and father to sir Gilly Merrick, that came to an untimely death by being in the business of the earl of Essex[t]. These two, having been before commissaries of the diocese, had spoiled the cathedral church of crosses, chalices, and censers: with other plate, jewels, and ornaments, to the value of five hundred marks or more; and converted them to their own private benefit: and had sealed many blanks, "sede vacante," without the king's license or knowledge. Whereupon the bishop issued out his commission to his chancellor[u] for visiting the chapter, as well as the rest of the diocese. But the commission was, it seems, drawn up amiss by the said chan-

[r] [Precentor of St. David's, A. D. 1542, which office he resigned, A. D. 1553; Dec. 6, A. D. 1559, he was elected bishop of St. David's, and was translated to York, Feb. 25, A. D. 1560. See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 311, 514, 515.]

[s] [See above, p. 37. Rowland Merrick was appointed commissary of the see of Bangor with Griffin Leyson, and Geoffrey Glynn, A. D. 1551, (see below cap. xxvi.) and was consecrated bishop of Bangor, (not of St. David's, as is erroneously stated by Strype), Dec. 21, A. D. 1559. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 27.]

[t] [Sir Gillie Merrick was steward to Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, and one of the accomplices in his treason; he was brought to trial with sir Christopher Blunt, sir Charles Danvers, sir John Davis, and Henry Cuff, March 5, and was executed with Cuff, at Tyburn, March 13, A. D. 1601. See Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. ii. pp. 151, 154. ed. Lond. 1732–51.]

[u] [Rowland Merrick.]

cellor, to whom the bishop left the forming the draught: for it ran in the old popish form, and so the king's supremacy not sufficiently acknowledged therein; though he professed to visit in the king's name and authority. This these two, in combination with his own ungrateful register, George Constantine, whom he had preferred, took their advantage of; not only to disobey the said commission, but to accuse the poor bishop of a "præmunire:" for which he was fain to go down from London, whither they had before brought him up, to answer at the assizes of Carmarthen. And when, by reason of the molestations they gave him, and their detaining him in London, he could not be so exact in paying in the tenths, and first-fruits, and subsidies, due from the clergy of his diocese; they took hold of this as another crime to lay to his charge. 185
And hereupon, in fine, he was kept in prison a long time, and so remained when queen Mary entered upon the government[x]: upon which occasion he fell into the hands of the pope's butchers; who at last, for maintaining the

[x] ["Briefly, in few words to conclude this process, bishop Farrar, partly upon the importunate suit of his adversaries, partly upon the sinister and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour shewed, was detained in prison, till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary, and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine.——After that the foresaid M. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of king Edward, not for any just cause of his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset, and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric, at length after the decease of king Edward, by the coming in of queen Mary, the state of religion began to be changed and altered. Whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of *præmunire*, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the bishop of Win-

truth, sent him into his diocese, and burnt him at a stake[y]. And thus these men became the instruments of his death.

The archbishop swayed by Farrar's enemies.

In their vexatious suits against this good bishop, undertaken the better to conceal their own faults, our archbishop seemed to be engaged, giving too much credit to the ill reports that Farrar's enemies raised against him, in a great heap of frivolous and malicious articles, exhibited to the king's council. Who appointed sir John Mason and Dr. Wotton to examine them[z]: though, I suppose, our pious archbishop afterwards saw through this malice, and forbore any further to give influence to those that prosecuted this honest man: understanding by letters, which that afflicted man sent, both to him and bishop Goodrich, lord chancellor, his unjust vexations

chester, (Stephen Gardiner), with M. Hooper, M. Rogers. M. Bradford, M. Saunders, and others aforesaid, the 4th of February*. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned, but because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the 14th day of the said month of February." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1553. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[y] [Bishop Farrar, having been pronounced as "a heretic excommunicate," was condemned to degradation and death by his successor, Henry Morgan, Wednesday March 13, 1555, and given over to the secular power, viz. to Master Leyson, the then sheriff of Caermarthen, and was burned "in the market-place on the south side of the market-cross, the Saturday before Passion Sunday, March 30th."—See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1555.]

[z] [Id. p. 1546. See vol. i. p. 159.]

* [This date is probably inaccurate, as Foxe also states (p. 1483.) that Farrar was brought before the bishop of Winchester and other bishops on Wednesday, Jan. 30. with doctor Taylor, Crome, Bradford and Saunders, who were excommunicated, condemned, and committed to the sheriffs.—Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Bradford, he also says, (ibid.) were excommunicated. In the previous day, Jan. 29, ecclesiastical judgment was passed by Gardiner on the two former, the condemnation of the two latter being deferred till the next day.]

wrought by his adversaries. One whereof, I mean his register[a], remained register to that very popish bishop that succeeded him[b], nay, and was assistant at his trial and condemnation. In short, hear what one writes that lived nearer those times, and might therefore be presumed to know more of these matters.

Sutclif's Answer to Parsons' Threefold Convers. of England.

"This was a conspiracy of his enemies against him, and of wicked fellows who had robbed the church, kept concubines, falsified records, and committed many other gross abuses[c]." To conclude, I find, by a private letter written to John Foxe, that these men, knowing how they had wronged the good bishop, came to him before his death and asked him forgiveness; and he like a good Christian forgave them, and was reconciled to them[d].

[a] [George Constantine.]

[b] ["Henry Morgan, who was deprived of his bishopric about Midsummer, A. D. 1559, and died Dec. 23 following." See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 514.]

[c] [See Sutclif's Threefold Answer unto the third part of a certaine Triobolar treatise of three supposed conversions of England, &c. p. 41. ed. Lond. 1606.]

[d] [i. e. "An original letter of Mr. Richard Pratt to Mr. John Foxe, dated from London, 29 January, A. D. 1560, desiring that the controversy that was formerly between Mr. Farrar and Mr. Young, (designed to be made archbishop of York), and Mr. Constantine, might not be mentioned in his English Martyrology; and is sorry that Mr. Constantine was mentioned in his Latin book, they having been reconciled to one another." — Harl. MSS. 416. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 170.]

CHAPTER X.

Ann. 1549. THE ARCHBISHOP ANSWERS THE REBELS' ARTICLES.

Rebellion in Devon.

THE commons this year brake out into a dangerous rebellion; and though they were once or twice appeased and scattered in some places, yet they made insurrections in others: and chiefly in Devon, where they were very formidable for their numbers. The reason they pretended was double: the one was, the oppression of the gentry in enclosing of their commons from them. The other, the laying aside the old religion; which, because it was old, and the way their forefathers worhipped God, they were very fond of. The lord Russel, lord privy-seal, who was sent against them[e], offering to receive their complaints, the rebels sent them to him, drawn up under fifteen

[e] ["Against this seditious company of rebels was appointed and sent by the king, and his council, sir John Russell, knight, lord privy-seal, as lieutenant-general of the king's army, of whom chiefly depended the charge, and achievance of that voyage in the west parts. To him also were adjoined as in part of ordinary council in those affairs under him, sir William Herbert, sir John Paulet, sir Thomas Specke, with lord Gray, and others besides. Thus the said lord privy-seal, accompanied with the lord Gray, advancing his power against the rebels, although in number of soldiers not equally furnished like to the other, yet through the gracious assistance of the Lord's help fighting in his cause, and giving the adventure against the enemy, about the latter end of July, anno 1549, gave them the repulse. Who, notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, encountered the second time with the foresaid lord privy-seal, about the beginning of August following, of whom, through the Lord's mighty power, they with their whole cause of false religion were utterly vanquished and overthrown."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1307. ed. Lond. 1583. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 237–242. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iv. pp. 40–50. ed. Oxon. 1845. Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 1002, et sqq. ed Lond. 1586, 7.]

articles[f]. As before they had sent their demands in seven articles[g], and a protestation that they were the

[f] [These "fifteen articles" will be found in the Appendix, No. xl., with the answer to them by abp. Cranmer.]

[g] [The following are "the articles of the commons of Devonshire and Cornwall sent to the king:—

"First, forasmuch as man 'except he be born of water and the Holy Ghost cannot enter into the kingdom of God,' and forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without this blessed sacrament of baptism, therefore we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well in the week days, as on the holy days.

"Item, We will have our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocese resort unto him.

"Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore we will have mass celebrated as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the priests, forasmuch as many rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abused terms.

"Item, We will have in our churches reservation.

"Item, We will have holy bread and holy water in the remembrance of Christ's precious body and blood.

"Item, We will that our priests shall sing or say with an audible voice, God's service in the quire of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

"Item, Forasmuch as priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments, and preaching of God's word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying unto all honest priests, 'Be ye followers of me.'

"Item, We will have the Six Articles, which our sovereign lord king Henry VIII. set forth in his latter days, shall be used and so taken as they were at that time.

"Item, We pray God save king Edward, for we be his, both body and goods."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1305. ed. Lond. 1583.]

king's, body and goods. In answer to which the king sent a message to them, that may be seen in Foxe[h]. They sent also a supplication to the king: to the which an answer was made by the king's learned counsel[i].

The archbishop answers the rebels' articles.

I shall take notice only of the fifteen articles, unto which our archbishop drew up an excellent answer at
186 good length: for no man was thought so fit as he to open and unravel these men's requests, and to unfold the unreasonableness of them; and to shew what real mischief they would pluck down upon themselves and the nation, should all the decrees of our forefathers, and the Six Articles, be revived again: and what great injury religion would receive, should the Latin masses, and images, and the worshipping the sacrament, and purgatory, and abbeys, be restored; and cardinal Pole come home, and the English Bible be called in, and such-like things, which their demands consisted of. This answer of the archbishop I judge worthy preserving; and therefore, though
No. XL. somewhat long, I have laid in the Appendix; because it will shew his wisdom, learning, and the knowledge of the state of the kingdom that he was furnished with. I met with these writings in the manuscript library of Benet college, being the rough draught of them, all under the archbishop's own hand[k]. He charged them with ignorance in putting up such articles: and concluded it not to be their own minds to have them granted, had they understood them, but that they were indeed devised by

[h] [This "Message" was "given at Richmond, the 8. day of July, A.D. 1549." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1305–1307. ed. 1583.]

[i] ["Besides the articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said rebels sent up also not long after a supplication to the king, whereunto answer again was made by the king's learned council, which here to make short, leisure serveth not to rehearse."—Id. p. 1307.]

[k] [MSS. C. C. C. C. No. cii. pp. 337 et sqq.]

some priests, and rank papists and traitors to the realm; which he would not so much as think of them. So that he gently told them that he must use the same expression to them that Christ did to James and John, "They asked they wot not what."

The archbishop wrote this answer after the rout at Exeter given them by the lord Russel, and the taking prisoners divers of their captains and priests, and between the condemnation and execution of Humphrey Arundel, and Bray, mayor of Bodmin; whom he prayed God to make penitent before their deaths, to which they were adjudged. For which two the rebels, in one of their articles, had required safe conduct to make their grievances known to the king; as they had, in another article, demanded two divines of the same popish stamp, to be sent to them to preach, namely, Moreman and Crispin: who both seemed now, being priests of that country, to be under restraint upon suspicion: men, as the archbishop told them, ignorant of God's word, but of notable craft, wilfulness, and dissimulation, and such as would poison them, instead of feeding them. Of Crispin I find little, but that he was once proctor of the university of Oxon, and doctor of the faculty of physic, and of Oriel college[1].

Some account thereof.

Crispin.

[1] ["But it may be doubted whether Strype has not confused Richard and Edmund Crispin, both of Oriel college, and both proctors of the university of Oxford." — See Wood (Athenæ Oxon.) Fasti, part i. (vol. ii. col. 58, 88, 124, 126. ed. Bliss, 1813–20.) It appears by a letter from Ridley to Cranmer, that Moreman afterwards had the reputation of "perverting" justice Hales. (Ridley's Works, p. 363. Park. Soc. ed.) He bore a part in the warm debates between the protestants and papists in the convocation of October 1553," (i. e. in the disputation concerning the real presence on the third day of the session, Oct. 23, 1553), "and died, according to Wood, before October, 1554."—Wood (Athenæ Oxon.) Fasti, part i. (vol. ii. col. 83.) Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 238, n. [a]. See also Foxe's Acts and Monu-

Moreman. Moreman was beneficed in Cornwall in king Henry's time, and seemed to go along with that king in his steps of reformation, and was observed to be the first that taught his parishioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English; yet shewing himself in the next king's reign a zealot for the old superstitions. Hence we perceive the reason why the archbishop charged him to be a man full of craft and hypocrisy. In queen Mary's time he was, for his popish merits, preferred to be dean of Exeter, and was coadjutor to the bishop of that diocese, (probably then superannuated), and died in that queen's reign[m]. Besides these two, there was another clergyman the rebels spent another article in speaking for, namely, cardinal Pole: whom they would have sent for home, and to be preferred to be of the privy-council. But Cranmer told them his judgment; first, in general, of cardinals, that they never did good to this realm, but always hurt: and then in particular of this cardinal, that he had read once a virulent book of his writing against king Henry, exciting the pope, the emperor, the French king, and all other princes, to invade this realm[n]: and therefore that he was so far from deserving to be called home, and to live in England, that he deserved not to live at all. In fine, in this excellent composition of the arch-

Cardinal Pole.

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ments, pp. 1411, 1464. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[m] [John Moreman was appointed to the deanery of Exeter, A. D. 1554, and "died possessed of it" in that year. John Voysey, who had resigned the bishopric of Exeter, A. D. 1551, and was succeeded by Miles Coverdale, August 14, 1551, (who was deprived in 1553), was "again installed Sept. 28, 1553, and died October 23, 1554." — See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 83, 86.]

[n] [See vol. i. pp. 11–16. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 30, 1., vol. ii. p. 132. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 444. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 389. ed. Lond. 1840, 1.]

bishop, his design was, to expose the abuses and corruptions of popery, and to convince the nation what need there was that such matters should be abolished, as the pope's decrees, solitary masses, Latin service, hanging the host over the altar, sacrament in one kind, holy bread, and holy water, palms, ashes, images, the old service book, praying for souls in purgatory: and to vindicate the English service, the use of the holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and other matters relating to the reformation, made in king Edward's time. Which he doth all along with that strain of happy perspicuity and easiness, that one shall scarcely meet with elsewhere; mixed everywhere with great gravity, seriousness, and compassion.

The archbishop thought it highly convenient in these commotions round about, to do his endeavour to keep those people, that were still and quiet as yet, in their duty. And for this purpose had sermons composed, to be now read by the curates to the people in their churches, to preserve them in their obedience, and to set out the evil and mischief of the present disturbances. I find in the same volume where Cranmer's answers aforesaid are, a sermon against the seditions arising now everywhere, with the archbishop's interlinings, and marginal notes and corrections[o]. This sermon was first wrote in Latin by

The archbishop procures sermons to be made against the rebellion.

Miscellan. D.

[o] [C. C. C. C. MSS. No. cii. pp. 409–499. "The rebellion against which this sermon was more especially directed was probably that in Norfolk, headed by Ket, the tanner. This was rather later than the Devonshire insurrection, and was more remarkable for the hostility of the rebels against the gentry.—Although this sermon has been placed among Cranmer's works, it must be admitted that his claim to it is not indisputable. It is printed from a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, written by a secretary, but corrected throughout by the archbishop; respecting which the following memorandum has been left by archbishop Parker: 'Hic sermo prius de-

Peter Martyr, (as a note of archbishop Parker's hand testifieth), at archbishop Cranmer's request to the said learned man, no question; and so by his order translated into English, and printed, I suppose, for the common use in those times. It begins thus:—

Peter Martyr's sermon upon this occasion.

"The common sorrow of this present time, dear[ly] beloved brethren in Christ, if I should be more led thereby,

scriptus Latine a Petro Martyre.' The Latin sermon or rather sermons alluded to, (for there are two of them,) are still preserved in the same collection, cccxl. articles 4 and 6. It appears on examining them, that the English discourse, though founded on the two in Latin by P. Martyr, is far from being a mere translation of them. In some parts long passages are omitted, in others much new matter is added. There are inserted in particular some very interesting descriptions of the disturbed state of the country, and of the angry feelings existing between the gentry and the lower orders. It may be observed also, that both the Latin and English sermons contain the same topics and examples as the rough notes by the archbishop which are printed above. Perhaps therefore it may be reasonably conjectured, that Cranmer placed these brief notes in the hands of P. Martyr, to be expanded into a regular homily; and that afterwards from the materials thus prepared in Latin, he drew up the English sermon which follows. Its contents prove it to be the same, which Burnet says was preached by Cranmer on a fast-day at court, and which, he asserts, he saw at C.C.C.C. under the archbishop's own hand, being the only sermon of his that he ever saw. He must have been mistaken with regard to the handwriting, and he does not give his authority for the rest of his statement: but it is in some measure corroborated by the expressions of the concluding prayer. Strype's opinion seems to have been, that a fast-day was appointed on account of the insurrections, that the archbishop directed sermons on the occasion to be composed for the curates to read to the people, and that this was one of them which was printed for common use."—Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 248, nn. [a b]. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 242. 244, part ii. B. i. No. 36. pp. 239–241. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iv. pp. 40–49. ed. Oxon. 1845. Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 1006, 1032–1039. ed. Lond 1586–87.]

than by reason and zeal to my country, would move me rather to hold my peace than to speak. For the great evils which we now suffer [at this present time], are to be bewailed with tears and silence, rather than with words. And hereunto I might allege for me the example of Job, who when he came to his extreme misery, he lying upon a dunghill, and three of his friends sitting upon the ground by him, for the space of seven days, for great sorrow, not one of them opened his mouth to speak a word to another. If then the miserable estate of Job, like a [most] hard and sharp bit, stopped his mouth from speaking; and the lamentable case of their friend, stayed those three men, being of speech most eloquent, that they could not utter their words; surely it seemeth that I have a much more cause to be still, and hold my peace. For there was the piteous lamentation of no more but one man, or one household, and that only concerning temporal and worldly substance; but we have cause to bewail a whole realm, and that most noble, which lately being in that state, that all other realms envied our wealth, and feared our force, is now so troubled, so vexed, so tossed and deformed, (and that by sedition among ourselves, of such as be members 188
of the same), that nothing is left unattempted to the utter ruin and subversion thereof. And besides this, the everlasting punishment[p] of God threateneth [sore] as well the authors and procurers of these seditions, as all others that join themselves unto them," &c.

Besides this sermon of Peter Martyr's, there is another discourse penned by him under his own hand on the same occasion[q], designed as it seems to be translated into English, and sent to the rebels; thus beginning:—

[p] ["The eternal punishment." C. C. C. C. MSS.]

[q] [C. C. C. C. MSS. No. cccxl. p. 73.]

"Tantum voluit Deus vim charitatis et amoris magnitudinem, inter populum et magistratum intercedere, ut per Hieremiam admonuerit plebem Israeliticam, quod pro rege Nebuchadnezar orarent, qui eorum rempub. everterat, illosque adhuc captivitate Babylonica premebat.

"Dominus tametsi voluit suos, instar columbarum, simplices degere, idem nihilominus admonuit, ut serpentum prudentiam imitarentur, qua suas actiones literarum sacrarum præceptis regerent et moderarentur, caverentque ne aliena consilia, ut papistarum vel seditiosorum se in transversum auferrent.

"Si potuissetis, (quod est prudentium), in longinquum prospicere, omnino vidissetis cæteros hostes, (uti nunc res ipsa declarat), fretos vestris tumultibus in vestrum regnum arma sumpturos, et ausuros impune, qui nunquam, si in officio mansissetis, tentassent," &c.

The French take occasion at this rebellion.

This last paragraph respected the French king[r], who, taking occasion from these broils at home, brake out into open hostility against the kingdom, recalling his ambassador, and on a sudden brought his ships against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, with an intent to have conquered them. But by the valour of the inhabitants, and some of the king's ships, he was beaten off with great loss. This was in the month of August[s].

Bucer's discourse against the sedition.

Martin Bucer also wrote a discourse against this sedition, as well as Martyr[t]. Both of them were now, I suppose, under the archbishop's roof, entertained by him:

[r] [i.e. Henri II., who succeeded his father François I, 31st March, 1547, died from the effect of a wound in the right eye, inflicted by the comte de Montgommeri at a tournament, July 10, 1569.]

[s] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1309. ed. Lond. 1583. Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 1055. ed. 1586–87. Stow's Chronicle, p. 597. ed. Lond. 1631.]

[t] [C.C.C.C. No. cccxl. p. 37.]

and he thought it convenient that these learned foreigners should give some public testimony of their dislike of these doings. Bucer's discourse, subjoined to Martyr's, began in this tenor:—

"Quæ dici possunt ad sedandos animos plebis, et ab omni conatu seditioso absterrendos, (quod ad rem ipsam attinet), inscripta sunt omnia, in reverendissimi D.N.M. Ven. collegæ nostri Pet. Martyris Schedis, ut nostra adjectione nulla sit opus, tamen ut consensum spiritus testemur, hæc subjecta libuit annotare," &c.

An office of fasting was composed for this rebellion, which, being allayed in the west, grew more formidable in Norfolk and Yorkshire. For I find a prayer composed by the archbishop, with these words preceding; "The exhortation to penance, or the supplication, may end with this or some other like prayer." And then the prayer followeth[u]:— The archbishop's prayer, composed for this occasion.

"O Lord, whose goodness far exceedeth our naughtiness, and whose mercy passeth all measure, we confess thy judgment to be most just, and that we worthily have deserved this rod wherewith thou hast now beaten us. We have offended the Lord God: we have lived wickedly: we have gone out of the way: we have not heard thy pro- 189
phets, which thou hast sent unto us, to teach us thy word, nor have done as thou hast commanded us: wherefore we be most worthy to suffer all these plagues. Thou hast done justly, and we be worthy to be confounded. But we provoke unto thy goodness; we appeal unto thy

[u] ["There are two copies of this prayer in the C.C.C.C. MSS. One is placed at the end of the sermon; the other, which is a draft corrected by Cranmer, stands by itself, bearing the title described by Strype."—Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 273. n. e. These copies of the above prayer have been collated for this edition.]

mercy; we humble ourselves; we knowledge our faults. We turn to thee, O Lord, with our whole hearts, in praying, in fasting, in lamenting, and sorrowing for our offences. Have mercy upon us, cast us not away according to our deserts; but hear us, and deliver us with speed, and call us to thee again, according to thy mercy; that we with one consent, and one mind, may evermore glorify thee, world without end. Amen."

After this follow some rude draughts, written by archbishop Cranmer's own hand, for the composing, as I suppose, of an homily, or homilies, to be used for the office aforesaid, which may be read in the Appendix.

No. XLI.

CHAPTER XI.

BISHOP BONER DEPRIVED[y].

On the eighth of September, a commission was issued out from the king to our archbishop, together with Ridley bishop of Rochester[z], Petre and Smith[a], the two secretaries, and Dr. May, dean of Paul's[b], to examine Boner, bishop of London, for several matters of contempt of the king's order. The witnesses against him were William Latimer[c] and John Hooper[d]. After the patience of seven

The archbishop deprives Boner.

[y] [For the "matter concerning Edmund Boner, bishop of London, with declaration of the acts and process entered against him in king Edward's time," from which Strype has condensed the particulars of this bishop's deprivation, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1309 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[z] [See above, p. 88.]

[a] [i. e. Sir William Petre, secretary of state, one of Edward VIth's privy council, and a great friend of archbishop Cranmer; and sir Thomas Smith, secretary, who was employed in several commissions during this reign, and with Cranmer was one of the few, who did not forsake the lord protector, the duke of Somerset, in his troubles.—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 663. vol. ii. pp. 229, 252, 277. pt. ii. pp. 37, 236. vol. iii. pp. 379, 398. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[b] ["William May, LL.D. was elected, upon the death of John Incent, LL.D., dean of St. Paul's, Feb. 8, 1545, and was deprived in the first year of the reign of queen Mary. He was succeeded by John de Feckenham, alias Howman, who in November 1556 was removed and made abbot of Westminster, with fourteen monks under him. Henry Cole, LL.D. and S.T.P. held the deanery after Feckenham, from December 11, 1556, but was deprived in the first year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, when William May was 'restored to this dignity, and re-elected, June 23, 1559. He died August 8, 1560.'"—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 185, 364.]

[c] [William Latimer, B. D. "a London divine, priest of St. Lawrence Poultney." — See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 712, first ed. 1563; p. 1311, ed. Lond. 1583. Todd's life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 141.]

[d] ["John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and lastly a most constant

sessions at Lambeth, in all which he carried himself disdainfully, making excuses and protestations, first against sir Thomas Smith, and then against them all, and appealing to the king, the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared him obstinate, and pronounced a sentence of deprivation against him: and committed him to the Marshalsea for his extraordinary rudeness to the king's commissioners: and there he abode all this king's reign. I will only mention somewhat of his behaviour towards the good archbishop.

Discourse between the archbishop and him, concerning his book.

At his first appearance before the commissioners, which was on the tenth of September, when they told him the reason of their commission, viz. "To call him to account for a sermon lately by him made at Paul's Cross; for that he did not publish to the people the article he was commanded to preach upon, that is, of the king's authority during his minority:" he after a bold scoffing manner gave no direct answer to this, but turned his speech to the archbishop, swearing, "That he wished one thing were had in more reverence than it was, namely, the blessed mass," as he styled it: and telling the archbishop withal, "That he had written very well of the sacrament: but he marvelled he did not more honour it." The archbishop, perceiving his gross ignorance concerning his book, by his commending that which was contrary to his opinion, said

martyr for the gospel of Christ." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1311. He "was nominated to this see (i. e. Gloucester), May 15, 1550, and consecrated March 8, following. He was deprived in queen Mary's days, and at length suffered martyrdom under the persecution of those times, Feb. 9, 155⅓, being that day burnt to ashes in the city of Gloucester." He "had leave granted him to hold this bishopric, (i. e. Worcester), in 'commendam' on the deprivation of Nicholas Heath, who was restored in 1553, and in the same year translated to York. Hooper was deprived March 20, (*exeunte anno*) 1553."—Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 101, 298, 9.]

to Boner, "That if he thought it well, it was because he understood it not." Boner after his rude manner replied, "He thought he understood it better than he that wrote it." To which the archbishop subjoined, "That truly he would make a child of ten years old understand as much as he. But what is that," said he, "to our present matter?"

Concerning the sacrament.

At this first session, when Boner had said, "That he perceived the cause of his present trouble was, for that in the sermon made at Paul's Cross, before mentioned, he had asserted the true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar;" the archbishop said, "That he spake much of a presence in the sacrament; but he asked him, What presence is there, and what presence he meant?" Boner then in heat said, "My lord, I say and believe, that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What, and how do you believe?" said he to the archbishop. Then the archbishop, not minding to answer his question at this time, asked him further, "Whether Christ were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body?" At which Boner shook his head, and said, "He was right sorry to hear his grace speak those words, and urged the archbishop to shew his mind." But the archbishop wisely waived it, saying, "That their being there at that time[e] was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission against him."

Chargeth the archbishop concerning the preachers he allowed.

At another of these sessions, staying at the chamber-door where the commissioners sat, perceiving some of the archbishop's gentlemen standing by, he applied himself to them, requiring and charging them, in God's behalf, and in his name, "That where they should chance to see and

[e] [i. e. The fifth, Friday, Sept. 20th, A. D. 1549.]

hear corrupt and erroneous preachers against the blessed sacrament of the altar, they should tell their lord and master of the same, and of these his sayings also to them, as they were Christian men, and should answer before God for the contrary." And being committed by the delegates to the under-marshal, and going away, he turned again, and told the archbishop, "That he was sorry that he, being a bishop, should be so handled at his hands; but more sorry that he suffered abominable heretics to practise as they did in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people. And therefore he required him, as he would answer to God and the king, that he would henceforth abstain thus to do. And if he did not," he said, "he would accuse him before God and the king's majesty. Answer to it," added he, "as well as you can." And so departed.

The archbishop's answer to Boner's declaration.

When Boner, after the sentence of deprivation, made a solemn declaration there against their proceedings, saying, "That he came compelled, and not of his own free will, being brought as a prisoner:" and so appealed again from them to the king. The archbishop answered his declaration; and told him, "That whereas he said, he came coacted, or else he would not have appeared: he [much] marvelled at him, for that he would thereby make them and the audience to believe, that because he was a prisoner, he ought not therefore to answer. Which if it were true, were enough to confound the whole state of the realm: for I dare say," said the archbishop, "that of the greatest prisoners and rebels that ever the keeper there hath had under him, he cannot shew me one that
191 hath used such defence as you have here done." To which Boner said, "That if his keeper were learned in the laws, he could shew him his mind therein." The archbishop said, "that he had read over all the laws as well as

he, but to another end and purpose than he did; and yet he could find no such privilege in this matter." He was deprived in the beginning of October[f], and the see remained void for some months till the next year, when Ridley was translated thither, as we shall see by and by.

Indeed this was the most plausible pretence the papists had, and which they made much use of, (which Boner and Gardiner had cunningly invented); viz. "That though the king were to be obeyed, and all were bound to submit to his laws, yet not to the orders and placits of his counsellors, who made what innovations they pleased in his name, and were none of his laws: and that therefore things should remain in the state wherein the former king left them, till the king, now a child, came to years of discretion to make laws himself." This the rebels in Devon made use of[g]: and this also the lady Mary urged very boldly to the lords of the council for her incompliance with the communion-book, and for continuance of the use of the mass; telling them in a letter, "That she was resolved to remain obedient to her father's laws, till the king her brother should have perfect years of discretion to order that power that God had given him." Which letter, whereof I have the original, may be seen in the Appendix. For the satisfying therefore of the people in this, the preachers were fain to do their endeavours in the pulpits; shewing them, that those that were in office under the king, were by the word of God to be obeyed as the king himself. "There be some men that say," (as Latimer in one of his sermons in these days), "when the king's majesty himself commandeth me so to do, then I will do it, not afore. This is a wicked saying, and dam-

Papists insist upon the invalidity of the laws made in the king's minority.

No. XLII.

Lat. Serm. fol. 25.

[f] [i. e. Tuesday, Oct. 1, A. D. 1549.]

[g] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments. p. 1307. ed. Lond. 1583.]

nable: for we may not so be excused. Scripture is plain in it, and sheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having authority from the king, as well as unto the king himself. Therefore this excuse will not, nor cannot serve afore God. Yet let the magistrates take heed to their office and duty[i]."

An ordination of priests and deacons.

This year the archbishop celebrated a great ordination, consisting of such chiefly as shewed themselves favourers of the king's proceedings, to be sent abroad to preach the gospel, and to serve in the ministry of the church. At this ordination bishop Ridley also assisted the archbishop. The old popish order of conferring of holy orders was yet in force, the new office as yet not being prepared and established: but this ordination nevertheless was celebrated after that order that was soon after established. At this ordination great favour was shewn, and connivance to such who, otherwise being well qualified for piety and learning, scrupled wearing the habits used by the popish priests. I meet with two famous men now ordained: the one was Robert Drakes, who was deacon to Dr. Taylor, parson of Hadley, at the commandment of archbishop Cranmer, afterwards parson of Thundersley in Essex, and in the year 1556 burnt to death in Smithfield
192 for his constant profession of Christ's religion[k]. The other

[i] [See Latimer's Works, vol. i. p. 118. Park. Soc. ed.]

[k] ["About the fourth day of March next after Robert Drakes also was examined, who was parson of Thundersley in Essex, and had there remained the space of three years. He was first made deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley*, at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and within one year after, which was the third of the reign of king Edward, he was by the said archbishop, and doctor Ridley, bishop of London, admit-

* [i. e. Dr. Rowland Taylor, chaplain to archbishop Cranmer, "who suffered for the truth of God's word," at Hadley, of which he was parson, Feb. 9, A. D. 1555.—See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1518–1527. ed. Lond. 1583.]

was Thomas Sampson, parson of Bread Street, London, and successively dean of Chichester and Christ Church, Oxon[1]: who in a letter of his, written to secretary Cecyl

ted minister of God's holy word, and sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established, and was presented unto the said benefice of Thundersley by the lord Rich, at the suit of Master Causton, and Master Treheron, and now notwithstanding was sent up by the said lord Rich—to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then the lord chancellor of England, about the 22nd day of March, 1555." Robert Drake was "burned in Smithfield at one fire," with William Tyms, Richard and Thomas Spurge, John Cavell, and George Ambrose Fuller, "about the 23rd day of April, A. D. 1556," or "the 14th day of" that month. — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1895, 1898.]

[1] [Thomas Sampson was born at Playford in the county of Suffolk, and was afterwards a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and parson of Allhallows Church, Bread Street, London. In the year 1552, he was appointed to the deanery of Chichester. He fled to the continent, with many others, at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and resided at Frankfort, where he took an active part in the contentions respecting the use of the English Service Book. At the accession of queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1558, he returned and preached the Spital Sermon, at St. Paul's Cross, on Low Sunday, April 2, and was named amongst those who were deemed worthy of preferment. Upon the removal of George Carew to the deanery of Windsor, Sampson "was installed dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in Michaelmas term, A. D. 1561." In the year 1564, he was deprived of this deanery for his refusal to wear the ecclesiastical vestments, to which he had previously offered no objection, inasmuch as in the first year of his absence from England, A. D. 1554, he had written a letter from Strasburgh to his parishioners, in which he recommended them to conform to the ceremonies, that had been settled in the reign of Edward VI. During his absence from England he changed his opinions on this subject, which was attributed to his converse with John Calvin, and other reformers. Although "some of the common lawyers disputed the legality of Sampson's deprivation, and would have brought a *præmunire* upon the commissioners," he was not restored to this preferment. Upon his deprivation, which was executed by archbishop Parker, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, "he was restrained of his liberty at London by the queen's special commandment, that he might be

in queen Elizabeth's reign, said, "That at his ordination he excepted against the apparel; and by the archbishop, and bishop Ridley, he was nevertheless permitted and admitted."

The office of ordination reformed.

All the divine offices were now reformed, but only that for ordination of ministers. Therefore, for the doing of this, the council appointed twelve learned men, consisting half of bishops, and half of other inferior divines; whose names I do not meet with, excepting Heathe, bishop of Worcester; who, because he would not assist in this

an example of her displeasure to the rest," who held the same opinions. Through the intercession of archbishop Parker with the dean and chapter of Christ Church, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state, afterwards lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer, he was released from confinement, although he still persisted in his refusal to wear the vestments, which the latter by letter urged upon him. Afterwards, A.D. 1567, notwithstanding he had been "put out of the deanery of Christ Church" for this very reason, he was allowed to preach in London without wearing the habits; and A. D. 1573, was "found master of" the hospital, called "Whittington College, London, where he read a lecture every term, for the annual stipend of £10 given by the company of cloth workers." "In the latter end of the year 1573, he was taken with a numb palsy on one side, which deprived him of half the use of his limbs." After his lameness "he retired to the hospital at Leicester," to which "he twice did good service for its good estate, and the preservation of its revenues." He "died April 9th, 1589, ætat. 72, and was buried in the chapel of Whittington College, London." See Strype's Eccl. Memor. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 403. pt. ii. pp. 72, 276. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 231, 234, 404, 591. pt. ii. pp. 227–241. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 60, 151, 229. pt. ii. pp. 132, 133, 143, 146, 147–153. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 396, 565, 566. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 368, 371–373, 445. vol. ii. p. 377. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, p. 171. ed. Oxon. 1821. Cranmeri Defens. de sacr. (Embd.) p. 9. printed in abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. Park. Soc. ed. Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iv. p. 331. ed. Oxon. 1845. Collier's Church Hist. vol. vi. pp. 402, 403, 407, 408, 415, 417. ed. Lond. 1840, 41.]

work, was sent to prison. The chief of them no doubt was the archbishop. After mature deliberation, this office was agreed upon, and finished[n]: and Ponet[o] was the

[n] ["To return to the parliament, in which an act passed for drawing up an ordinal. The act being short, and not printed except in the statutes at large, I shall transcribe it for the reader. 'An act to empower a committee of bishops, &c. to draw up an ordinal,' (or for the ordering of ecclesiastical ministers). — 'Forasmuch as concord and unity to be had within the king's majesty's dominions, it is requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner, for making and consecrating of bishops, priests, deacons, or ministers of the church. Be it therefore enacted by the king's highness, with the assent of the lords spiritural and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that such form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the church, as by six prelates, and six other men of this realm, learned in God's law, by the king's majesty to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the great seal of England, before the first day of April next coming, shall by virtue of this present act be lawfully exercised and used, and none other; any statute, or law, or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding*.' When this act passed the house of lords, the bishops of Durham†, Carlisle‡, Worcester§, Westminster¶, and Chichester‖, protested against it. Heathe, bishop of Worcester, was one of the six prelates appointed by the king; but refusing to consent to the alterations proposed, he was called before the council, on the 8th of February, and on the 8th of March, committed to the Fleet for persisting in his incompliance. This usage looked like a strain of justice; but Heathe, having been observed to dissent from all the bills which promoted the reformation, he was probably on this score more rigorously treated." Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. pp. 375, 6. et sqq. ed. Lond. 1840, 41. See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 289, 292, 294. et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1829. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 170.]

[o] [John Poinet, or Poynet, whose name is also sometimes written Ponet, and Ponnet, was a Kentish man, and educated at

*[3° and 4° Edward VI. cap. 12. Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. p. 112.]
†[Cuthbert Tunstal.] ‡[Robert Aldrich.] §[Nicholas Heathe.]
¶[Thomas Thirlby.] ‖[George Day.]

first bishop consecrated after this new form. And that I suppose may be the reason, that it is set down at length in the archbishop's register in that manner as it is there to be seen: as we shall see under the next year.

The archbishop visits some vacant churches.

Upon the vacancy of cathedral churches the archbishop used to visit. So now the church of St. David's being vacant, upon the removal of Barlow to Bath and Wells[p], the archbishop issued out a commission to Eliseus Price[q] to visit that church. And upon the vacancy of Glocester by the death of Wakeman[r], there was a commission to J. Williams, LL. D[s]. and prebendary there, to be his commissary, and to visit that church, and to be keeper of the spiritualties of the city and diocese of Glocester in this third year of the king. This year also the church of Norwich being become vacant by the resignation of

S. David's.

Glocester.

Norwich.

Queen's College, Cambridge. He was one of Cranmer's chaplains, and was consecrated bishop of Rochester, June 29, 1550, upon the elevation of Nicholas Ridley to the see of London; he was translated to Winchester, March 23, 1551, on the deprivation of Stephen Gardiner; but when queen Mary came to the crown, he left the kingdom, and died at Strasburgh, in Germany, April 11th, 1556. See book iii. cap. 28, and Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 251, 287. See also Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 171, 2.]

[p] [William Barlow was elected bishop of St. Asaph, Jan. 16, 153$\frac{5}{6}$, and was translated to St. David's, April 10th, 1536; and to Bath and Wells, Feb. 3rd, 1547. He was succeeded by Robert Farrar, in the bishopric of St. David's, (see above, p. 105.) In the year 1553, he resigned his preferment, and fled to Germany; returning to England on queen Elizabeth's accession he was made bishop of Chichester, Dec. 20th, 1559, and died Aug. 13th, 1568. See vol. i. p. 78. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 22, 33, 58, 514. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 168. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 431. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, p. 41. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. 537. vol. iii. p. 283. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[q] [See above, p. 37.]

[r] [See vol. i. p. 217. "He died at Worthington, in the county of . . . . . in the beginning of Dec. 1549." Le Neve's Fasti, p. 101.]

[s] [See above, p. 37.]

Repps[t], the archbishop granted a commission to John, bishop suffragan of Thetford[u], and dean of the church of the Holy Trinity, Norwich, to be his deputy and commissary for visitation and jurisdiction. But, somewhat before this, he constituted Roland Taylor, LL.D. and William Wakefeld, D.D. to be keepers of the spiritualties of Norwich: from whose jurisdiction he protested not to derogate by those his commissional letters to the suffragan, nor to withdraw from them any authority of jurisdiction. This was dated February 15. Also the church of London being vacant by the deprivation and destitution of Boner[w], the archbishop consecrated Gabriel Donne, residentiary of St. Paul's, to be his official, and keeper of the spiritualties, to exercise all manner of episcopal jurisdiction in the said city and diocese. London.

[t] [See vol. i. p. 105. "He resigned in January, A.D. 1549, and died Sept. 21st, 1550." Le Neve's Fasti, p. 211.]

[u] ["John Salisbury, suffragan bishop of Thetford, was made dean (of Norwich) on the resignation of William Castleton, in 1539. He was deprived in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, March 1. 155$\frac{3}{4}$." He was "again restored in 1560, and in 1571 was made bishop of the Isle of Man (i. e. Sodor and Man); but held this deanery in *commendam* with it to his death, which happened in the latter end of September, 1573, and was buried in Norwich Cathedral." Id. pp. 213, 214, 358. See vol. i. p. 80.]

[w] [See vol. i. p. 196. Boner "was deprived by two several commissions, dated the 8th and the 17th of September, 1549. The definitive sentence was pronounced October 1st," by archbishop Cranmer, who "openly read and published it with the whole consent of the other commissioners." "By a sentence promulged Sept. 5th, 1553, Boner was restored to his bishopric, but was again displaced by authority of parliament, May 30th, 1559. He died a prisoner in the Marshalsea in Southwark, Sept. 5th, 1569," to which he had been committed, April 20th, 1560. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 180. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1312, 1322, 1329. ed. Lond. 1583. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 86, 205, 210, 214, 220; pt. ii. p. 298. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 165. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

A new dean of the Arches.

This year he made Griffin Leyson, LL.D. dean of the Arches[x].

[x] [i.e. Griffith Leyson, a civilian, was one of the judges and commissioners in the case of George van Paris;—(see above, p. 100. n.[d].) he was also appointed a commissioner with archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, (London) Goodrich, (Ely) and Holbeach, (Lincoln) sir William Petre, judge Hales, and others, for the examination, and deprivation, of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; he was also one of the commission appointed by the king to examine and report upon the proceedings of the former commissioners against Boner, by whom he had been deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned; he was also Cranmer's "principal chancellor and official," as well as dean of the Arches Court. See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 776. 1st ed. 1563. pp. 1330, 1358. ed. Lond. 1583. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 340. pt. ii. p. 239. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 37, 8. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

CHAPTER XII.

DUKE OF SOMERSET'S TROUBLES[y]. THE COMMON PRAYER RATIFIED.

The archbishop writes to the lords at Ely-house.

When most of the council had combined together, in the month of October, against the protector of the king's person, the duke of Somerset, and had withdrawn themselves to Ely-house, the king then being at Hampton Court, and suddenly conveyed by the said duke to Windsor[z], upon the fear of tumult; then I find the archbishop, 193 and but two privy-counsellors[a] more, with the king and the protector there. Being here, the good archbishop, though he would not forsake his friend the duke, nor the king his master, yet he did what lay in him to appease and pacify these heats. And so he, with the lord Paget[b]

[y] [For an account of the history of the troubles of the duke of Somerset, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1367. et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 269 et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. pp. 362, et sqq. ed. Lond. 1840, 41. Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iv. pp. 76, et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

[z] [See king Edward's Journal, Cotton MSS. Nero. C. x. fol. 13. b. British Museum. Original and holograph, and Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 12. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[a] [i. e. lord Paget, and sir Thomas Smith.]

[b] [Sir William, afterwards lord Paget, who had been employed in several foreign embassies, was secretary of state, and one of Henry VIIIth's executors and governors to his son, Edward VI.; of whose council he was a member. For his adherence to the falling fortunes of the duke of Somerset he was committed to the Tower. He was afterwards degraded from being a knight of the garter; upon the death of Edward VI., he was sent with the earl of Arundel by the council to acknowledge queen Mary; he was also restored to the order of the garter, and deputed with lord Hastings to bring over cardinal Pole to England; he received the appointment of lord privy-seal, and was one of the select committee appointed for the regulation of affairs during the absence from England of Philip, the husband

and secretary Smith[c], in their own and the king's name, wrote an earnest letter to the separating counsellors, and sent it by sir Philip Hoby[d]: wherein, as appears by their answer, "they were charged by the archbishop with creating much care and sorrow to the king, and that he thought they had not that care that beseemed them of pacifying the present uproars, and for the preservation of the state from danger: that they forgat the benefits they had received from the king's father, nor were mindful of their duty of allegiance: that their doings bespake wilfulness; and that the protector meant nothing but the safety and protection of the king in what he had done; and that he had that consideration of his duty to God, that the promise and oath he made required." They were advised to do as they would be done unto: and mention was made of "cruelty" more than once, charging them obliquely therewith. And in fine he wrote, that he, and those with him, knew more than they did, to whom they writ. Probably he meant, that he knew that this anger against the duke arose from the private malice of some of them, or their hatred of the reformation, notwithstanding all the fair pretences of their care of the king, and the protector's misgovernment.

of queen Mary. In queen Elizabeth's reign he was laid aside from the privy council, and "died at his house in Drayton, A.D. 1563."—See vol. i. pp. 21, 22, 321. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 213, 271, 304, 369, 425, 479, 584, 621. vol. iii. pp. 181, 297, 455, 490. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 17, 19, 242–249, 497. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 28, 248, 323, 455, 469, 489. pt. ii. p. 160. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 87. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[c] [See above, p. 123.]

[d] [Sir Philip Hobey, or Hobbey, was a favourer of the reformation and one of Edward VIth's council. He was also a friend of the lord protector, and employed in several embassies during this reign.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 652, 653, 655. vol. ii. pp. 179, 288, 451. pt. ii. pp. 12, 37, 39, 68, 122. vol. iii. pp. 355, 367, 368.]

This letter the lords from Ely-house answered, charging and commanding the archbishop, and those with him, to have a continual earnest watch of the king's person, and that he be not removed from Windsor castle, as they would answer the same at their utmost perils. They wondered much, they said, that they would suffer the king's royal person to remain in the guard of the duke's men, and that strangers should be armed with the king's armour, and be nearest about his person. For, it seems, many of the king's servants, in this fear, were removed away. They advised the archbishop, and the lord Paget, to come over to their side, and to leave the poor duke alone. Upon this the archbishop and the others wrote a second letter, dated October the 10th: wherein they assured the lords, that they could, whensoever they pleased to require it, give such very good reasons for their so often mentioning cruelty in their other letter, as, they questioned not, they would be well satisfied with. And so, upon the lords propounding a meeting with the king and them, they accorded thereunto, in great prudence willing, for peace and quietness in that dangerous time, so to do. These letters are recorded in the History of the Reformation[e].

Their answer.

Vol. ii. Collect. p. 187, 188.

The Common Prayer-book, and administration of the sacraments, by the great care and study of the archbishop, was now finished, and settled by act of parliament[f]: which would not down with a great many. But upon the taking up of the duke of Somerset in the month

The archbishop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed.

[e] [See Burnet's Hist of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. B. i. Nos. 43, 44. pp. 263–268. Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 520–522. Park. Soc. ed. and the Appendix to this volume.]

[f] [i.e. 2°. and 3°. Edw. VI. cap. 1. intituled, "An act for the uniformity of service and administration of the Sacraments throughout the realm." — See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pp. 37–39.]

of October, and laying him in the Tower, it was generally said that now the old Latin service should come in again, the common opinion being, that the Common Prayer was
194 peculiarly of his procuring. And that there were such designs among Somerset's enemies, who were generally favourers of the old religion, it is not improbable. The good archbishop thought it now time to interpose in this thing, and to obtain from the privy-council somewhat to confirm the book of Common Prayer. So there was in December 25 a general letter drawn up to all the bishops of England: letting them understand, that there was no intention of bringing in again Latin service, conjured bread and water, nor any such abrogated ceremonies: and that the abolishing of these, and the setting forth of the book of Common Prayer, was done by the whole state of the realm. That the book was grounded upon the holy Scripture, and was agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the edifying of the subject. And therefore that the changing of that for the old Latin service would be a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again. The bishops therefore were bid with all speed to command their deans and prebendaries, and all parsons, vicars, and curates, to bring to such places as the bishops should appoint, all antiphoners, missals, &c. and all other books of service: and that they be defaced and abolished, that they be no let to that godly and uniform order set forth. And to commit to ward any stubborn and disobedient persons that brought not the said books, and to certify the council of their misbehaviour. That they should make search, if any of these superstitious books were withdrawn or hid. That, whereas there were some persons, who refused to contribute to the buying of bread and wine for the com-

munion, according to the order of the book, whereby many times the holy communion was fain to be omitted, to convent such persons before them, and admonish them; and if they refused to do accordingly, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censure. This was signed by the archbishop and the lord chancellor Rich, and four moreg.

g [See the Appendix to this volume, in which this letter is printed entire.]

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP ENTERTAINS LEARNED FOREIGNERS.

The archbishop harbours learned strangers.

The archbishop had now in his family several learned men. Some he sent for from beyond sea, and some in pity he entertained, being exiles for religion. Among the former sort was Martin Bucer[h], a man of great learning and moderation, and who bore a great part in the reformation of Germany. While he and the rest abode under his roof, the archbishop still employed them, sometimes in learned conferences and consultations held with them, sometimes in writing their judgment upon some subjects in divinity. Here Bucer wrote to the lady Elizabeth a letter, bearing date the 6th of the calends of September, commending her study in piety and learning, and exciting her to proceed therein; incited so to do, I make no doubt, by the archbishop, whom Bucer in that letter makes men-
195 tion of, and styleth "Patrem suum, et benignissimum hospitem[i]." Hence also he wrote another letter to the marquis of Northampton[j] (who was a patron of learning,

[h] ["Martin Bucer was one of the first reformers at Strasburgh; he was born in Alcaçe in 1491. At seven years old he took the habit of St. Dominic. He read Luther's works, and conferred with him in person at Heidelberg, in 1521: but although he agreed with him in many of his opinions, yet in the following year he gave the preference to those of Zuinglius. He was at the Interim at Augsburg in 1548, from whence the news of his piety, and sentiments upon matters of faith reached England; and, at Cranmer's solicitation, he came to England in 1549, and taught divinity at Cambridge, where he died in 1551." [Feb. 27.]—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 704. n. 2. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[i] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxiii. p. 4.]

[j] [i. e. William Par, earl of Essex, marquis of Northampton, who was appointed an assistant to the executors of Henry VIIIth's will; he was a privy-councillor, and was sent against

and a professor of religion), in the behalf of Sleidan, who was promised a pension by the king, to enable him to write the history of the progress of religion, beginning at Luther. A part of the letter, translated into English, ran thus:—

"Therefore if we should not take care that this so great act of divine goodness towards us, [viz. the reformation began in the year 1517], should be most diligently written and consecrated to posterity, we should lie under the crime of the neglect of God's glory, and most foul ingratitude. Therefore John Sleidan, a very learned and eloquent man, five years ago began to compile an history of this nature, as the work he had published did witness. But after he was much encouraged in this undertaking, and well furnished with matter, the calamities that befel Germany, for our own deserts, intercepted the pious attempts of this man, so very useful to the church. Nor doth it appear now from whence, besides the king's majesty, we may hope that some small benignity may be obtained for Sleidan; since the salaries, which he received for this purpose from the German princes, failed; and he was poor. That John Alasco, Dr. Peter Martyr, and he, considering these things, and weighing how the truly Christian king Edward was even born with a desire of illustrating the glory of Christ, and what need there was to set Sleidan again upon finishing the History of the Gospel restored to us; they had therefore presumed to

the Norfolk rebels, but was unsuccessful: he took part against the lord protector, and upon his removal was appointed one of the six governors of the king's person. He was brought to trial for taking part against queen Mary but escaped, and was one of queen Elizabeth's first privy-council. See above, p. 44. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 7, 30, 36, 243, 246, 280, 286, 396, 471, 486, 487, 752. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

supplicate the king in his behalf, and intreated the marquis to promote and forward their supplication, and to vouchsafe to contribute his help also." We shall hear more of this hereafter.

Bucer writes in the archbishop's family. MSS. C. C. C. C. Miscellan. D[l].

I find also annotations writ by the said Bucer upon St. Matthew, reaching as far as the eighth chapter, and there ending, in this method: There is the Latin translation, with large notes added in the margin; and at the end of each chapter common places collected from thence in the nature of inferences and observations: which I conclude the archbishop put him upon doing while he was now with him. The work was looked over and examined by the archbishop, notes and corrections of his own hand being here and there inserted. Also the gospel of St. Mark is handled in the same method, by another of the archbishop's guests: which writing hath this inscription by Cranmer's hand; "Petrus Alexander in Marcum."

The archbishop's guests.

At this time therefore there were at the archbishop's house, (besides Bucer), Alasco[m], Peter Martyr[n], Paulus

[l] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. civ. p. 1.]

[m] [John à Lasco, a nobleman of Poland, the nephew of an archbishop of that name, who had formerly lived and boarded with Erasmus, by whose conversation and writings he was led into the reformed systems. Having embraced the Reformation, he forsook his country and became preacher to a protestant congregation at Embden. In September 1548 he visited England "upon the invitation of Cranmer, with whom he resided at Lambeth six months. He returned to Embden in the spring of 1549; but the introduction of the Interim into Friesland accelerated his departure from that country, which he quitted in October, and having resided for some time at Bremen and Hamburgh, he embarked from the last named town, and reached England in the spring of 1550, where on July 24th he was appointed the superintendant of the foreign protestant congregation established in London." His ministry was suppressed at the accession of queen Mary, and he himself, with most of the foreign protestants, upon orders to that effect, left the kingdom. He stood very high in the estimation

Phagius[o], Peter Alexander[p], Bernardine Ochin[q], Mat. Negelinus, after a minister of Strasburgh, who accom-

of Cranmer, and interfered injudiciously, as some have thought, in the controversies of our own church.—See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 203, 4. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 318, 319, 405, 501. vol. iii. p. 398. ed. Oxon. 1829. Original Letters of the Reformat. p. 187. n. 2. and abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 420. et sqq. Park. Soc. eds.]

[n] ["Peter Martyr was born at Florence in 1500. He studied at Padua and Bononia, and was a monk of the Augustine order in the monastery of Fiezoli. He preached the doctrines of Zuinglius and Bucer, privately at Rome; being impeached there, he fled to Naples, and thence to Lucca. Having been sent for by king Edward, he was made professor of divinity at Oxford, in 1549, but retired to Strasburgh on the accession of queen Mary, and died in 1562."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 704. n. 1. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[o] [Paulus Phagius accompanied Martin Bucer into England to propagate the doctrines of the reformation, upon the invitation of archbishop Cranmer. He was profoundly skilled in the eastern languages, and was appointed to the professorship of Hebrew at Cambridge, where he died November 15, 1549. His bones with those of Bucer were taken up and burnt in 1557. — See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 194–197. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 704. n. 3. ed. Lond. 1843–48. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 182, 694. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 426. n. 1.]

[p] [Peter Alexander, whom the archbishop employed as his secretary. Like Bucer and Phagius, he appears to have written expositions of Scripture at Lambeth.—Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 201.]

[q] [Bernardine Ochin, an Italian, who had been highly distinguished at Naples as the chief director of the capuchin friars and at Venice as a preacher. Having embraced the principles of the reformation he fled to Switzerland, and thence to Strasburgh; he came to England upon the invitation of archbishop Cranmer, who obtained a prebend of Canterbury for him almost immediately from the crown, to which he was presented May 9, 1548. He departed from England at the accession of queen Mary, at which time he was deprived of his prebend and pronounced contumacious. — See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 188–190. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 109. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 18.]

panied Bucer and Phagius into England, and others whose names do not occur. Three of these were soon after preferred to public places of reading in the universities. Peter Alexander was of Artois, and lived with the archbishop before Bucer came into England. He was a learned man, but had different sentiments in the matter of the Eucharist, inclining to the belief of a corporeal presence with the Lutherans. Though some years after he
196 came over to a righter judgment, as his companion Peter
Calvin. Ep. 197. Martyr signified to Calvin, in a letter wrote from Strasburgh[r].

Martyr dedicates his lectures at Oxon. to the archbishop.

Peter Martyr coming about the beginning of the year 1549 unto the university of Oxford, his first readings were upon the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; in which chapter is some discourse of the Lord's supper. The professor, when he came so far, took occasion to expatiate more largely upon that argument; and the rather, that he might state it aright in the midst of those hot contests that were then about it among learned men. These lectures on the sacrament he soon after printed at London, for the benefit of the world, (as they were two years after done at Zurich), and dedicated them to his patron the archbishop. And that partly to give a public testimony of his sense of the archbishop's great humanity and benefits towards him: "which were so large, that he must do nothing else but tell of them, to be sufficiently thankful for them. And known it was to

[r] ["Petrus Alexander, ut ad me scribit, est brevi te invisurus: quæso illum æquo ac libenti animo videas. Nam licet hactenus de re sacramentaria sit nobis adversatus, attamen in præsentia Deo monstrante totus est noster, atque potest ecclesiæ nonnihil prodesse. Rursus vale, ac me precibus apud Deum juvato. Argentinæ, 24 Septembris." [A. D. 1554.]—P. Martyr. Calvino.-Calvin. Epist. p. 91. ed. Amstel. 1667.]

all," as he said, "how obligingly he received, and how liberally he entertained, both himself, and many other strangers of his rank and condition. And partly that by his authority he would protect and defend what he should find in his book to be consonant to the holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the king's laws. For he had," he said, "skill and industry enough to do it; who had himself often, both in public and private, conflicted with the adversaries, and with admirable learning, accuracy of wit, and dexterity, vindicated the truth from the spinous and confused cavils of sophisters. Nor did he want will to stand up for sound and Christian doctrines, as all good men knew: who saw how earnest he was in his labours of restoring religion; that for that cause he drew upon himself many enmities and threatening dangers[s]."

[s] ["Quamobrem non opus fuit, ut meum hunc libellum eo consilio tibi exhiberem, ut ex eo aliquid novi cognosceres, (cum ego potius majorem doctrinæ partem ex tuis laboribus hauserim), sed tantum ob id ad tuam celsitudinem hoc meum scriptum destinavi, quo tua censura, (cum jure et merito sis primas totius Angliæ), de illo statueres, notaresque in eo, quicquid a recto et orthodoxo sensu visum fuerit dissentire: utque authoritate tua, (quæ veluti est, ita summo loco haberi debet), ea protegeres, tuereris, atque defenderes, quæ judicaveris divinis literis consona, et cum regiæ majestatis edictis pulchre convenire. Taceo præterea multa, propter quæ in ita causa, non minori, (quam tuum sit), patrocinio nihil opus fuerit. Negotium itaque, (ut dixi), probe tenes. Ars etiam, ratio et industria tuendi quæ amplecteris, nequaquam tuam celsitudinem deficit. Quod inde possumus edoceri, quia sæpius cum adversariis et publice et privatim es conflictatus, et mira ut doctrinæ, ingenii acrimonia, et agendi dexteritate, quæ vera esse cognoveras, a sophistarum spinosis et intricatis cavillis, asseruisti. Quam vero non desit voluntas, imo præsentissimum animum habeas ad tuenda sana et Christiana dogmata, omnes pii satis intelligunt, qui tanto studio religionis instaurandæ te flagrare viderunt, ut hac una de causa gravissimas inimicitias susceperis, multa commoda hujus vitæ neglexeris, et horribilia pericula subieres.—Ea vero est benignitas tua et humanitas, merita et beneficia quibus me affecisti, pro quibus si velim juste

The archbishop writes to Bucer to come over.

The first occasion of Bucer's call into England was thus. He had wrote to John Hales[t], (a learned Englishman, his acquaintance), the sad estate of Germany, and that he could scarce stay any longer in the place where he was. This Hales acquainted the archbishop with; which made a great impression upon his compassionate soul, and he brake out into those words of the Psalmist, "Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui salvos facis sperantes in te a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ." And forthwith writ to Bucer a letter in October 1548, to come over to this realm, which should be a most safe harbour for him, urging him to become a labourer in the Lord's harvest here begun; and using other arguments with him to move him hereunto, in the most obliging style possible, calling him, "My Bucer." And that he might come over the safer from harms and enemies, the archbishop recommended him to one Hills, an English merchant, to provide for his passage.

No. XLIII. The archbishop's letter may be found in the Appendix. To this letter Bucer wrote an answer, seeming upon some considerations to decline the archbishop's invitation[u]. This letter coming to the archbishop's hands, he shewed

gratias agere, eaque ut merentur ornare, et mihi nil præterea dicendum erit, et quantumvis ista prædicavero, magnitudine rei semper vincetur oratio. Idcirco de his potius nihil, quam indigne ac tenuiter dicere, statui. Notum est jam omnibus, non solum me, verum permultos alios mei ordinis peregrinos, quam humaniter exceperis, et exceptos quam benigne tractaveris, ideo hæc, ut probe cognita, ulterius prosequi desino."—P. Martyr. Tractat. de sacr. Euchar. Epist. nuncupat. fol. i. b. 2. ed. Lond. 1549.]

[t] [John Hales was a learned and good man, and clerk of the hanaper to Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth. In queen Mary's time he was an exile at Frankfort. He died A. D. 1572.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 47. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 405. ed. Oxon. 1822. Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 74. pt. ii. p. 117. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 352. ed. Oxon. 1824. Bp. Keith's Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 226, 7. Spottiswode Soc. ed.]

[u] [See Original Letters of the Reformat. pp. 533, 4. Park. Soc. ed.]

to Peter Alexander; who, by the archbishop's order, wrote back to Bucer, in the said archbishop's and the protector's name, to call him again over; which letter was dated March 24, from Lambeth; telling him withal, that the good old man Latimer saluted him[v]. Letters, I suppose, of the same import, were also dispatched to the 197
learned Fagius[x].

Bucer and Fagius, who were thus honourably invited into England by repeated letters of the lord protector and archbishop Cranmer, were by them also nominated for public professors in the university of Cambridge, the one of divinity, the other of the Hebrew tongue. This was looked on by their friends as a notable piece of God's good providence, that when these two eminent champions of the true religion were in so much present danger in Germany, so seasonable a refuge was provided for them elsewhere. They both arrived safe in England in the end of April, and abode with the archbishop above a quarter of a year, until towards the end of the long vacation, the arch-

Bucer and Fagius professors at Cambridge.

Vit. P. Fag. per Ministr. aliquos Eccles. Argent[y].

[v] [See Buceri Script. Anglic. pp. 191, 2. ed. Basil, 1577.]

[x] [See Original Letters of the Reformat. p. 329. Park. Soc. ed.]

[y] ["Cæterum tot atque tanta, quæ piis Christi ministris, omnium vero maxime antesignanis, in Germania imminebant pericula, nationes etiam exteras latere diutius haud poterant: unde factum est, ut et Bucerus et Fagius, propter veritatis inconcussam professionem, extremis periculis quasi expositi, divina providentia sic disponente, ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et regni Anglicani protectore in Angliam, quasi in locum refugii tutissimum, semel atque iterum serio vocarentur: nimirum ut eam nationem fermento evangelii magis conspergerent. Dimisi itaque a suis magistratibus, licet invitis, et temporum necessitatibus quasi adactis, per terras et maria paulo ante calendas Maii (ringentibus interea, atque frementibus plurimis quos habuerunt hostibus, iisque impiissimis) in Angliam salvi et incolumes pervenerunt. Hac divina in hos benedictione considerata, haud præter rem quis cogitet, Germaniam jam permultum mutatam ab illa, tantis civibus ulterius fuisse indignam. Hæc tamen est fortuna non insolens fidissimis

bishop intending they should be at Cambridge when the term should begin, in order to their reading. During this interval, while they continued at Lambeth, they were not idle; being every day busied in some study and exercise agreeable to their function, as was hinted before. But the main of their thoughts were taken up in preparing for

quibusque doctis atque ecclesiasticis viris, in hujus tristissimo incolatu sæculi: donec aliquando lætissimum illud, euge serve bone ac fidelis &c. a summo pastore Christo suo audire contingat. In archiepiscopi hujus aula novi et diu expetiti hospites Germani, honorificentissime excipiebantur permultisque diebus ibi non absque pietatis incremento detinebantur. Sub id vero tempus subingressi sunt dies, quos vocant, vacantiarum, quibus in academiis istius regionis anni fere quartam partem a prælectionibus professores feriantur. Hæc sane fuit causa, quod Bucerus et Fagius, quamvis id valde optabant, certis suis ministeriis tempestivius non sint destinati. Quanquam autem nullum diem absque linea ducta abire paterentur: tamen præter reliquas lectiones atque meditationes, in maxime præclarum et universæ ecclesiæ Christi utilissimum opus, præcipue erant intenti: nimirum, ut integra Biblia non solum proprietate sermonis, sed etiam succincta, clara tamen, certa atque perspicua interpretatione, locorumque difficilium aut pugnantium euodatione ac conciliatione illustrata in lucem ederentur. Habuit hic ipsorum conatus laudatissimus authorem archiepiscoporum Cantuarien. qui ipsos ad alios labores paratos, ad hunc præcipue tum vocabat, atque invitabat. Cujus voluntati libenter morem gerentes, ipsum opus pari studio et alacritate aggrediuntur: ita tamen, ut ipsius operæ facerent aliquam distributionem, videlicet, ut D. Bucerus in explicatione et illustratione Novi Testamenti: alter vero Paul. Fagius in interpretatione et elucidatione Veteris Testamenti, consideratis fontibus linguarum, elaboraret. Habuit quidem iste labor pulcherrimum initium: sed tamen illius progressum morbus utriusque valde periculosus mox intercepit: cujus etiam effectum mors Fagii insperata, maxime tamen luctuosa, ut paulo post dicetur, prorsus tandem evertit. Dedit nihilominus uterque specimen alicujus præclari monumenti, si Deus vitam ipsis prorogasset. D. enim Bucerus evangelium Joannis auspicatus: Fagius vero Esaiam aggressus, aliquot capita uterque in suo opere absolvit." Hist. vera de vita, &c. D. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii. ed. Argent. 1562.]

their university lectures: which, of what subject-matter they should be, the archbishop himself directed. As it had been a great while his pious and most earnest desire, that the holy Bible should come abroad in the greatest exactness, and true agreement with the original text: so he laid this work upon these two learned men. First, that they should give a clear, plain, and succinct interpretation of the Scripture, according to the propriety of the language. And, secondly, illustrate difficult and obscure places, and reconcile those that seemed repugnant to one another. And it was his will and his advice, that to this end and purpose their public readings should tend. This pious and good work, by the archbishop assigned to them, they most gladly and readily undertook. For their more regular carrying on this business, they allotted to each other, by consent, their distinct tasks. Fagius, because his talent lay in the Hebrew learning, was to undertake the Old Testament, and Bucer the New. The leisure they now enjoyed with the archbishop, they spent in preparing their respective lectures. Fagius entered upon the evangelical prophet Esaias, and Bucer upon the gospel of the evangelist John: and some chapters in each book were dispatched by them. But it was not long, but both of them fell sick, which gave a very unhappy stop to their studies.

Fagius' distemper proved mortal; who was seized at first with a very acute fever. And notwithstanding physic and attendance, remaining very ill, he had a great desire to remove to Cambridge to his charge appointed him, hoping the change of air might help him. He made a shift to travel thither, leaving his dear colleague sick behind him. But Fagius still declining in his health, ardently desired Bucer's company, who on the fifth of November came to Cambridge. And ten days after Fagius

Fagius dies.

deceased, aged about forty-five years, to the extraordinary loss of that university, and the grief of all pious men that wished well to religion; and, which was most to be lamented, before he had given any specimen of his learning and abilities in England; though he had already given many to the world, all shewing what a master he
198 was in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. His published labours of this nature, (all within the space of six years),
No. XLIV. may be seen in the Appendix: which I have placed there for the preserving the memory of that learned professor, which our university of Cambridge was once honoured with.

The archbishop sends money to Fagius' widow.

The good archbishop, troubled at the sudden death of this learned man, from whom he had promised himself some great good to accrue to the university, sent a letter, November the last, unto his sorrowful companion Bucer, desiring him, among other things, as from him, to comfort Fagius' widow, and to let her know, that he had sent her by the carrier seven and twenty pounds, which was part of the stipend due out of the exchequer to her husband: which although it were not yet paid into Cranmer's hands, yet he thought good to send her the money so soon, that it might be some alleviation of her present sorrow. There were fifty pounds due for his readings, reckoning from Lady-day last, when his pension began; but three pounds were disbursed for charges in taking out the patent, and twenty pounds the archbishop had sent him before[z].

Bucer laments his loss.

Bucer above all lamented the loss of his mate, and wrote a sorrowful letter "ad fratres et symmystas," to his brethren and fellow-ministers in Germany upon this subject. And in a letter to P. Martyr, then at Oxon, he not only complained of this heavy loss, but, as if himself were like to

[z] [The letter of archbishop Cranmer to Martin Bucer will be found in the Appendix to this volume.]

follow him, of several things that made him uneasy at Cambridge, where he was now placed; as, of the want of a convenient house, of a body impatient of cold, which the time of the year made him begin to feel, need of necessaries: that the letters patents were not yet signed, [for his salary], and the slow and uncertain payment of his pension. But Cranmer, out of that high respect he had for him, was not wanting in his diligence in due time to make all easy to him; and to have so useful and grave a man well provided for. But the next year, the last day of February, he followed his companion to the other world: but not before he had made himself and his learning known to the university; which, to qualify him to moderate at the public disputations at the Commencement, had given him the degree of doctor, as a peculiar honour done him, without the common rites and forms ordinarily used in those cases. Yet he chose to do his exercises, responding the first day of the Commencement, and opposing the second, with great learning, and no less satisfaction to the university.

CHAPTER XIV.

PETER MARTYR DISPUTES IN OXFORD, BEING CHALLENGED THEREUNTO.

The papists in both universities were resolved to try the metal and learning of their new professors; being exceedingly nettled at their coming, and offended at their readings.

P. Martyr challenged publicly to a disputation.

Those of P. Martyr at Oxon highly provoked many in that university, that could not endure to hear the old error of the corporeal presence opposed. And of such there were
199 not a few, and especially the heads of the colleges; the elder sort being more stiff and prejudiced to their old ways and opinions. This doctrine of the sacrament was first obscured, and afterwards depraved: and so this error being entertained, became a door for the letting in a flood of superstition and idolatry into the church. This Martyr well knew, and therefore with wonderful pains endeavoured to vindicate the truth of the eucharist from error and corruption[a]. And this procured him many enemies here. For they could not endure him: and first raised up among the people slanders against him; as though he impugned the doctrine of the ancients, and shook the laudable ceremonies of the church, and profaned the sacrament of the altar, and in effect trampled it under his feet. And this noise being a little stilled, not long after, the day before he was to read publicly, they set up bills in English upon all the doors of the churches, that on such a day there should be a public disputation about the presence of Christ

Vit. Mart. per Simler.

[a] [See Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. pp. 334–341. ed. Lond. 1840, 4. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 217–220. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

in the sacrament, Martyr knowing nothing of it, though he was designed to be the disputant. The day being come, the schools were filled with great numbers of such who favoured the papists: and these were instructed to be ready to make loud clamours and tumults, and to proceed to blows, if need were. The students also and the townsmen flocked together at the noise of this dispute, to see the event, and to make a party, according as they stood affected. When the day was come, notwithstanding his friends persuaded him not to adventure himself to read that day, lest he might incur some danger, he went and did his duty. For he said, "he would not be wanting to his office, nor neglect the place the king had intrusted him with; and that there were many, that came questionless to hear his lectures, whom he would not disappoint." As he, with his friends accompanying him, went to his reading, a servant of Richard Smith, D. D. whom we have before spoke of[b], the chief in this plot, met him, and delivered him a letter from his master, wherein he challenged him to a dispute that day[c].

[b] [See vol. i. p. 178, n. z, and above, p. 77. et sqq.]

[c] ["Itaque sub exitum Novembris anni 1547, permissu senatus Argentina, ubi jam quinquennium docuerat, in Angliam discessit, comitante eum Bernardino Ochino, qui et ipse quoque ab eodem archiepiscopo vocatus fuerat. Cum autem aliquandiu eos archiepiscopus secum detinuisset, et omnibus humanitatis officiis prosecutus esset, Martyr jussu regis sacris literis interpretandis Oxonii præfectus est. In ea Academia primum enarravit epistolam D. Pauli ad Corinthios priorem, eo quod in ea tractentur varia et multiplicia capita quæ ad nostrorum temporum controversias faciunt, sic ut hujus epistolæ doctrina si commode dextreque adhibita fuerit, omnibus vitiis quibus ecclesiæ sinceritas corrupta est, mederi possit: et omnes abusus atque superstitiones papisticas convincere. Pontificii quorum adhuc Oxonii magnus erat numerus, initio quidem utcunque patienter ferebant Martyrem docentem, et quidam etiam lectiones ejus frequentabant, et se illius eruditionem admirari præ se ferebant: alii vero ac præcipue collegiorum præsides, suos arcebant a lectionibus, nihil tamen movebant ulterius. Verum

His answer hereunto.

Being come to the chair, he gently told his adversaries, in a modest speech to them, "that he refused not to dispute, but that at that time he came to read, and not

posteaquam damnatis jam ante ipsorum votis, deinceps occasione verborum Apostoli de cœna Domini tractare incæpit, existimarunt sibi non ulterius esse quiescendum. Etenim cum majores ipsorum obscurata primum, deinde depravata doctrina hujus dogmatis, in ecclesiam hac janua erroris patefacta omnem superstitionem et idololatriam invexerint, non poterant ferre Martyrem, qui mirifico studio veritatem eucharistiæ ab eorum erroribus et corruptelis vindicabat. Quo vero non modo invidiam, sed grave etiam periculum illi crearent eum apud vulgus primum usitatis criminationibus traducebant, quod majorum doctrinam impugnaret, ceremonias optime constitutas convelleret, sacrosanctum altaris sacramentum prophanaret, et tantum non pedibus conculcaret. Deinde omnibus rebus compositis, ipso ignorante, omnibus templis schedas Anglico sermone conscriptas affigunt, postridie publice disputandum esse contra præsentiam Christi in sacra cœna. Die ergo sequenti hi auditorium occupant, operas suas idoneis locis disponunt, easque ad clamores et tumultum, et ad pugnam præterea si usus postulet paratas esse jubent. Concurrunt præterea audiendi causa, non tantum studiosi ex omnibus collegiis, verum etiam pars non exigua concitati populi, partim ut eventum rei spectarent, partim etiam ut alterutri parti adessent, si forte tumultus aliquis exoriretur. Martyr interea horum omnium ignarus sese domi parabat, ut hora constituta more solito lectionem faceret, eum interea amici permoti insolita concursatione populi, domum ad eum veniunt, ac illi omnem rem exponunt, hortanturque, ut se domi contineat, neque aliquod periculum sibi conciliet, quandoquidem adversarii ita parati sint, ut potius videantur armis quam argumentis concertare velle. Respondet ille, se non posse officio suo deesse, et munus a rege demandatum sibi, negligere, se nullius tumultus auctorem unquam fuisse, cujus rei ipsi optimi testes esse possint: nunc quoque se nolle adversariis tumultuandi occasionem dare, sed more solito legere velle, esse haud dubie multos in hoc cœtu qui lectiones consuetas expetant, quos non possit negligere. Pergebat jam ad auditorium comitantibus illum amicorum fidelissimis, cum illi in via obvius fit puer Smithæi, qui in hac tragœdia primas partes agebat, ac literas ei porrigit quibus ipsum herus suus ad disputandum provocabat."—Simler. Orat. de vita et obitu P. Martyr., pp. 13, 14. ed. Tigur. 1563.]

to dispute." And so themselves yielding to it, he proceeded to his lecture, which he performed with much constancy and undauntedness, without the least disturbance of mind, or change of countenance or colour, or hesitation in his speech, notwithstanding the murmur and noise of the adversaries. Which got him much credit and applause.

Declines it at present, and why.

As soon as he had done his reading, the adversaries began to make loud cries that he should dispute, and especially Smith the champion. But he modestly refused it, and said, "he would do it at another time, and that he was not then prepared, because they had so studiously concealed the propositions to be disputed of, and had not propounded them publicly, according to the accustomed manner; and that he knew nothing of them till that very day." But they told him, "he could not be unprepared, who had read so much of the Lord's supper, whatsoever arguments they propounded in this matter." They still rudely urging him; he said, "he would do nothing 200
in such a matter without the king were first made privy to it, especially when the thing tended to sedition. Moreover, for a lawful disputation, it was requisite," he said, "that certain questions be propounded, judges and moderators constituted; and public notaries be present, that might impartially and faithfully write down the arguments and speeches on both sides[d]."

[d] ["Ibi tum amici rursus monere, rogare, hortari ut domum redeat, commemorare pericula quæ ipsum maneant, perstat tamen ille in sententia, pergit in auditorium ac provocantes adversarios modesta oratione compescens quantum poterat, respondet, se disputationem non recusare, sed nunc non disputandi, sed legendi causa huc venisse, atque ita illis concedentibus lectionem more solito habet, magna omnium admiratione. Quippe qui ante singularem doctrinam et eloquentiam admirati, nunc quoque incredibilem constantiam et fortitudinem in ipso suspicerent. In

They agree upon the conditions of a disputation.

In fine, the matter came to that pass, that, fearing a tumult, the vice-chancellor[e] decided the controversy after this manner, "That both P. Martyr and Smith, with some friends, should meet in his house, and should appoint the propositions to be disputed of, the time, the order, and the manner of disputation." And so the vice-chancellor,

tanto enim murmure populi et fremitu adversariorum, ita lectionem absolvit, ut nulla mutatio vultus et coloris in eo esset, non hæsitatio aliqua vocis, non linguæ titubatio, non denique tremor membrorum aut pallor aliquam opinionem timoris præbuit. Finita lectione acrius instant adversarii, et eum magnis clamoribus ad disputandum provocant, neque modestissimam ejus excusationem recipiunt, quod se diceret disputaturum esse sed alio tempore, nunc se non esse paratum, cum propositiones disputandas ita studiose occultarint, neque more solito publice proposuerint, ut eas ad hunc usque diem ignoret: aiebant enim eum, qui nuper causam cœnæ Domini, tam multis lectionibus tractasset, non posse imparatum esse quæcunque tandem in hac materia quæstiones præponerentur. Tum ille cum eum urgere perseverarent, denuo respondit, se primum nolle inconsulta regia majestate tantam rem aggredi, præsertim cum res ad seditionem spectare videatur. Deinde ad legitimam disputationem requiri, ut proponantur certæ quæstiones, constituantur judices et moderatores, quorum judicio atque arbitrio tota res gubernetur, denique requiri notarios qui utriusque partis argumenta et orationes, bona fide justaque diligentia conscribant: cum autem horum nihil nunc paratum et constitutum sit, se nec velle nec posse disputare, præsertim cum non satis temporis supersit, die jam in meridiem vergente, ad tantam rem excutiendam."—Simler. Orat. de vita et obitu P. Martyr. p. 14.]

[e] [i. e. Walter Wright, vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford from A. D. 1547, to 1550; he was governor of Durham college, and the last archdeacon of Oxford whilst that dignity was part of the diocese of Lincoln, and the first at Oxford after its separation, having received the appointment in the beginning of A. D. 1543. Upon the accession of queen Mary he complied and was appointed one of the visitors of Magdalen College, but "was the most moderate, seeking to qualify the cruelty of the rest, as far as he could or durst appear." Upon "the crowning of queen Elizabeth he confessed his errors, and with a weak voice but strong arguments in his sermon preached

the beadle making him way, went to the pulpit where the professor was, and took him by the hand, and led him down through the crowds to his own house, his friends going along with him; and among the rest Sidal[f] and Curtop[g], then vigorous defenders of the truth; but after, in queen Mary's days, revolting. Smith also, and his friends Cole[h]

at Allhallows, solidly confuted the main of popish opinions." He died May 10, A. D. 1561, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Oxford.—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 166, 232, 457, and Fuller's Church Hist. vol. iv. p. 153. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

[f] [Henry Sidal, or Sydel, (see above, p. 14), canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and vicar of Walthamstow, Essex, was one of the principal managers of the allurements and threats, by which Cranmer was induced to sign the recantations attributed to him, which he and the Spanish friar, John de Villa Garcina, subscribed as witnesses. Notwithstanding the part that he had taken against the archbishop, and his persecuting spirit during the reign of queen Mary, he was amongst the first who conformed upon the accession of queen Elizabeth. He died May 2, A. D. 1572. — See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 470–480. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 567, 8. Park. Soc. ed. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 394. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 154. ed. Oxon. 1821. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 235.]

[g] [James Curtop, or Curthop, M. A., was appointed the first canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in the sixth stall by the charter of the new foundation, A. D. 1546; his name also occurs as dean of Peterborough, May 3, A. D. 1550; he originally favoured the reformation, but recanted in queen Mary's reign, and was sworn as a witness against Cranmer at his trial. He died July 19, A. D. 1557.—See Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 546, 550. Park. Soc. ed. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 236, 240.]

[h] [Henry Cole, D.D. and LL.D., archdeacon of Ely, A.D. 1540, was elected warden of New College, Oxford, "October 4, 1542," which "he resigned April 16, 1551." In 1554 he succeeded sir Thomas Smith as provost of Eton, and December 11, 1556, became dean of St. Paul's, of which he was deprived in the first year of queen Elizabeth's reign. He preached the sermon at Cranmer's execution, and was one of the popish disputants at Westminster, March 31, 1559: for the part he took on this occasion, he was fined, together with Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield

Oglethorpe[i], and three more, repaired to the vice-chancellor; where it was agreed, after some jangling, that Martyr should observe the same order in confuting as he did in teaching; and abstaining from strange, barbarous, and ambiguous words, wont to be used in the schools: he said, he would use only "carnaliter" and "corporaliter," "re-

and Coventry, Cuthbert Scot, bishop of Chester, Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, John Harpsfield, and William Chedsey; he was sent to the Tower and afterwards imprisoned in the Fleet by order of the queen's commissioners.—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 74, 185, 362, 489. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 367, 454, vol. iv. p. 274. ed. Oxon. 1845. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vi. pp. 140, 1. ed. Lond. 1840, 41. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1885, 6. ed. Lond. 1583. Strype's Life of sir Thos. Smith, p. 46. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 129, 139, 140, 220, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 660. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[i] [See above, p. 79. Owen Oglethorpe, S.T.P., who was concerned in the disputation at Oxford upon the sacrament against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, A.D. 1554, was elected president of Magdalen College, Oxford, February 21, 1535, which he resigned, September 27, 1552. He was a second time elected to the headship of this house, October 31, 1553, upon the resignation of Walter Haddon, on the 5th of April, 1555. On the 14th October, 1540, he was also installed canon of Windsor, and "from a canonry was installed dean in 1553; he was the first dean" of Windsor "that enjoyed the office of registrary of the most noble order of the garter, which before that time had always been enjoyed by one of the canons." He "was consecrated bishop of Carlisle, Aug. 15, 1557, and was present at the Westminster disputation." Notwithstanding that he had crowned queen Elizabeth, "an office which all other bishops then stiffly denied to perform," he refused to take the oath of supremacy. He was deprived of his bishopric "about Midsummer (June 21,) 1559;" he "died of apoplexy, and was privately buried, January 4, 1560, at St. Dunstan's in the West London."—See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1428. ed. Lond. 1583. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 335, 376, 382, 493. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 466, 7. vol. iv. p. 193. ed. Oxon. 1845. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 564, 776, 792. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 139, 204, 210, 214. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

aliter" and "substantialiter," because the Scripture useth only the words "flesh" and "body," "res" or "substantia." And so it was agreed; and the day set was the fourth of May ensuing. And it was agreed also on both sides, that all this whole matter should be signified to the council, that they might have cognizance of the thing. And by them the day of the disputation was appointed, when some from the king, as judges and keepers of peace, would be present at it. The papists reported falsely, "that he, having appointed the time of the disputation to be ten days hence; in the mean time got the magistrates acquainted with this affair, that they might stop and forbid it, (which they did indeed, proroguing it till some months after the first challenge.) And that afterwards, when the professor saw his opportunity, he provoked to a public disputation, offering to dispute of his questions formerly propounded, and thought there would be none to take him up. For Smith, they say, smelt out some crafty device taken against him, and so appeared not at the dispute. And then indeed few thought convenient to be there, their plot of making a rout and confusion being spoiled. Indeed Smith, conscious to himself of making this tumult, fled before the day came, and went into Scotland. But Dr. Tresham[j], a zealous man, that this cause might not fall, was desirous to undertake the disputation; and did so, with Dr. Chedsey[k],

[j] [William Tresham, S.T.P., canon of Christ Church, Oxford, he was appointed a commissioner for the discussion of certain questions in religion, A. D. 1540, and took part in the disputation at Oxford against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, as well as in that above mentioned with P. Martyr. He was also a witness against Cranmer at his trial.—See vol. i. p. 174. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 233. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 565. ed. Oxon. 1829. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1428, 1879. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[k] [William Chedsey, or Chadsey, "was by the protestants accounted a very mutable and unconstant man

and Mr. Morgan[l], before the king's visitors: who were Henry bishop of Lincoln[m], Dr. Cox[n], chancellor of that university, Dr. Simon Haines, dean of

in his religion, but by the Roman catholics not, but rather a great stickler for their religion, and the chief prop in his time in the university for the cause, as it appeared not only in his opposition of P. Martyr, but of the three bishops that were burnt at Oxon." He succeeded John Sampson as parson of Allhallows, Bread Street, June 14, 1554, and was chaplain to bishop Boner, and canon of Windsor; he was collated October 10, 1556, to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, and was installed in the room of James Curthop deceased, as canon of Christ Church, Oxon, the latter end of July, 1557. He was also concerned in the disputation against Cranmer at Oxford; upon queen Elizabeth's accession he took part in the disputation at Westminster, was fined, and sent to the Tower, and afterwards imprisoned in the Fleet for recusancy, by order of the commissioners. — See above, p. 79. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. fol. 323, ed. Bliss. 1818–20. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 194, 236, 382. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 564, 776. ed. Oxon. 1829. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1428, et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 329, 591. pt. ii. pp. 125, 127, ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 129, 139, 140, 220, 417. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[l] [Henry Morgan was consecrated bishop of St. David's in the room of Robert Farrar, April 15, 1553, he pronounced the definitive sentence against his predecessor, and was present at the trial of bishop Hooper. — See above, p. 111. n. [b]. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1555. ed. Lond. 1583. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 286. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[m] [Henry Holbeach.]

[n] [Richard Cox, S.T.P. was one of those who went from Cambridge to Christ Church, Oxford, at its foundation; he was tutor and almoner to Edward VI. and held the offices of prebendary and archdeacon of Ely, dean of Christ Church, chancellor of the university of Oxford, and dean of Westminster. In the time of queen Mary he fled abroad, and was instrumental in quieting the troubles at Frankfort. Upon queen Elizabeth's accession he returned home, and took part in the important ecclesiastical transactions of her reign. "In 1559 he was nominated and elected bishop of Norwich, but before consecration he was removed to the see of Ely;" he died in July (either the 13th or 22nd), 1581. —See vol. i. p. 4. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 70, 74, 212, 230, 364, 443. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.

Exeter[o], Richard Morison, esq.[p], Christopher Nevison, doctor of civil law[q]. Before these honourable umpires, (who came with the king's letters patents), the disputation concerning transubstantiation, and the carnal presence in the sacrament, lasted four days; wherein P. Martyr the respondent did acquit himself very sufficiently, both from Scripture and Fathers[r]. The sum of which may be seen in

vol. ii. p. 2. vol. iii. pp. 376, 681. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 37, 8. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[o] [Simon Haines, or Heins, S.T.P., one of the early professors of the gospel in Cambridge, was master of Queen's college in that university, and installed canon of Windsor, Dec. 24, 1535; upon his return from a foreign embassy he was elected and confirmed dean of Exeter, July 23, and 28, 1537; he "was made the first prebendary" of the first stall at Westminster, "when king Henry VIII. converted this church into an episcopal see. A. D. 1540, he assisted in the compilation of the English liturgy; but at the time of the prosecutions upon the act of the Six Articles, he was imprisoned for favouring the reformation. He died, October, A. D. 1552."—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 86, 365, 382, 429. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 13. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 355, 543. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 134. pt. ii. p. 52. ed. Oxon. 1822. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. p. 27. ed. Oxon. 1845. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 653, 736. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[p] [Sir Richard Morison was one of the royal visitors appointed A. D. 1547; he was employed in several embassies during this reign, and fled to Strasburgh on the accession of queen Mary, where he died.—See above, p. 14. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 576, 577, pt. ii. p. 78. vol. iii. pt. i. pref. vi. pp. 7, 232. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. ii. p. 446. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, p. 12. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[q] [Sir Christopher Nevinson, who had sat as one of the judges and commissioners in the trial of George Van Paris, and was one of the royal commissioners, A. D. 1547.—See above, pp. 14, 100. n. [d]. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 239. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[r] ["Posteaquam vero his rationibus quamvis æquissimis adversariis non satisfiebat, et jam res ad pugnam et conflictum spectare videretur, interponit se universitatis Oxoniensis vice-cancellarius, (liceat enim mihi usitata nomina retinere), et his conditionibus pugnam dirimit, ut uterque, Martyr et Smithæus cum aliquot sociis in ipsius ædibus conveniant, propositiones dispu-

tandas, tempus, ordinem, et modum disputandi communi consilio constituant. Jubet deinde apparitores suos, pedellos* nominant, turbam summovere, et ipse ad suggestum accedens Martyrem manu illi porrecta e turba populi abducit, et domum usque comitatur, ac pro sua auctoritate tumultuantes compescit. Martyr liberatus ex hoc præsenti periculo, ne ideo quod causæ diffideret disputationem renuisse videretur, hora constituta ad domum vice-cancellarii venit, comitantibus ipsum cum aliis amicis, tum præsertim Sidallo, et Curtopo, qui illo tempore eximii veritatis defensores erant, postea tamen Marianis temporibus eandem constantiam non retinuerant. Facit idem adversarius, et secum adducit Colum, Oglethorpum, et tres alios theologiæ doctores. Diu inter eos de disputatione constituenda disceptatum est, Martyr enim æquum esse aiebat, ipsos in confutando eum servare ordinem quem ipse tenuisset in docendo, idque tandem obtinuit. Abhorrebat præterea a vocibus peregrinis, barbaris, et ambiguis, quæ tamen in scholis receptæ sunt, itaque duabus tantum usus est carnaliter, et corporaliter, quoniam scriptura in cœna describenda tantum carnis et corporis, non rei et substantiæ meminit, attamen ne ambiguitate aliqua ludere ipsum existimarent, se illas accipere dixit, atque si dictum esset realiter, et substantialiter. Fuerunt etiam aliis de rebus dissensiones aliquæ inter ipsos, attamen cum demum de universa ratione disputandi inter ipsos convenisset, omnia quæ tum constituta fuerunt, partium consensu ad regiæ majestatis consiliarios relata sunt, ut illi de tota controversia cognoscerent: ab his disputationis dies constitutus est quarto nonas Maii, ad quem diem affuturi sint legati regii, qui disputationi præsint. Verum Smithæus conscius sibi tumultus excitati, non expectata die constituta, fuga se subducit, et in Scotiam primum, deinde Lovanium in Brabantiam abiit. Posteaquam vero præscripta dies adfuit, venerunt Oxonium regii legati, R. D. Henricus, episcopus Lincolniensis, D. Richardus Coxus, universitatis Oxoniensis cancellarius, D. Simon Haydes†, decanus Oxoniensis‡, M. Richardus Morisinus, armiger, D. Christophorus Neuynsonus, Ju. C. doctor. His præsentibus disputavit Martyr per quatriduum cum tribus pontificiæ religionis theologis, Treshamo, et Cheadzeo, doctoribus, et Morgano, artium magistro. Quanta autem eruditione hos confutarit non necesse est a me commemorari, quandoquidem acta hujus disputationis in omnium manibus habentur. Nam Martyr quia adversarii multa falsa et conficta de hac disputatione in vulgus spargebant, eorum improbitate et præterea amicorum precibus, qui hoc assidue flagitabant, coactus, disputationem hanc in publicum edidit: qua autem fide ac

* [Sic.] † [Sic.] ‡ [Sic.]

Foxe's Monuments[s], and the whole in Martyr's works in 201
that part thereof intituled, "De Eucharistia Disputatio[t]."

The first day of the disputation was May the 28th: it was managed between Martyr and Tresham. Dr. Cox, the chancellor, began with a speech. Then Martyr made his proemial oration and prayer. Then Tresham succeeded with another oration, bestowing some praises upon Martyr; which he replying upon, and briefly and modestly declining, began his argument. The next disputation, on May 29, was between Martyr and Chedsey, after Martyr had made a short speech and prayer, and Chedsey his preface. The third action was between Morgan, Tresham, and Martyr. The disputation of the fourth day, June 1, was again between Chedsey and Martyr. And then all was concluded by another speech uttered by the said chancellor. Wherein he had these words: "Peter, (and a Peter indeed for his steady constancy), Martyr, (and rightly called Martyr, for the numberless testimonies by him produced in the behalf of truth), must needs obtain much favour and respect from us, and all good men; First, that he hath taken such vast pains in standing under even a burden of disputations. For if 'not Hercules himself against two,' what shall we think of Peter alone against all? Secondly, that he hath undertook the challenge of a disputation: and so stopped the vain speeches of vain men, who dispersed envious and odious insinuations concerning him; as that either he would not, or dared not, to maintain his own tenets. And, lastly, that he hath so excellently well answered the expectation of the chief ma- They dispute.

diligentia hoc fecerit, ostendit testimonium regiorum legatorum libro ab ipsis additum."—Simler. Orat. de vita et obitu. P. Martyr. pp. 14, 15.]

[s] [For an account of this disputation, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1373, et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[t] [P. Martyr. disput. de Eucharistia, A.D. 1549. ed. Lond.]

gistrates, and so of the king himself; while he hath not only recommended to the university the doctrine of Christ from God's lively fountains, but also hath not permitted any, (as much as lay in him), to muddy or obstruct them."

[Number XLIV.] But I refer the reader for the rest to Dr. Cox's own oration.

Martyr sends the sum of the disputation to the archbishop.

The professor drew up the whole four days' disputation soon after, and sent it by his constant friend and companion Julius, to his patron the archbishop. And with the same messenger he conveyed a letter, dated June 15, to Bucer, then at the archbishop's house, concerning his said disputation. Therein he signified the obstinacy and boldness of his opponents; and that he feared, "That his doctrines he then maintained might not altogether square with Bucer's judgment. But he said in his own justification, that he granted the body of Christ was present to us by faith, and that we are incorporated into him by communication. He confessed here, that we do partake of the matter of the sacrament, namely, the body and blood of Christ; but he meant it in mind and faith. And in the mean time he granted, that the Holy Ghost is efficacious in the sacraments, by virtue of the Lord's institution. But that which he especially endeavoured to assert, was, that they mixed not the body and blood of Christ carnally with the bread and wine, by any corporeal presence. Nor yet would he have the sacrament to be symbols without honour and reverence. Another thing he asserted, which he thought might offend Bucer, was, That it was not agreeable to the body of Christ, however glorified, to be in many places at once. But for this, he
202 wrote Bucer, as he urged in the disputation, that the Scripture obliged to no such belief; how the reason of an human body reclaimed against it; and the Fathers affirmed that such a quality was granted to no creature, but be-

longed to God alone." And so, inviting him, and Fagius[u] and Alexander[x], to Oxford, concluded his letter.

The disputation published by Martyr.

But when the papists dispersed vain stories and many falsehoods concerning this business, he was forced, his friends also urging him thereunto, to publish an account hereof. And with what fidelity and diligence he drew up his book, the testimonies of two of the king's councillors, ear-witnesses, added thereto, sufficiently confirmed. In the preface to his relation of these disputes, he assigned two reasons that made him publish them. The one was, the calumnies of evil men; the other, the desires of his friends. Under the former he complained, "how he was by his adversaries bespattered among all sorts of people, princes, nobles, commons, citizens, clowns: and that all corners, streets, houses, shops, taverns, sounded their triumphs over him: and he doubted not, that it was dispersed by them into other nations. Upon these considerations, his great patron, the archbishop of Canterbury, (to whom he dared to deny nothing), and the king's visitors, besides others of his friends, had advised and desired him to put forth these his disputations in his own vindication, and in the vindication of the truth. These he professed to write with all fidelity: and, that he might be the more exact, he had compared his own collections with the relations that were drawn up by the adversaries; and that, having read theirs, what he could recall that he had before omitted, which was of any moment, he restored out of their writings[y]."

Quid enim negare ausim rever. archiepiscopo Cant. cui plane omnia debeo? In Præfat. ad Disp.

[u] [See above, p. 143.]

[x] [See above, p. 143.]

[y] ["Quæ vero sparserit nonnullorum impudentia, de disputatione a me habita Oxonii jam elapsa æstate, et quomodo apud cujuslibet generis homines, principes, nobiles, plebeios, cives, et rusticos me traduxerint, non dicam: quod nihil ab eis obscure factum sit, sed omnes anguli, plateæ, domus, officinæ, et ænopolia adhuc eorum mentitos triumphos de me, et ἐπινίκια reso-

And by Tresham.

But Tresham, the chief disputant, pretending himself aggrieved with this book, as though Martyr had therein misrepresented him, and expressed some indignation against him, and added some things that were not spoken, wrote himself another account of this disputation, in justification of himself against the professor; and set a preface before it, by way of epistle, to the king's privy-council. Wherein he most angrily bespattered this reverend man, calling him "Pseudo-Martyr, a doting old man, subverted, impudent, and the famous master of errors: and that he fled into Germany to obtain the more license for his lust, and that he might enjoy his adultery," meaning his wife. The disputation itself is too long to be transcribed; it is ex-

nent: nec dubito istorum maledicta, cæteras quoque nationes pervasisse. Quare una causarum quæ me ad hæc ædenda compulit, hæc fuit. Altera vero, (ut ab initio dixi), amicorum postulata, quibus profecto huc usque provirili obstiti, tum quod hac de re satis librorum extare intelligerem, quibus abunde pius quisque posset institui, tum quod nemo melius ac ego ipse, mea novit, quæ hactenus tanti feci, ut noluerim te, candide lector, per ea remorari a meliorum librorum lectione. Nunc vero hi, et quidem nonnihil improborum criminationibus commoti, me adeo urserunt, ut aliquorum precibus victus, aliorum vero authoritate compulsus, tandem cesserim, quid enim negare ausim reverendissimo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, cui plane omnia debeo? quidve regiis visitatoribus, qui hisce disputationibus non solum interfuerunt, sed præfuerunt? Damus itaque tibi hanc disputationem, cui ad majorem evidentiam, tractationem de eadem re, adjecimus, quæ omnia simplici quidem, (ne dixerim), absque ullo stilo, conscripsi, attamen fideliter. Nam quod attinet ad disputationem, mea contuli cum exemplis adversariorum: quibus diligenter perlectis quæ animadvertere potui me præterisse, quod alicujus esset momenti, quantum rei veritas patiebatur, ex eorum scriptis non detrectavi restituere: et ubi eos deprehendi quandoque suas rationes fusius explicasse, et artificiosius scribendo tractasse, quam tunc dum agebatur, prolatæ fuerint, ego quoque salva sententiæ veritate, rem paulo latius exposui, quod tamen raro admodum contigit." — Epist. ad. lector. Petr. Martyr. Disput. de Eucharist. A.D. 1549.]

tant among the Foxian manuscripts[z]. But the epistle dedicatory, or preface before it, I will not omit, that the reader may there observe the malicious spirit of Martyr's adversaries, and collect some further account of this dis- No. XLV. putation. But the reader must remember, that it was an angry antagonist that wrote it.

Dr. Smith, who had done his best to cause a riot in the university, and thereby to endanger the king's professor, and was therefore got away into Scotland; conscious likewise to himself of calumnies and wrongs done by him against the archbishop; some time after wrote to the archbishop a submissive letter, praying him "to forgive all the injuries he had done his grace, and to obtain the king's pardon for him, that he might return home again. And he promised to write a book for the marriage of priests, as he had done before against it. That he was the more desirous to come home into England, because otherwise he should be put upon writing against his grace's book of the sacrament, and all his proceedings in religion, being then harboured," as he would make it believed, "by such as required it at his hands[a]." But in queen Mary's days

Smith writes to the archbishop from Scotland.

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[z] [Harl. MSS. 422. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 4–30. British Museum. Original.]

[a] ["The next day following which was the 17th April, (A. D. 1554), was brought before Dr. Ridley to dispute, against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. Touching which Dr. Smith, forsomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgment in religion, which so oftentimes before hath turned and returned to and fro, grounded, (as it seemeth), upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter, sent a little before in king Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them, and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read, I beseech thee, his

he revolted again, and was a most zealous papist, and then did that indeed, which he gave some hints of before; for he wrote vehemently against Cranmer's book[b].

Disputations at Cambridge before the commissioners.

But from Oxford, let us look over to Cambridge: where disputations likewise[c] were held in the month of June, before the king's commissioners, who were Ridley bishop of Rochester, Thomas bishop of Ely[d], Mr. Cheke[e],

epistle, and judge:—'The true copy of a certain epistle of Dr. Rich. Smith, declaring his affection to the setting forth of God's sincere word.——Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace in January last, and the 10th day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your grace over the sea, and desiring your good lordship of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all that wrong I did towards your grace, and to obtain in writing the king's majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and within half a year, (at the uttermost), afterward write, De sacerdotum connubiis, &c., a Latin book, that should be a just satisfaction for anything that I have written against the same. Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra, tum demum libenter amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam, ut ea citra conscientiæ læsionem agnoscam, doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm, is dishonour to the king's highness and realm, and because I must needs, (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer), write an answer to your grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of common places against all the doctrine set forth by the king's majesty, which I cannot do with good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently for God's sake, and you shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact. Ex urbe divi Andreæ, 14 Feb. RICHARDUS SMITHÆUS.'"—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1441. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[b] [See vol. i. p. 178, n. [z], and above, pp. 48, 77.]

[c] [For an account of the "Disputations holden at Cambridge, the 20th day of June, A.D. 1549," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1376, et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[d] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[e] [Sir John Cheke, sometime professor of Greek in the university of Cambridge, was, with Richard Cox, (see above, p. 160.

Dr. May, and Dr. Wendy[f], the king's physician. The questions were, "That transubstantiation could not be proved by Scripture, nor be confirmed by the consent of ancient Fathers for a thousand years past. And that the Lord's Supper is no oblation or sacrifice, otherwise than a remembrance of Christ's death[g]." There were three solemn disputations. In the first, Dr. Madew[h] was

n. [n].) tutor to Edward VI., and one of his privy-chamber; he was one of the commissioners appointed to revise the ecclesiastical laws, and a visitor of the university of Cambridge. He signed Edward VI.'s limitation of the crown, as well as the letter of the council to the princess Mary to acquaint her that the lady Jane Grey was queen. He was sent to the Tower for opposing queen Mary's title to the crown, but escaped abroad. Upon the assurance of pardon he surrendered himself, and being brought home, was sent to the Tower, from which he was discharged; "but, upon some new offence, he was taken again in Flanders, in May, 1556, and was prevailed upon to renounce his religion, and then he was set at liberty; but was so sadly affected at the unworthiness of that action," that he soon after died.—See Strype's Life of sir John Cheke, ed. Oxon. 1821; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 2, 50, 471, 480, 548. pt. ii. pp. 53, 68. vol. iii. pp. 398, 409. pt. ii. pp. 281, 546. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[f] ["Dr. May, civilian, and Thomas Wendy, the king's physician."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1376. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[g] ["The first disputation holden at Cambridge the 20. day of June, A. D. 1549, before the king's majesty's commissioners by Dr. Madew respondent, whose first conclusion was this: 'Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the ancient Fathers, for these thousand years past.' The second matter to be disputed of is this: 'That in the Lord's Supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving.'"—Id. pp. 1376, 7. For the Latin of the first disputation, see Harl. MSS. 422. Plut. lxiv. E. fol. 35–37; and of the second and third, fol. 31–35, where they are dated June 24th and 25th. British Museum. Originals.]

[h] [John Madew, S.T.P., master of Clare Hall, and vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, in the years 1546, 1550.—See above, p. 56; and Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 394, 395, 422.]

respondent; and Glyn[i], Langdale[k], Sedgwick[l], and Young[m],

[i] [Geoffrey Glyn, L.L.D., who was present at Poinet's consecration, A.D. 1550, was also one of the commissaries for the vacant see of Bangor, A.D. 1551; he was also one of the disputants at Cambridge "about the sacrament of the Eucharist," and also against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford. — See below, cap. xxiv. and xxvi.; and Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1376, 1378, 1381, 1428. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[k] [Alban Langdale, D.D., besides being engaged on the popish side in this disputation at Cambridge, was one of those who were sent from this university to dispute with Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford: he was installed archdeacon of Chichester, April 16, 1555. In the year 1556, he set forth a book to confute the determination of Ridley, bishop of Rochester, and martyr, at the Cambridge disputation, "entitled, Albani Langdal. Confutatio determinationis Nic. Ridlei," which was printed at Paris. He also took part on the papists' side at the disputation at Westminster, A.D. 1559. — See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1376, 1379, Le Neve's Fasti, p. 65; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 328; vol. iii. pt. i. p. 538. ed. Oxon. 1822; Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 129. ed. Oxon. 1824; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 776. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[l] [Thomas Sedgwick, S.T.P., succeeded Bucer as divinity professor in Cambridge, where he took part in the disputation "about the sacrament of the Eucharist;" he was also one of the disputants sent from that university to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford. — See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 411; Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1376, 1380, 1381, 1428.]

[m] [John Young, S.T.P., who had formerly recanted, and been opposed to Bucer, was one of the disputants at Cambridge, who also went from that university to Oxford to contend against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. He was elected master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in 1553, when the mastership became void by the deprivation of Ridley. Upon the deprivation of Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, he "had a grant of the second stall, as prebend of Ely, April 12, 1554." He served the office of vice-chancellor in 1553. In 1559, he "was put out from the mastership of Pembroke-hall, for refusal of the oath of supremacy," (or rather went out by an unwilling resignation), and was succeeded by Edmund Grindal; he was imprisoned for recusancy in 1562, and sought his liberty by letters to lord Burleigh, in June 1574, when he was "sixty years of age," which favour, "though promised, was not performed." — See above, p. 79; Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp.

opponents. In the second, Dr. Glyn was respondent on the popish side; opponents, Perne[n], Grindal[o],

1376, 1381, 1385, 1386, 1428; Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 75, 395, 424; Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 65. ed. Oxon. 1821; Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, pp. 38, 459. ed. Oxon. 1821; Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 417; vol. ii. pt. i. p. 489, pt. ii. p. 661. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[n] [Andrew Perne, S. T. P., "was born at Bilney," in Norfolk, "bred in Peter-house, whereof he was fellow, and master;" he was appointed to the latter office, Feb. 7th, 1553, and held it to the time of his death, April 26th, 1589. He served the office of proctor of his university, in 1546; and that of vice-chancellor five times; he also was installed prebend of Westminster in the room of Simon Haynes, Nov. 8, 1552. In 1557, he succeeded to the deanery of Ely: he was also one of Edward VIth's six chaplains. Fuller says of him, "I know he is much taxed for altering his religion four times in twelve years, (from the last of king Henry VIII. to the first of queen Elizabeth); a papist, a protestant, a papist, a protestant, but still Andrew Perne. However be it known, that though he was a bending willow, he was no smarting willow, guilty of compliance, not cruelty, yea, preserving many, who otherwise had been persecuted." He died April 26, 1589. —See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii. p. 464. ed. Lond. 1840; Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 72, 365, 394, 395, 397, 421; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 694. ed. Oxon. 1829; Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 349. ed. Oxon. 1821; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 521, 524; pt. ii. pp. 52, 273. ed. Oxon. 1822; Strype's Life of abp. Whitgift, vol. i. pp. 9, 618. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[o] [Edmund Grindal, S. T. P., was born at St. Bees, in Cumberland; he was first of Magdalen college, and then of Christ's colleges, and was afterwards fellow, and master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, to which latter appointment he succeeded in 1559, upon the deprivation of John Young; he was chaplain to Ridley, bishop of Rochester, and prebendary of Westminster, and served the office of proctor in this university in 1548. Upon the death of Edward VI. he fled abroad to Strasburgh, and was sent to Frankfort to dissuade the English exiles from departing from the English service book. Upon queen Elizabeth's accession he was called home, and was made successively bishop of London, archbishop of York, and Canterbury. He died in his sixty-third year, at Croydon, July 6th, 1583, and was there buried.—See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. i. pp. 342, 3; Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 8, 180, 311, 368, 394, 424; Strype's Life of abp. Grin-

Guest[p], Pilkington[q]. In the third, Dr. Perne was re-

dal, pp. 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 33, 38, 41, 239, 282–286, 429. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[p] [Edmund Guest, or Gheast, S. T. P., was born at Afferton in Yorkshire, and was a fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and chaplain to abp. Parker. During the reign of queen Mary he concealed himself, and upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, had her nomination to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, Oct. 13, 1559, in the room of Nicholas Harpsfield, deprived, which dignity he was allowed to hold "*in commendam*" with the bishopric of Rochester, to which he was elected Jan. 29, in the same year; he also held the office of queen's almoner. He took part on the protestant side at the Westminster disputation in this year, viz. 1559, and was employed in 1565, by abp. Parker, to revise the book of Psalms for the bishops' Bible. In December, 1571, he was translated from Rochester to Salisbury, where he died, Feb. 21st or 28th, 1576.—See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. iii. p. 411; Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 13, 251, 260; Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 114, 127, 257, 416; vol. ii. pp. 80, 459; vol. iii. pp. 283, 296. ed. Oxon. 1821; Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 129, 199, 230, 232; vol. iv. p. 600. ed. Oxon. 1824; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 776, 806. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[q] ["James Pilkington, S.T.B., was born at Rivington, in Lancashire, A. D. 1520." At the age of sixteen "he was admitted a member of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded to the degree of A. B., A. D. 1539, and was elected fellow, March 26, in the same year." He afterwards took the degrees of A. M. and B. D., but never appears to have taken the higher degree of D. D. He was zealous in forwarding the reformation; and while residing on his fellowship, read theological lectures gratuitously; "in December, 1550, he was appointed by Edward VI. to the vicarage of Kendal, in Westmoreland, which he resigned in the following year." Upon the accession of queen Mary, he retired to the continent, and lived at Zurich, Basle, and Geneva. Upon the death of queen Mary, A. D. 1558, he was at Frankfort, and signed, if he did not write, the answer of that church to the church at Geneva. "On his return to England, he was associated with Bill, Parker, Grindal, Cox, Guest, Whitehead, and May as commissioners to revise the Book of Common Prayer. In 1559, July 20th, he was admitted master of St. John's college, which he held till October, 1661, though he had been consecrated the first protestant bishop of Durham, March 2, in that year, at the age of forty: he died at Bishop's Auck-

spondent; Parker[r], Pollard[s], Vavasor[t], Young, opponents. After these disputations were ended, the bishop of Rochester determined the truth of these questions "ad placitum suum[u]," as a papist wrote, out of whose notes I transcribe the names of these disputants.

Besides these disputations, when Bucer came to Cambridge, he was engaged in another with Sedgwick, Perne, and Young, upon these questions: "I. That the canonical books of Scripture alone do teach sufficiently all things necessary to salvation. II. That there is no church in earth that erreth not, as well in faith as manners. III. That we are so freely justified of God, that, before our justification, whatsoever good works we seem to do have the nature of sin[v]." Concerning this last, he and Young

Bucer disputes.

land, Jan. 23, 1575, aged fifty-five.—See Biog. Notice of life; bp. Pilkington's Works. Park. Soc. ed.; Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 349, 433; Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii. pp. 196, 7.]

[r] [Matthew Parker, S. T. P., afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.—See Strype's Life of abp. Parker, ed. Oxon. 1821; Le Neve's Fasti, p. 8.]

[s] [Probably the same person who, Nov. 6, 1553, "preached at St. Michael's, Cambridge, and in his sermon spake for purgatory."—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 81. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[t] [See Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. ii. p. 167, and of abp. Grindal, pp. 273, 535. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[u] [For the determination of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, upon these disputations, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1387, 8. ed. Lond. 1583, and works of bp. Ridley, pp. 171–179. Park. Soc. ed.]

[v] ["Over and beside these disputations above mentioned, other disputations also were holden at Cambridge shortly after by Martin Bucer, upon these conclusions following: 'Conclusions to be disputed.

'1. The canonical books of holy Scripture alone do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto salvation.

'2. There is no church in earth which erreth not, as well in faith as in manners.

'3. We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provoketh God's wrath against us, whatsoever good works we seem to do. Then being justified, we do good works.' In these three propositions

had several combats: which are set down in his English works.

His judgment of the sacrament.

As to Bucer's opinion of the presence in the sacrament, the great controversy of this time, it may not be amiss to consider what so great a professor thought herein; and especially by what we saw before, that Martyr and he did somewhat differ in this point: for as he would not admit those words "carnally" and "naturally," so neither did he like "realiter" and "substantialiter." Bucer's judgment, drawn up by himself sententiously in fifty-four aphorisms, may be seen in the Appendix, as I meet with it among Foxe's papers. It is extant in Latin among his "Scripta Anglicana," and entitled, "Confessio D. M. Buc. de Sancta Eucharistia, in Anglia Aphoristicos scripta, anno 1550[w]." And so we take our leave of Bucer for this year. We shall hear of him again in the next.

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against Bucer, disputed M. Segewicke, Young, and Perne."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1388. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[w] [i. e. "Exomologesis, sive confessio D. Mart. Buceri de S. Eucharistia in Anglia Aphoristicos scripta, anno 1550."—Bucer. Script. Anglican. pp. 538–545. ed. Basil. 1577.]

CHAPTER XV. 204

MATTERS OF THE CHURCH, AND ITS STATE NOW.

Let me now crave a little room to set down some matters that relate to the church, coming within the compass of this year, which will shew what mean advances religion as yet had made in the nation.

Relics of popery remaining.

Divers relics of popery still continued in the nation, by means partly of the bishops, partly of the justices of peace, popishly affected. In London bishop Boner drove on but heavily in the king's proceedings, though he outwardly complied. In his cathedral church there remained still the apostles' mass, and our lady's mass, and other masses under the defence and nomination of our lady's communion, used in the private chapels, and other remote places of the same church, though not in the chancel; contrary to the king's proceedings. Therefore the lord protector, and others of the council, wrote to the bishop, June 24, complaining of this, and ordering that no such masses should be used in St. Paul's church any longer; and that the holy communion, according to the act of parliament, should be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other place of the same, and only at such times as the high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people, for their necessary business, desired to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be exercised in the chancel at the high altar, as was appointed in the book of Public Service[x]. Accord-

Foxe's Acts.

[x] [The following is the "letter directed from the king's council to Edmund Boner, bishop of London, for abrogating of private masses, namely, the apostles' mass, within the church of St. Paul, used under the name of the apostles' communion. 'After hearty commendation: having very credible notice that within

ingly Boner directed his letters to the dean and chapter of Paul's, to call together those that were resident, and to declare these matters[y].

that your cathedral church, there be as yet the apostles' mass, and our lady's mass, and other masses of such peculiar name, under the defence and nomination of our lady's communion, and the apostles' communion, used in private chapels and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel, contrary unto the king's majesty's proceedings, the same being, for the misuse, displeasing to God; for the place of Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood; we, for the augmentation of God's glory and honour, and the consonance of his majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that, from henceforth, no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used, but that the holy blessed communion, according to the act of parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same, and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire for their necessary business to have a communion in the morning, and yet the same to be executed in the chancel at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautel or digression from the common order. And herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your lordship heartily farewell. From Richmond, the 24th of June, an. 1549.

Your loving friends,

E. Somerset.
W. Saint John.
Ed. Montague.
R. Rich. Chan.
Fra. Shrewsbury.
W. Cecil."

Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1302. ed. Lond. 1583; see Heylin's Hist. of Reformat. p. 74. ed. Lond. 1674.]

[y] [The following is the letter of Edmund Boner to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, sent with the order in council. "To my right worshipful friends and most loving good brethren, Mr. dean of St. Paul's,* with all the canons, residentiaries, prebendaries, sub-deans and ministers of the same, and every of them, with speed. 'Right worshipful, with most hearty commendations. So it is this Wednesday, the 26th of June, going to dinner, I received

* William May.

As it was thus in London, so in the countries, too many of the justices were slack in seeing to the execution of the king's laws, relating not only to religion, but to other affairs. And in some shires that were further distant, the people had never so much as heard of the king's proclamation, by the default of the justices, who winked at the people's neglect thereof. For the quickening of the justices of peace at this time, when a foreign invasion was daily expected, and foreign power was come into Scotland to aid that nation against England, the lord protector and the privy-council assembled at the Star-chamber, and called before them all the justices, (which was a thing accustomed sometimes to be done, for the justices to appear before the king and council, there to have admonitions and warnings given them for the discharge of their duty). And then the lord chancellor Rich made a speech to them, "That they should repair down into their several countries with speed; and give warning to other gentlemen to go down to their houses, and there to see good order and rule kept, that their sessions of gaol-delivery, and quarter-sessions be well observed, that vagabonds and seditious talebearers of the king or his council, and such as preached without license, be repressed and punished. That if there should be any uproars, or routs, and riots of lewd fellows, or privy traitors, they should appease them. And that if any enemy 205
should chance to arise in any place of England, they

The council gives orders to the justices.

letters from the king's council by a pursuivant, and the same I do send now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruse them well, and proceed accordingly: praying you in case all be not present, yet those that be now resident, and supplying the places, may, in their absence, call the company together of the church, and make declaration hereof unto them: thus committing you to God, right well to fare. Written with speed this 26th of June, at one of the clock. Your loving brother, Ed. London.'" — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1302. ed. Lond. 1583.]

should fire the beacons, as had been wrote to them before, and repulse the same in as good array as they could. And that for that purpose they should see diligently that men have horse, harness, and other furniture of weapon ready[z]."

And writes to the bishops.

And to the bishops the council now sent letters again for redress of the contempt and neglect of the Book of Common-Prayer, which to this time, long after the publishing thereof, was either not known at all to many, or very irreverently used; occasioned especially by the winking of the bishops, and the stubborn disobedience of old popish curates. The letter is dated the 23d of July, and is extant in Foxe[a].

[z] [For the "exhortation or admonition" addressed by the lord chancellor Rich "unto the justices of peace," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1302, 3. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[a] ["What zealous care was in this young king, and in the lord protector his uncle, concerning reformation of Christ's church, and sincere religion, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations, as well to the bishops as to the justices of the realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council as the lingering slackness and drawing back, on the other side, of divers, the said justices, and lawyers, but especially of bishops, and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the book of Common-prayer was, long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very irreverently used, throughout many places of this realm; which, when the king by complaint of divers, perfectly understood, being not a little aggrieved, to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willing consent of the parliament, and his grace's own zealous desire, to take so small effect among his subjects, [he] decreed presently, with the advice of his whole council, again to write unto all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should, thenceforth, have a more special regard to the due execution of the premises, as also that all others, within their several precincts and jurisdiction should, by their good instructions and willing example, be the more oftener and with better devotion, moved

In London, by the connivance and remissness of the bishop, many neglected the divine service then established: Neglect in London.

to use and frequent the same: as further appeareth by the contents of his letter here ensuing.

"Another letter directed by the king and his council, to Boner, bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the Service-book within his diocese. 'Right reverend father in God: right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops, and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for common-prayers and administration of the sacraments, hath been, and is, most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but, also by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all others, the learned men of this our realm in their synods, and convocations provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand, by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much travailed for, and also sincerely set forth, (as is aforesaid), remaineth, in many places of this our realm, either not known at all, or not used; or, at the least, if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people, in many places either have heard nothing, or, if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you, and other of your vocation, called by God through our appointment to have due respect to this and such like matters: so, considering that by these and such like occasions, our loving subjects remain yet still in their old blindness, and superstitious errors, and, in some places, in an irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby His wrath may be provoked upon us and them: and remembering withal, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we knowledge

and others did in secret places of the diocese often frequent the popish mass, and other superstitious rites, not

ourselves to have all that we have; we could not but by advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same * in all places within your diocese, as the case required: so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the reduce (redress)† of these things, so as the curates may do their duties more often, and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned, by the good advices, and examples of yourself, your chancellor‡, archdeacons‖, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener, and more devotion to their said common prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein shewing yourself diligent, and giving good example in your own person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service, and, on the other side, if we shall hereafter, (these our letters, and commandment notwithstanding), have eftsoons complaint, and find the like faults in your diocese, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and all that ensue thereof unto you, and, consequently, be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we should be sorry. And, therefore, we do eftsoons charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure. Given under our signet, at our manor of Richmond, the 23d of July, the third

* ["To have reformed the same." Boner. Reg. fol. 112. See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 844. ed Lond. 1843–48.] † [Id. ibid.]

‡ ["Thomas Baghe, alias Williams, S. T. B. was collated Feb. 22, 1529: void by the resignation of [John] Edmunds: he died in 1557."—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 206.]

‖ [John Wymmesley, or Wymmisley LLB. was collated to the archdeaconry of London, Oct. 29, 1543, and resigned in 1554; Edward Mowle was collated to the archdeaconry of Essex, Oct. 29, 1543, and died in 1558; Richard Eden was collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, Aug. 11, 1516, and died before April 9, 1551; Anthony Bellasis, LLD. succeeded to the archdeaconry of Colchester, April 27, 1543, and died in 1553.—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 188, 191, 194, 197.]

allowed by the laws of England. The sins of adultery greatly increased. The churches, and particularly the mother-church of St. Paul's, ran into dilapidations; the glass was broken, and the ornaments and other buildings belonging to churches neglected. Many refused to pay tithes to their curates, probably of both sorts; such as were papists to those curates as more diligently preached reformation, and obeyed the king's laws: and such as were not so, to such curates as were more backward thereunto. Bishop Boner also himself now seldom came to

year of our reign, 1549.' The bishop of London, among the rest of the bishops, receiving these letters, did, (as always before), in outward shew willingly accept the same; and, therefore, immediately, with the said letters, directed this his precept unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly. 'A letter of Boner to the dean and chapter of Paul's. Edmund, by the grace of God, &c. To my well beloved brethren, the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London, and to the other ministers there, and every of them, do send greeting. And whereas it is so, that of late I have received the said sovereign lord, the king's majesty's letter, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and, according to my most bounden duty, am right well willing and desiring, that the said letters should be in all points duly executed and observed, according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: these, therefore, are to require, and also straightly to charge you, and every of you, on his majesty's behalf, &c. that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished, or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars, and curates of your jurisdiction to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly: furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to make certificate herein to me, my chancellor, or other, my officers in this behalf, with such convenient celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such, as, from henceforth, shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them. Given at my house at Fulham, the 26th of July, in the year of our Lord, 1549, and in the third year of our said sovereign lord, the king's majesty's reign.' "
—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1303, 4. ed. Lond. 1583.]

church, seldomer preached and celebrated the English communion. Wherefore the council sent certain private injunctions to Boner for the redress of these things: "That he should preach in his own person at Paul's Cross, and declare certain articles, relating to the before-mentioned neglects, which the council now sent to him to redress. That he should preach once in a quarter, and exhort the people to obedience; and that he should be present at every sermon at Paul's Cross; that he should on the principal feasts celebrate the communion, and at all times that his predecessors used to celebrate and sing high mass. That he should call before him all such as did not frequent the church and common-prayer, and the holy communion, and punish them, as also adulterers: and that he should look to the reparation of St. Paul's and other churches, and that the people pay their tithes[b]."

Adulteries frequent.

The adulteries before hinted, which the council thought fit to recommend to the bishop to take particular cognizance of, makes me add, that about this time the nation grew infamous for this crime. It began among the nobility, and so spread at length among the inferior sort. Noblemen would very frequently put away their wives, and marry others, if they liked another woman better, or were like to obtain wealth by her. And they would sometimes pretend their former wives to be false to their beds, and so be divorced, and marry again such whom they fancied. The first occasion of this seemed to be in the earl of Northampton, divorcing himself from his first wife Anne, daughter to the earl of Essex, and after marrying Elizabeth, daughter to the lord Cobham[c]. In like manner Henry[d], son of William earl of Pembroke[e], put

[b] [For "the certain private injunctions, and articles given to Boner by the council," see the Appendix to this volume.]

[c] [See above, pp. 44, 140.]

[d] [Afterwards second earl of Pembroke.]

[e] [Sir William Herbert, earl of

away Katharine, daughter to Henry the duke of Suffolk[f], 206
and married Mary, the daughter of sir Henry Sidney[g].

Pembroke, who was a privy councillor, an executor of the will of Henry VIII., and governor to Edward VI., and the kingdom. He was employed to put down an insurrection in Wiltshire, and against the Devonshire rebels; he also signed Edward VIth's limitation of the crown, as well as the letter of the council to the princess Mary, acquainting her that the lady Jane Grey was queen; but afterwards declared himself for queen Mary, and was her general against Wyat's rebellion, and was appointed one of the select committee for the regulation of affairs during the absence of Philip I. from England. He commanded the English forces at the battle of St. Quintin, A. D. 1557, and became a member of queen Elizabeth's first privy council on queen Mary's death.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 236, 471, 478, 707, 752. pt. ii. pp. 8, 10. vol. iii. p. 490; pt. ii. p. 281. ed Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 19; pt. ii. pp. 422–424. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 21, 135. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 8. pt. ii. p. 390. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[f] [Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, duke of Suffolk, the father of the lady Jane Grey, and a privy councillor, was one of the peers, who sat as judges on the duke of Somerset's trial; he signed Edward VIth's limitation of the crown, and with the duke of Northumberland waited upon his daughter to acquaint her she was queen on the death of Edward VI.; and signed the letter of council to the princess Mary acquainting her of it; he, however, delivered up the Tower to queen Mary, to which he was immediately sent as a prisoner, but was speedily liberated through the earnest intercession of his duchess. He afterwards entered into Wyat's conspiracy, in consequence of the queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain, and being betrayed, was again sent to the Tower; he was "tried by his peers and condemned, Feb. 17, 1554," and executed on the 23d.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 369, 468, 469, 471, 479, 480, 538, 540, 547. pt. ii. pp. 61, 122. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 24. 133, 136, 144, 146. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1467, 8. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[g] [Sir Henry Sydney, one of the gentlemen of Edward VIth's privy chamber, in whose arms the young king died. He became afterwards lord president of Wales, a knight of the garter, and lord deputy of Ireland. He was also a privy councillor in queen Elizabeth's reign, and one of her great friends.—See Burnet's

These adulteries and divorces increased much; yea, and marrying again without divorce; which became a great scandal to the realm, and to the religion professed in it, and gave much sorrow and trouble in good men to see it. Insomuch that they thought it necessary to move for an act of parliament to punish adultery with death. This Latimer, in a sermon preached in the year 1550, signified to the king: "For the love of God," saith he, "take an order for marriage here in England[h]."

Books dispersed by protestants.

This is some account of the retardation of religion. On the other hand, the endeavours of those that wished well to it were not wanting. Now the protestants began more freely to put forth books, and to disperse such as were formerly printed beyond sea, in the behalf of religion against popery, and concerning such as had suffered under

Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 460. pt. ii. pp. 16, 46. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 164, 245. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 23. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 116, 204, 211, vol. ii. pt. ii. 317, 707, 708. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 140. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[h] ["I have not long to live, so that I think I shall never come here into this place again; and therefore I will ask a petition of your highness. For the love of God, take an order for marriages here in England. For here is marriage for pleasure and voluptuousness, and for goods; and so that they may join land to land, and possessions to possessions; they care for no more here in England. And that is the cause of so much adultery, and so much breach of wedlock in the noblemen, and gentlemen, and so much divorcing. And it is not now in the noblemen only, but it is come now to the inferior sort. Every man, if he have but a small cause, will cast off his old wife, and take a new, and will marry again at his pleasure; and there be many that have so done. I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery . . . in England as there is. For the love of God, take heed to it, and see a remedy provided for it."—Latimer's Works, vol. i. pp. 243, 4. Park. Soc. ed.]

the cruelties of the church of Rome. Bale about these days dispersed his books. One was, "The Image of both Churches," applying the divine prophecy of the Revelations to the apostate church of Rome[i]. Another was, a vindication of the lady Anne Askew, who suffered the cruel death of burning about the end of king Henry's reign; whose cause the papists studiously had rendered bad. This book he entitled, The "Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom," which was this year exposed publicly to sale at Winchester, and the parts thereabouts, as a reproach to the bishop of Winchester, who was the great cause of her death. Four of these books came to that bishop's own eyes, being then at Winchester; they had leaves put in as additions to the book, some glued and some unglued; which probably contained some further intelligences that the author had gathered since his first writing of the book. And herein some reflections were made freely, according to Bale's talent, upon some of the court, not sparing Paget[k] himself, though then secretary of state. Another of Bale's books, that went now about, was touching the death of Luther[l]. Therein was a prayer

[i] [i. e. "The image of both churches, after the most wonderful and heavenly revelation of St. John, containing a very fruitful exposition or paraphrase upon the same, wherein it is conferred with the other scriptures and most authorised histories. Compiled by John Bale, an exile also in this life for the faithful testimony of Jesu."—Imprinted by John Day, b. l. without date.]

[k] [See above, p. 135. n. [b].]

[l] ["One thing necessary to answer your grace, in touching your marvel, how I know sooner things from thence, than your grace doth there, which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf, (for evil things be over soon known), nor upon any slackness of your grace's behalf there, who is, and is noted very vigilant, as your grace's charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was when I was in some little authority; they that were the evil doers in such matters, would hide them from me. So, now they have handled it

of the duke of Saxony[m] mentioned, which the bishop of Winchester gladly took hold on; wherein that duke, as to the justness of his cause, remitted "himself to God's judgment to be shewed on him here in this world, if the cause he undertook were not just concerning religion; and desired God, if it were not good, to order him to be taken and spoiled of his honours and possessions." Since which the duke was taken prisoner: and, at the very time of his taking, the papists made an observation, that the sun appeared so strangely in England, as the like had not been seen before. So apt are men to interpret events according to their own preconceived opinions. But at this Letter to Winchester took much advantage[n]. Whereas indeed the

otherwise; for as for Jack of Lent's Testament, [it] was openly sold in Winchester market, before I wrote unto your grace of it. And as for Bale's books, called the Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom*, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglued, where master Paget was spoken of; and some with leaves glued. And I call them common, because I saw at the least four of them. As for Bale's book, touching the death of Luther, wherein was the duke of Saxon[y]'s prayer, (whereof I wrote)†, [it] was brought down into this country by an honest gentleman, to whom it was, (as I remember he told me), given at London for news; and [he] had it a good while 'eer I wrote to your grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew." Another letter of W.[inchester] to the l[ord] protector, dated June 6, [A.D. 1547.]—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1346, 7, ed. Lond. 1583.]

[m] [i.e. John Frederic, duke of Saxony, to whom Cranmer was sent as ambassador by Henry VIII.—See vol. i. p. 18, n. p.]

[n] ["Bale hath set forth a prayer for the duke J[ohn] of

* ["Bale's book called 'Elucidation, &c. touching Luther.' 'The true historie of the christen departynge of Martyne Luther, translated by Johan Bale, 8vo. 1546; and the examinacion of Anne Askew, latelye martyred in Smithfelde; imprented at Marpurg, 1546,' (7), appears in Herbert's Account of Printing, vol. iii. pp. 1560, 61."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 39, n. (1) ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

† [See below, n. n.]

issues of God's providence in this world are not favourable always even to the best causes. the lord protector.

The keeping of Lent was now called into controversy; and asserted, that it was not to be observed upon a religious account. And this was done the rather, because the papists placed so much religion in the bare fast. In the pulpit it began to be cried down. Tongue[o] and Joseph[p], two great preachers in London, said, "That Lent Preaching against Lent.

Saxe (Saxony), wherein the duke remitteth to God's judgment to be shewed here in this world the justness of his cause concerning religion, and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour, and possessions, with many such gay words, whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the duke is indeed taken, as all the world saith; and at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define." Another letter of S.[tephen] W.[inchester] to the lord protector, from Winchester, May 21, [A.D. 1547.]—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1343. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[o] [Tong, or Tongue, chaplain to Edward VI., and one of the learned men at Cambridge, who attended sir Thomas Smith's Greek lectures. — See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 16. ed. Oxon. 1822, and Life of sir Thomas Smith, p. 14. ed. Oxon. 1820.]

[p] [John Joseph, once a friar at Canterbury, and one of the preachers that attended the king's visitors to different dioceses, A. D. 1547. "Holinshed, at the end of Edward VIth's reign, mentions among others, who died about that time, 'doctor Joseph, an excellent preacher.' (Chronicles, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 1087. ed. Lond. 1586–87.) John Joseph, S.T.B., is mentioned by Newcourt, (Repertorium, vol. i. p. 439. ed. Lond. 1708–10), as becoming rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, per mort. Cockys, October 20th, 1546, put in of course by Cranmer; this is probably the same individual, but Newcourt does not mention the time of his death." He was presented to a prebend of Canterbury, July 18, 1550, and was succeeded by Richard Faucet, March 23, 1553. Strype states that he was cited, March 7, 1553, and deprived of his church of St. Mary-le-Bow, London, for being a married man, and of his pre-

was one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not
207 men to imitate or follow:[q] and that it was an insupportable burden." There was a set of rhymes now made about the burial of Lent, which was called, Jack of Lent's Testament, and publicly sold in Winchester market: therein Stephen Gardiner the bishop was touched, who was a great man for keeping it. For in the ballad Stephen Stockfish was bequeathed in this will to Stephen Gardiner. Of this he made a long complaint to the protector[r]. But

bend soon after, and that he was also an exile for his religion.—See vol. i. p. 228, and above, p. 14, also vol. iii. B. iii. caps. iii. and viii. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 19. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 745. ed. Lond. 1843–48. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 237.]

[q] "I hear say that Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tongue, with other new, (whom I know not), as being one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching all the world will laugh." Another letter of S.[tephen] W.[inchester to the lord protector] from Winchester, May 21, [A. D. 1547]. — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1343.]

[r] ["If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent to engreive it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no Christian man may contemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast; and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostome speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a license truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the king's majesty, our sovereign lord, declare, when your grace was present; and therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of licences. And to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have, (as your grace knoweth), the Lent diet daily prepared, as [if] it had been for himself; and the like hereof I hear say your grace hath ordered for the king's majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, nor the rhymes set abroad. Lent is, among Christian men, a godly feast [fast] to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear,

yet this neglect of Lent was not encouraged by the superiors: for it was kept at court, and preparations for the king's diet were made accordingly this Lent by the protector. The protestants indeed were for keeping it, and an order was issued out for that purpose; though not upon a religious but politic account. But the greater part of the ordinary people would not be brought to it by this distinction: so that the preachers were fain to be employed. Latimer preached, "That those that regard not laws and statutes, were despisers of magistrates. There be laws made of diet," he said, "what meats we shall eat at all times. And this law is made in policy, as I suppose, for victual's sake, that fish might be uttered as well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so politicly, we ought to keep it. Therefore all, except those that be dispensed withal, as sick, impotent persons, women with child, old folk, &c. ought to live in an ordinary obedience to those laws, and not to do against the same in any wise[s].

as the experience shall show, if it be ever attempted, which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations."—Id. p. 1344.]

[s] ["And here we have occasion to consider, how much we be bounden unto God, that he openeth unto us his word so plainly, and teacheth us so truly how we should behave ourselves towards the magistrates and their laws; but for all that, I fear there be some of us which little regard their laws and statutes. Such despisers of magistrates, when they pray they pray against themselves. There be laws made of diet*, how we shall feed our bodies, what meat we shall eat at all times; and this law is

* [i. e. 2° and 3° Edw. VI. cap. 19: 5° and 6° Edw. VI. cap. 3. See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pp. 65, 66, 132, 3.]

Gardiner's judgment of a rhyme against Lent.

Gardiner urged the great inconvenience these rhymes against Lent might occasion: "That they could serve for nothing but to learn the people to rail, and to make others forbear to make their usual provisions of fish against the ensuing year, fearing Lent to be sick, as the rhyme purported, and like to die[t]."

Latimer counsels the king about marriage.

About these times there arose much talk of the king's matching. The protestants were much afraid of his marrying with some foreign princess abroad, that might turn his heart from religion. But the popishly affected did their endeavours to persuade him to please himself with some lady abroad, as best agreeable with politic ends, as the enlarging of his dominions, and the surety and defence of his countries. Some therefore put Latimer upon giving the king counsel in this matter from the pulpit. So he advised the king, "to chose him one that is of God, that is, which is of the household of faith; and such an one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage with. Let him choose a wife that fears God. Let him not choose a proud

made in policy, as I suppose, for victual's sake, that fish might be uttered as well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so in policy, we ought to keep it. Therefore all except those that be dispensed withal, as sick, impotent persons, women with child, or old folks, or licensed persons, all the rest to live in an ordinary obedience to those laws, and not do against the same in anywise." (Fourth Serm. on the Lord's Prayer); Latimer's Works, vol. i. p. 372. Park. Soc. ed.]

[t] ["What rhymes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond, (saving your grace's honor), and foolish! and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now [in] Lent to be so sick as the rhyme purporteth, and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year." Another letter of S.[tephen] W.[inchester], dated Winchester, May 21, [A. D. 1547.]—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1543. ed. Lond. 1583.]

wanton, and one full only of rich treasures and worldly pomp[u]."

The sentiments of the protestant foreigners concerning the present English state deserve a particular remark. They took such great joy and satisfaction in this good king, and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in England, with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This nettled the learned at the council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought, that all the heretics, as they called them, would now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Which if it should happen, and that they should have heretical bishops near them in those parts,

Foreign protestants, their offer to king Edward.

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[u] ["It is a very hard thing for a man to rule well one woman. Therefore let our king, what time his grace shall be so minded to take a wife, choose him one, which is of God; that is, which is of the household of faith.—And that she be such one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage; and then he shall be the more prone and ready to advance God's glory;—let the king therefore choose unto him a godly wife whereby he shall the better live chaste; and in so living, all godliness shall increase, and righteousness be maintained.—Let the king therefore choose a wife, which feareth God; let him not seek a proud wanton, and one full of rich treasures, and worldly pomp."—First Serm. preached before Edward VI. "And here I would say a thing to your majesty: I shall speak it of good will to your highness: I would I were able to do your grace good service in any thing, ye should be sure to have it. But I will say this: for God's love beware where you marry: choose your wife in a faithful stock. Beware of this worldly policy: marry in God; marry not for the great respect of alliance, for thereof cometh all these evils of breaking of wedlock, which is amongst princes and noblemen."—First and last Serm. preached before Edward VI. Latimer's Works, vol. i. pp. 94, 95, 97, 243. Park. Soc. ed.]

they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach against baptizing infants, and preach up rebaptizing, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And besides this, one D. G. authorized by these learned men, dispatched a letter written in May 1549, from Delf in Holland, to two bishops, whereof Winchester was one, signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive them and cherish them, and take their parts if they should chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others whom they knew to be well affected to the mother church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sydney first met with it in queen Elizabeth's closet, among some papers of queen Mary's. He transcribed it into a book of his, called, "The Romish Policies." It came afterwards into the hands of archbishop Usher; and was transcribed thence by sir James Ware[v].

Foxes and Firebrands, part ii.

[v] [Memorandum taken out of sir Henry Sidney's book, called the Romish Pollicies, numb. 6, pag. 37, in fol. a manuscript, with archbishop Usher.

"Her royal highness giving me the freedom to search the affairs of state ever since her royal father's denying the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, amongst others of this sort, I found a letter directed to the bishops of Winchester and Rochester; part of the contents being for my purpose, be these, as they were translated out of the Low-Dutch.

"Edward, (son of Henry the heretic king of England), by his crafty and politic council hath absolutely brought in heresy, which if not by art or other endeavours speedily overthrown, and made infamous, all other foreign heretics will unite with your new heresies now amongst yourselves lately planted, and so have bishops as you have; and it is the opinion of our learned men now at Trent that the schisms in England by Edward's council established, will reclaim all the foreign sects unto their discipline, and thereby be one body united. For Calvin, Bullinger, and others have wrote unto Edward to offer their service to assist and unite,

Let it be remembered here, and noted, that about this time Winchester was appointed, with Ridley bishop of Rochester, to examine certain anabaptists in Kent.

I find no bishops consecrated this year.

also to make Edward and his heirs their chief defender, and so have bishops as well as England; which if it come to pass, that heretic bishops be so near, and spread abroad, Rome and the clergy utterly falls. You must therefore make these offertures of theirs odious to Edward and his council. Receive N. S. and E. L. from Rotterdam, their lessons are taught them, take you their parts, if checked by the other heretics; for these be for rebaptizing, and not for infant baptism: their doctrine is for a future monarchy upon earth after death, which will please the ordinary kind well, and dash the other that rageth now amongst you. Reverend fathers, it is left to you to assist, and to those you know are sure to the mother-church. From Delph, the 4th ide of May, anno Christi, 1549.

D. G."

—Foxes and Firebrands, by Rob. Ware, pt. ii. p. 11. ed. Dubl. 1682. Strype attributes this part of "Foxes and Firebrands" to sir James Ware, which is an error. See Watts' Bibl. Brit. vol. ii. (authors) col. 949. s. ed. Edin. 1824.]

CHAPTER XVI.

RIDLEY MADE BISHOP OF LONDON.—THE COMMUNION-BOOK REVIEWED.

Ann. 1550. Ridley made bishop of London.

Ridley bishop of Rochester was designed to succeed Boner, lately deprived, in the bishopric of London; and April 3, took his oath, an half year being almost spent before he entered upon the care of that see, after Boner's deprivation. At his entrance, he was exceeding wary not to do his predecessor the least injury in goods that belonged to him. He had not one pennyworth of his moveable goods; for if any were found and known to be his, he had license to convey them away, otherwise they were

Ridley's letter, among the Letters of the Martyrs[x].

[x] ["To the Queen's Majesty.—It may please your majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience, (and now not for myself, but for other poor men), to vouchsafe to hear and understand this mine humble supplication. It is so, (honourable princess), that in the time while I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenantries and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their hold, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same. Now I hear say, that the bishop which occupieth the same room now will not allow the aforesaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay; wherefore, this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the aforesaid poor men their gracious patron* and defender, either that they may enjoy their aforesaid leases, and years renewed, (as, when† their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require; for that their leases shall be found, (I trust), made without fraud or coven‡, either of their part or of mine; and also the old rents always reserved§ to the see, without any kind of damage thereof);

* ["Patronus."—Foxe.] †["As (I suppose) when."—Foxe.]
‡ ["Collusion."] § ["And always also the old rents reserved."—Foxe.]

safely preserved for him. There was some quantity of lead lay in the house, which he used about it and the

or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and may have rendered* to them again, such sums of money, as they paid to me and to the chapter† for their leases and years so now taken from them; which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house, to be given unto them‡. I suppose that half of the value of the plate § which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received; the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases, and therefore, (if that way shall please your highness,) they must be known by such ways and means as your majesty by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience shall appoint. But yet for Christ's sake I crave and most humbly beseech your majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place. I have also a poor sister, that came to me out of the north with three fatherless children for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house; she is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered: and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him which suffered indurance ‖ at my entrance to the see of London, one penny ¶ of his moveable goods, for it was almost half-a-year after his deposition, afore I did enter in that place**; yea, and also if any were left known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe; and his officers do know, that I paid for the lead†† which I found there when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his moveable goods, but also as his old receiver and then mine, called master Staunton, can testify, I paid for him, towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three li. or fifty-five pounds, I can-

* ["And to have rendered."—Foxe.] † ["That chapter house."—Foxe.]

‡ ["When I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your grace, which goods, (as I have heard,) be yet reserved in the same house."—Foxe.]

§ ["Of my plate."—Foxe and Park. Soc. ed. ‖ ["Hardship."]

¶ ["Not one penny."—Foxe.] ** ["Into that place."—Foxe.]

†† ["Did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead."—Foxe.]

church; but Ridley paid for it, as Boner's own officers knew. He continued Boner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place. He paid fifty-three or fifty-five pounds for Boner's own servants' common liveries and wages, which was Boner's own debt, remaining unpaid after his deposition. He frequently sent for old Mrs. Boner, his predecessor's mother, calling her "his mother," and caused her to sit in the uppermost seat at his own table, as also for his sister, one Mrs. Mungey. It was observed, how Ridley welcomed the old gentlewoman, and made as much of her as though she had been his own mother. And though sometimes the lords of the council dined with him, he would not let her be displaced, but would say, "By your lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Boner." But to see the base ingratitude of Boner; when he was restored again in queen Mary's reign,
209 he used Ridley far otherwise than Ridley had used him: for he would not allow the leases which Ridley had made; which was in danger to redound to the utter ruin and decay of many poor men. He had a sister with three children, whom he married to one Shipside a servant of his, and provided for them. This sister Boner turned out of all, and endeavoured the destruction of Shipside, had

not tell whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and especially * the archbishop now of York† which, for that he was continually in my house a year and more before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief, now unto your highness I make most humble suit.

The 16th day of October, 1555.

N. R."

—Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 27–29. ed. Lond. 1844. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1768. ed. Lond. 1583. Works of Bp. Ridley, pp. 427–429. Park. Soc. ed.]

* ["And in especially."—Foxe.] † ["Archbishop of York."—Foxe.]

not bishop Hethe delivered him[y]. Ridley, in his offices, and in an iron chest in his bed-chamber, had much plate,

[y] ["Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his (Ridley's) gentle nature, and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Boner, mother to Dr. Boner, sometime bishop of London; which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Boner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Boner, dwelling in an house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Boner's sister, saying, 'Go for my mother Boner;' who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, (as divers times they were), 'By your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Boner.' But how well he was recompensed for this, his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr. Boner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Boner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shipside her husband from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Boner's mother, sister, and other his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Boner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, bishop Boner, being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother, bishop Ridley, but also currishly without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had. And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shipside, saying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, bishop then of Worcester. *Teste George Shipside.* Whereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the dispo-

and considerable quantities of other goods; all which Boner seized upon. Insomuch that Ridley, but a little before his burning, wrote a supplicatory letter to the queen to take this into her consideration, "That the poor men might enjoy their leases, and years renewed, for that they were made without fraud or covin, either for their parts, or his; and the old rents always reserved to the see, without any kind of damage thereof: or at least that they might be restored to their former leases and years, and might have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid him and the chapter, as fines for their leases and years taken from them. Which fines he desired the queen would command might be made good out of the plate and other things he left in his house; half whereof would disburse those fines." This did so much run in the good man's mind, that at the time of his burning, he desired the lord Williams[z], then present, to remember this his suit to the queen[a]. Which he promised him he would do. But what effect it had I cannot tell.

sition of these two natures; whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despiteful disdain."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1717, 18. ed. Lond. 1583. See also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. iii. pp. 7, 8, n. 7. ed. Lond. 1839.]

[z] ["Sir John Williams, created lord Williams for proclaiming the princess Mary queen in Oxfordshire, was appointed to escort Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer to Oxford, and by the queen to see the execution of the two latter. When the princess Elizabeth was released from the Tower, she was placed in his custody, who waited on her to Woodstock, and treated her with great civility, and all the respect due to her quality: but this not being so acceptable to those who governed she was put under the charge of sir Henry Beddingfield by whom she was more roughly handled." — See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 284, 503, 573, 640, 729. vol. iii. p. 435. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[a] ["In the meantime Dr. Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, 'My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the

In the vacancy of the church of Rochester, by the remove of Ridley, the archbishop committed the spiritualities to William Cook, LL.D.[b] April 18. Rochester vacant.

The nobility and gentry this year flying so much upon the spoil of the church, Bucer, by the archbishop's instigation, as well as his own inclinations, wrote to the marquis of Dorset[c] to forbear, dissuading him from spoiling the church of her maintenance. In which letter he hath these expressions: "Antiquum dictum est, neminem posse vere ditari furtis aut rapinis, quibus invaduntur res alienæ; multo minus peculatu, quo defraudatur respublica. Quem igitur habeat sensum Dei, qui dubitet, minime omnium posse cujusquam opes augeri salutariter sacrilegiis, quibus acciduntur res ecclesiasticæ? Sunt nimium amplæ hæ opes, addictæ ecclesiis; et in luxum permulti eas diripiunt. Homines plane otiosi; nec ullam reipublicæ conferentes utilitatem. Submoveantur igitur hi fuci ab ecclesiæ alvearibus, nec depasci permittantur apum labores. Deinde procurentur, ut restitutis passim scholis Bucer writes to Dorset, not to spoil the church. MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. A.[d]

behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God), this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say, the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them; you shall do a good deed and God will reward you."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1770. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[b] [Dean of the arches, commissary of the prerogative court of Canterbury, and judge of the admiralty. See above, pp. 92, 99.]

[c] [See above, p. 183. n. f.]

[d] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. CXIII. p. 3.]

nusquam desint ecclesiarum frugi ministri," &c. That is, "It is an old saying, nobody can grow rich by the stealing and taking away of private people's possessions; much less by robbing of the public. What sense therefore hath he of God, that doubts not that his riches shall increase to good purpose that commits sacrilege, and robs the church of what belongs to it? But it is objected, the church hath too much, and many spend it in luxury: the churchmen are idle, and bring no profit to the commonwealth. Let these drones therefore be removed from the hives of the church, but let not the pains of the bees be eaten up. And then, having schools of good literature every where restored, let not the church want sober ministers," &c.

The Common Prayer-Book reviewed.

210 A review was made of the book of Common Prayer, about the latter end of the year, by archbishop Cranmer and the bishops. Divers things, that savoured too much of superstition, were endeavoured to be changed or amended: but there were among them some that made what opposition they could. The archbishop had now by Wilks, master of Christ's College[e], desired Bucer, (that great divine then at Cambridge), that he would take an impartial view of the whole book, having procured him a translation of it into Latin, done by Aless[f], the learned

[e] [Richard Wilks, S. T. P., master of Christ's College Cambridge from A.D. 1549 to 1553. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 432.]

[f] ["Alexander Aless was a native of Edinburgh, and one of the canons of St. Andrews, who, having at first opposed the protestants, became afterwards a convert to their doctrines, and took refuge in Germany. Soon after the advancement of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury, Aless, who had lived much with the German divines, especially Melancthon, was invited into England from Antwerp, as he himself informs us, 'by the right noble lord Crumwell, and the archbishop of Canterbury,' and after being 'lovingly received' not only by them, but also by the king himself, he was sent down to read a theological lecture at Cambridge; but meeting with opposition there, he returned to London, studied me-

Scotch divine, for his understanding of it; and that he should judge, if he thought any thing in the book might be more explained agreeable with God's word, and for better edification of faith. Bucer in answer sent the archbishop word, first, what his judgment was of the book, and then what course he intended to use in the examination of it that he was now to make. He said, that when he first came into England, and by the help of an interpreter took some knowledge of the rites and doctrines of this church, that he might see whether he could join his ministry with it, he thanked God "that had inclined the officers of the church to reform the ceremonies to that degree of purity; and that he found nothing in them that was not taken out of the word of God, or at least was not repugnant to it, being fitly taken[g]. For some few things there were," added he, "that, unless they were candidly interpreted, might seem not so sufficiently agreeable with the word of God." As for what he was now to do in order to the fulfilling what the archbishop required of him, he intended in short notes, at every chapter of the book, to observe what he thought to be according to God's word, and to be retained and vindicated; what to be taken away or mended, and what to be more plainly explained and allowed. After

dicine under Dr. Nicholas, an eminent physician, and was now practising in that art, when met in the manner described by the lord Crumwell. After the fall of Crumwell he returned to Germany, and was made professor of divinity at Francfort on the Oder, which place he soon left, in consequence of giving offence to the elector of Brandenburgh. He retired to Leipzig, and was there also chosen professor of Divinity, which post he retained until his death in 1565." Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. ii. pp. 247, 8. n. [2]. See also p. 604. n. [3]. ed. Lond. 1839.]

[g] Nec enim quicquam in illis deprehendi quod non sit ex verbo Dei desumptum, aut saltem ei non adversetur, commode acceptum. Buceri Scripta Anglican. [p. 456. ed. Basil. 1577.]

his perusal of the book, he gave this judgment in general: "That in the description of the communion and daily prayers, he saw nothing enjoined in the book but what was agreeable to the word of God, either in word, as the psalms and lessons; or in sense, as the collects[h]. Also

[h] ["Benevolentia atque beneficentia Domini nostri Jesu Christi augeatur R. P. T. perpetuo. Significavit mihi, reverendissime pater ac domine, eximius vir, magister N. præfectus collegii Christi, reverendissimam P. T. petere, ut expensis quæ insunt in libro sacrorum hujus regni, judicem, si quæ existimem in eo libro posse explicari amplius, et cum verbo Dei consentaneè, et ad fidei ædificationem appositè*. Memor ergo quid reverendissimæ P. T. et ecclesiis Anglicanis cum primis debeam, quod datum mihi est hac in re videre, id studeam subscribere. Reverendissima P. T., aliique tui ordinis, de his judicabunt. Equidem cum primum in hoc regnum venissem, quæ publice dogmata quique ritus in ecclesia essent recepti: videremque eo, num meum possem ministerium his solido consensu adjungere, librum istum sacrorum per interpretem, quantum potui, cognovi diligenter: quo facto, egi gratias Deo, qui dedisset vos has ceremonias eo puritatis reformare, nec enim quicquam in illis deprehendi, quod non sit ex verbo Dei desumptum, aut saltem ei non adversetur, commode acceptum. Nam non desunt paucula quædam, quæ si quis non candide interpretetur, videri queant, non satis cum verbo Dei congruere. Quo vero officium, quod reverendissima P. T. a me petit, præstem fidelius, annotabo paucis ad singula libri capita, quid midi videatur juxta verbum Dei retinendum esse et vindicandum, quid tollendum, aut emendandum; denique qui etiam plannis explicandum et perficiendum, ordinem sequar in eo libro, cujus hæc sunt præcipua capita: 1. descriptio precum, quæ quotidie in templis haberi debeant cum suis lectionibus et psalmis. 2. descriptio S. communionis. 3. consecrationis S. connubii. 4. visitationis ægrotorum. 5. exequiarum funebrium. 6. purificationis puerpurarum. 7. publicæ supplicationis pro venia peccatorum.———— Porro de aliis cæremoniis ac ritibus, quæ in se verbo Dei non repugnant, ut loca religionibus sacra, puræ preces, lectiones, psalmi, et aliæ hujus generis, accurandum erit, ut hæc religionum instrumenta atque ritus ita exhibeantur et observentur, ut requirit regula Spiritus S. in libro probe proposita: ut scilicet nihil loci relinquatur ulli veteri vitio: nihil insit obscuri, et non intellectum, nihil non grave et fidei in Christum ædificationi, decorique crucis Chri-

* [Sic.]

that the manner of their lessons and prayers, and the times of using them, were constituted very agreeable both with God's word, and the observation of the ancient churches: and therefore that that book ought to be retained and vindicated with the greatest strictness[i]." What particular animadversions the said learned man made upon the book, may be seen in his "Scripta Anglicana," and in the bishop of Sarum's History, as he hath there abridged them[j]. And such a deference was given to his judgment, that most of the things that he excepted against were corrected accordingly. And, that the book might be the more exact, and perhaps be the more agreeable to the doctrine and practice of foreign churches, the archbishop recommended the diligent examination of it unto another great divine, Peter Martyr[k], who was now at Lambeth; the archbishop desiring him to note what he thought good concerning the book, and, because he knew not the language, the version of sir John Cheke[l], (who had also translated it into Latin), was given him. He was also requested to set down in writing what he thought deserved correction. And he accordingly made his annotations.

Martyr agreed clearly in judgment with Bucer about the book, as he wrote to him in a letter sent him to Cambridge, extant among archbishop Parker's manu- 211 Bucer and Martyr employed in it.

sti accomodatum." Censur. in ordinat. Eccl. Bucer. Script. Anglic. pp. 456, 495. Ed. Basil. 1577.]

[i] Modus quoque harum lectionum ac precum, et tempora, sunt admodum congruenter, et cum verbo Dei, et observatione priscarum ecclesiarum constituta. Religione igitur summa retinenda erit, et vindicanda hæc ceremonia. Censura, inter Scripta Anglican. [p. 456, 7.]

[j] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat., vol. ii. pp. 319–321. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[k] [See above, p. 143. n. [n].]

[l] [See above, p. 168. n. [e].]

MSS. C.C.C.C. vol. intit. Epist. Viror. Illustr. et German [m].

scripts. On the back-side of which letter is written, by that archbishop's own hand, "Censura libri communium precum." In this letter Martyr told Bucer, that the same things that he disapproved of, the same likewise had he [Peter Martyr] done: and that afterward he drew them up into articles, and shewed them to the archbishop of Canterbury. That to all that Bucer judged ought to be amended, he had subscribed; and that he thanked God, that had given occasion to admonish the bishops of these things. From this letter it appears, that the archbishop had told Martyr, that, in the conference among the divines concerning the correction of these public prayers, it was concluded to make many alterations. But what those things were, as the archbishop told him not, so neither, as he wrote, did he dare to ask him. But what Cheke told him did not a little refresh him; viz. "That if they themselves would not change what ought to be changed, the king would do it of himself; and, when they came to a parliament, the king would interpose his majesty's own authority."

[m] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxix. p. 39. For this document, see Appendix, No. lxi, to this vol.]

CHAPTER XVII.

HOPER'S TROUBLES.

Hoper nominated for bishop of Gloucester.

In the month of July John Hoper, who had lived long abroad in Germany and in Switzerland, and conversed much with Bullinger and Gualter, the chief reformers there, but returned into England in king Edward's reign, and retained by the duke of Somerset, and a famous preacher in the city, was nominated by the king to the bishopric of Gloucester [n]. But by reason of certain scruples of conscience he made to the wearing of the old

[n] ["John Hoper was born in Somersetshire, about the close of the fifteenth century; he studied at Oxford, probably at Merton college, and subsequently embraced the monastic life. After the dissolution of the monasteries, and when the act of the Six Articles was in force, he withdrew to the continent, where he was kindly received at Zurich by Bullinger. He remained abroad till the accession of Edward VI.; he returned to England in 1548, and residing in London, preached continually to large congregations, taking also an active part in the proceedings of that period. In May (15th) 1550, he was nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, but was not consecrated till the next year, March 8, 1551. This delay was owing to his objections to an oath by the saints, and to some of the vestments formerly worn by the popish prelates, and then retained. The former point was conceded, but the dispute respecting the habits went so far, that Hoper was for a short time confined in the Fleet. This matter being at last arranged by his yielding in a great measure to what was required, he entered upon his diocese, to which that of Worcester was afterwards added, (in commendam on the deprivation of Heathe in 1552)." On the accession of queen Mary he was deprived of his bishoprics, condemned January 1555, and burned near his own cathedral in Gloucester, February 9, 1555. See biogr. notice, works of bp. Hooper, vol. i. pp. 3, 4. Park. Soc. ed. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 101. 299. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1502 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. ii. pp. 355–402. ed. Lond. 1839.]

pontifical habits, as the chimere and rochet, and such-like, and disliking the oath customarily taken, he was not consecrated till eight months after, and endured not a little trouble in the mean season. Soon after his nomination he repaired to the archbishop, desiring him in these things to dispense with him: but the archbishop, for certain reasons, refused it. Then was the archbishop solicited by great men. The earl of Warwick, afterwards the great duke of Northumberland[o], wrote to him a letter, dated July 23[p], the bearer whereof was Hoper himself,

[o] [John Dudley, viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick, and duke of Northumberland, was one of Henry VIII.'s executors, being then lord high admiral, a governor to Edward VI. and to the kingdom, a privy councillor, lord great chamberlain, and lord protector of the north during the protector Somerset's expedition into Scotland. Upon Somerset's fall, whom he had opposed, he became one of the governors of the king's person, and absolute at court. He persuaded Edward VI. to leave the crown to the lady Jane Grey, whom his own son, lord Guilford Dudley, had married; and waited upon her with the duke of Suffolk to acquaint her that she was queen, but failing in his projects, he declared for queen Mary; being taken prisoner he was sent to the Tower, condemned, and executed as a traitor, August 22, 1553, notwithstanding he professed to be a papist to save his life.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 66, 276, 279, 286, 384, 455, 456, 469, 478–480, 487, 488. pt. ii, p. 4. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 19, 535, 537, 585, 586; pt. ii. p. 13. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 8, 16, 21, 33. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[p] ["Besides this letter of the king" (for which see p. 207. n. r.), "also the earl of Warwick, (who was afterwards duke of Northumberland), adjoined his letter to the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect; that Mr. Hoper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience; as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth:—'After most hearty commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to shew him your grace's favour, the rather at this my instance: which thing

that the rather at his instance he would not charge the bishop elect of Gloucester with an oath burdenous to his conscience. Which was, I suppose, the oath of canonical obedience [q]. And when Hoper had sued to the king, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or that he might be dispensed with in the ceremonies used in consecration, (which he knew the archbishop could not do, no more than to dispense with the laws of the land, whereby he should run into a *præmunire*), the king wrote a letter to Cranmer, dated August 5 [r], therein freeing him of all

partly I have taken in hand by the king's majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highness, none other, but that your grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdenous to his conscience. And so for lack of time I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster, the 23rd of July, 1550.

Your grace's most assured loving friend,

I. Warwick."'

Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1504. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[q] ["Strype and (once) Burnet [vol. ii. p. 318.] supposed that this referred to the oath of canonical obedience. But Burnet in his third volume [p. 389.] informs us on the authority of Micronius, minister of the German church in London, that it referred to the oath of supremacy, which commenced, 'by God, by the saints, and by the holy gospels'; this he thought impious, as no creature ought to be appealed to, God only knowing the thoughts of men; and the king in council was so convinced of the propriety of the objection, that he erased the words with his own pen."—Id. vol. vi. pp. 777, 8. ed. Lond. 1843–48. See also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. ii. p. 363. ed. Lond. 1839.]

[r] ["For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenor:—"The king's letters or grant for the dispensation of John Hoper elected bishop of Gloucester, written to the archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops *.—Right reverend father, and right

* These letters of dispensation are in the Ridley register, fol. 282, from whence the corrections that are noted, are taken.

manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures that he might incur by omitting those rites; but yet, (by any thing that appears in the letter), without any urging or
212 persuasion used to the archbishop to omit the said rites, leaving that to his own discretion. But the archbishop thought the king's bare letters were not sufficient to secure him against established laws.

He and Ridley confer about the habits.

When this would not do, then endeavour was used to satisfy Hoper's conscience. And Ridley, bishop now of

trusty, and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas, we by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well beloved, and well worthy Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures, and other profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance and honest life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our loving subjects within his said charge * and elsewhere, might, by his sound and true doctrine, learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby you think you should fall into the 'præmunire' of our laws †; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties and forfeitures, you shall run ‡, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge there-for.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 5th of August, the fourth year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.
W. Wiltshire.
W. North.
W. Paget.
An. Wingfield.
N. Wootton."

Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1504. ed. Lond. 1583. vol. vi. p. 640, 777. ed. Lond. 1843—48. See also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. ii. p. 361, 2. Heylin's Hist. of Reformat. p. 91. ed. Lond. 1674. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 65.]

* ["Subjects, which are in his said charge." Foxe.]
† ["Should fall in 'præmunire' of laws." Id.]
‡ ["You should run." Id.]

London, was thought, for his great learning, to be a fit person to confer with him. There were long arguings between them, and at last it came to some heats. And Hoper still remained resolved not to comply, holding it, if not unlawful, yet highly inexpedient, to use those very vestments that the papal bishops used. The council upon this sent for Hoper, and, because they would in no wise the stirring up of controversies between men of one profession, willed him to cease the occasion hereof. Hoper humbly besought them, that, for declaration of his doings, he might put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held. Which was granted him. These arguments it seems were communicated to Ridley to answer[r]. And October the 6th, the council being then at Richmond, the archbishop present, they wrote to the bishop of London, commanding him to be at court on Sunday next, and to bring with him what he should for answer think convenient[s].

MS. of the Council Book.

[r] ["Bishop Ridley's answer to Hooper's objections to the Romish habits of the prelates, quoted by archbishop Whitgift in his controversy with Cartwright, was long supposed to be lost; but it has lately been discovered among the large and valuable collection of MSS. belonging to sir Thomas Phillips." See abp. Cranmer's works, vol. ii. p. 428. n. 2.]

[s] ["6. Oct. 1550.—A letter to the bishop of London, that where there had been some difference between him, and the elect bishop of Gloucester, upon certain ceremonies belonging to the making of a bishop, wherein their lordships' desire is, because they would in nowise the stirring up of controversies betwixt men of one profession, did send for him, willing him to cease the occasions hereof; who humbly required that he might for declaration of his doings, put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held; which thing was granted; and [he] was by their lordships commanded to be at the court on Sunday next, bringing with him that he shall for answer have thought convenient." MSS. Council Book, Privy Council office, A. D. 1550–1553. Edw. VI. fol. 140. Original. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 113. 6195. Plut. lx. fol. 11. British Museum. Copy. See also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. ii. p. 367.]

The archbishop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter.

In the mean time, to bring the question to more evidence and satisfaction, the archbishop, according to his custom, to consult in religious matters with the learnedest men of other nations, wrote to Cambridge to Martin Bucer for his judgment[t]: who, upon occasion of this controversy, wrote two epistles; one to Hoper, and another to the archbishop, both "de re vestiaria." That to the latter was in answer to these two queries, which Cranmer had sent for his resolution about.

The questions.

"I. Whether, without offending of God, the ministers of the church of England may use those garments which are now used, and prescribed to be used by the magistrates?"

[t] [The following is the letter of abp. Cranmer to Martin Bucer, printed by Mr. Todd, (Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 229, 30.), from "A brief Examination for the time of a certain declaration lately put in print, in the name and defence of certain ministers of London refusing to wear the apparel prescribed by the laws of the realm." "After my hearty salutations, right well beloved master Bucer; I have read that book which you have sent to doctor Peter Alexander concerning the controversy betwixt master Hoper and the bishop of London. In which book many things are learnedly declared, and largely handled; wherefore now, I pray you, that you would send unto me your judgment of these questions, expressed with as short brevity of words as you can. Whether, without the offence of God, it may be lawful to the ministers of the church of England to use those vestures which at these days they wear, and are so prescribed of the magistrate? Whether he that shall affirm that it is unlawful, or shall refuse to wear this apparel, offendeth against God, for that he sayeth that thing to be unclean that God hath sanctified; and offendeth against the magistrate, for that he disturbeth the politic order? To these questions, if you will make most brief answer, and send unto me your judgment as soon as you may possibly, you shall do me great pleasure; God be with you. From Lambeth, the second of December. [1550.]" The original Latin copy of this letter, of which the above is a translation, could not be discovered by Dr. Jenkyns, neither was a further search successful for the Park. Soc. edition of abp. Cranmer's works: see vol. ii. p. 428, and Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 341. n. y.]

"II. Whether he that affirms it unlawful, or refuseth to use these garments, sinneth against God, because he saith that is unclean which God hath sanctified; and against the magistrate, who commandeth a political order?"

Bucer to both these questions gave his resolution in the affirmative, in his answer to the archbishop, dated December 8. But he thought, considering how the habits had been occasion to some of superstition, and to others of contention, that it were better, at some good opportunity, wholly to take them away[u]. Script. Anglic. p. 705. et 681.

Besides Bucer's letter to Hoper from Cambridge, mentioned before, Peter Martyr from Oxon wrote him a large letter, dated November 4[w]: for both these good men were desirous that Hoper should have satisfaction, that so useful a man might come in place in the church. To both these Hoper had wrote, and sent his arguments against the episcopal vestments, by a messenger dispatched on purpose. Martyr told him, "That he took much delight in that singular and ardent study that appeared in him, that Christian religion might again aspire to a chaste and pure simplicity. That for his part he could be very hardly brought off from that simple and pure way, which he knew they used a great while at Strasburgh, where the difference of garments in holy things was taken away. 213 Martyr writes to Hoper. Inter P. Mart. Epist.

[u] ["Qui jam ecclesiarum Anglicarum ministri hujusmodi sunt, eos sentio posse vestibus illis, quarum hodie usus est, uti cum gratia Dei.—De altera quæstione mea est sententia, hausta, ut credo, ex divinis literis; 'eos, qui dicunt vestibus de quibus agitur quovis modo uti, etiam eo, quem descripsi, nefas esse, ad minimum errare: et hoc eo, quod negant sanctificatis esse sancta omnia.' Idem affirmo de iis, qui ex eadem causa vestibus illis nolunt uti."—"Cum constet hodie, vestes has, esse occasioni aliis ad superstitionem, aliis ad perniciosam contentionem: præstare, eas tollere." See Bucer's Script. Anglican, pp. 682, 3, and Bucer's letter to Hoper, id. p. 705. ed. Basil. 1577.]

[w] [This letter will be found in the Appendix to this volume.]

And so he prayed God it might continue." Thus, he said, "Hoper might see that, in the sum, they both agreed together; he wishing for that which Hoper endeavoured. That in rites, he was for coming as near as possible to the sacred Scripture, and for taking pattern by the better times of the church: but yet that he could not be brought by his arguments to think that the use of garments was destructive, or in their own nature contrary, to the word of God; a matter which he thought to be altogether *ἀδιάφορον*. And that therefore indifferent things, as they were sometimes to be taken away, so might be used: and that if he had thought this were wicked, he would never have communicated with the church of England. That there might be some great good follow from the use at present of the garments; namely, that if we suffered the gospel to be first preached, and well rooted, men would afterwards better and more easily be persuaded to let go these outward customs. But now, when a change is brought in of the necessary heads of religion, and that with so great difficulty, if we should make those things that are indifferent to be impious, so we might alienate the minds of all, that they would not endure to hear solid doctrine, and receive the necessary ceremonies. That there was no doubt England owed much to him for his great pains in preaching and teaching: and, in return, he had gained much favour and authority in the realm, whereby he was in a capacity of doing much good to the glory of God. Only he bade Hoper take heed, that by unseasonable and too bitter sermons he became not an hindrance to himself. Besides, that by looking upon these indifferent things as sinful and destructive, we should condemn many gospel-churches, and too sharply tax very many, which anciently were esteemed most famous and celebrated."

And whereas there were two arguments that made Hoper ready to charge the use of these vestments to be not indifferent, he proceeded to consider them. One was this; "That this would be to call back again the priesthood of Aaron." The other, "That they were inventions of antichrist; and that we ought to be estranged, not only from the pope, but from all his devices." Hoper's two objections,

But as to the former he shewed him, "That the apostles, for peace sake, commanded the Gentiles to abstain from blood and fornication, which were Aaronical customs; and so are tithes for the maintenance of the clergy. Psalms and hymns can scarce be shewn to be commanded in the New Testament to be sung in public assemblies, which are very manifest to be used in the Old. That there are not a few things that our church hath borrowed from the Mosaical decrees, and that even from the very first times. The festivals of the resurrection, of the nativity, of pentecost, and of the death of Christ, are all footsteps of the old law; and are they to be therefore abolished? He wished with all his heart that the churches in Germany by this one loss might obtain their former liberty." Considered.

As to the second argument, "He could not see how it could be asserted upon good grounds, that nothing is to be used by us that is observed in the popish religion. 214 We must take heed that the church of God be not pressed with too much servitude, that it may not have liberty to use any thing that belonged to the pope. Our ancestors took the idol temples, and used them for sacred houses to worship Christ. And the revenues that were consecrated to the Gentile gods, and to the games of the theatre, and of the vestal virgins, were made use of for the maintenance of the ministers of the church; when

these before had served not only to antichrist, but to the devil. Nor could he presently grant that these differences of garments had their original from the pope; for we read in ecclesiastical history that John at Ephesus wore a 'petalum' [a mitre.] And Pontius Diaconus saith of Cyprian, that when he went to be executed he gave his *'birrus' to the executioner, his *'dalmatica' to the deacons, and stood in linen. And Chrysostome makes mention of the white garments of ministers. And the ancients witness, that when the Christians came to Christ, they changed their garments, and for a gown put on a cloak; for which when they were mocked by the heathens, Tertullian wrote a learned book 'De Pallio.' And he knew Hoper was not ignorant, that to those that were initiated in baptism was delivered a white garment. Therefore, before the tyranny of the pope, there was a distinction of garments in the church.

* Episcopal garments.

"Nor did he think, that in case it were granted that it was invented by the pope, that the iniquity of popery was so great, that whatsoever it touched was so dyed and polluted thereby, that good and godly men might not use it to any holy purpose. Hoper himself granted, that every human invention was not therefore presently to be condemned. It was an human invention, to communicate before dinner: it was an human invention, that the things sold in the primitive church were brought and laid at the apostles' feet. That he was ready to confess with him that these garments were an human invention, and of themselves edified not; but it was thought by some conducive to be borne with for a time: for that it might be a cause of avoiding those contentions, whereby greater benefits might be in danger to be obstructed. But that if hence an occasion of erring might be given to the

weak, they were to be admonished, that they should hold these things indifferent; and they were to be taught in sermons, that they should judge not God's worship to be placed in them."

Another objection of Hoper considered.

Hoper had writ, that the eyes of the standers-by, by reason of these garments, would be turned away from thinking of serious things, and detained in gazing upon them. But this would not happen when the garments were simple and plain, without bravery, and such as hitherto were used in the service of God. But Martyr answered, "That use and custom would take away admiration. And perhaps when the people were moved with admiration, they would the more attentively think of those things that are serious. For which end," he said, "the sacraments seemed to be invented, that from the sight and sense of them we might be carried to think of divine things."

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Other things urged by him.

Hoper urged moreover, "That 'whatsoever was not of faith was sin.'" But said Martyr, "That we may enjoy a quiet conscience in our doings, that of the apostle seems much to tend, and that 'to the clean all things are clean,' saith the same apostle to Titus; and to Timothy, that 'every creature of God is good.'"

He urged also, "That we ought to have express Scripture for what we do in holy things." But Martyr was not of that mind; "but that that was enough in general, to know by faith that indifferent things cannot defile those who act with a pure and sincere mind and conscience." And this was the substance of P. Martyr's judgment of these things: which might give much light to that reverend man in this controversy, though he was not yet convinced, nor could comply.

Hoper confined to his house and silenced.

As Hoper all this while refused the habits, so we may conjecture, by a passage in the former letter, that he liberally declaimed against them in the London pulpits.

For Martyr takes notice to him of his "unseasonable and too bitter sermons." Whether it were for this or his incompliance, or both together, I know not, but at length he was by the privy-council commanded to keep his house, unless it were to go to the archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishops of Ely[x], London[y], or Lincoln[z], for counsel and satisfaction of his conscience; and neither to preach nor read till he had further license from the council. But, notwithstanding this command, he kept not his house, and writ a book and printed it, intituled, "A Confession of his faith:" written in such a manner, that it gave more distaste, and wherein was contained matter he should not have written. He went about also complaining of the king's counsellors, as Martyr wrote in a private letter to Bucer.

Council-Book.

Committed to the archbishop's custody.

On January the 13th, the court then at Greenwich, he appeared there before the council, (the archbishop being then present), touching the matter of not wearing the apparel, and for disobeying the council: who for this disobedience, and for that he continued in his former opinion of not wearing the apparel prescribed for bishops to wear, committed him to the archbishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further punished, as the obstinacy of his cause required[a].

[x] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[y] [Nicholas Ridley.]

[z] [Henry Holbeach.]

[a] ["At Greenwich, the 13th day of January, an°. 155$\frac{9}{0}$. This day Mr. Hoper, bishop elect of Gloucester, appeared before the council touching his old matter of denial to wear such apparel as other bishops wear, and having been before commanded to keep his house, unless it were to go to the bishop of Canterbury, Ely, London, or Lincoln, for council or satisfaction of his conscience in that matter, and farther, neither to preach nor read till he had farther license from the council, it appeared both that he had not kept his house, and that he had also written and printed a book, wherein was contained matter that he should not have written: for the which, and for that also he

Being with the archbishop, he did his endeavour to satisfy him. But Hoper was as immoveable to whatsoever the said archbishop could propound and offer, as he was before with Ridley. So the archbishop signified to the council, that he could bring him to no conformity, but that he declared himself for another way of ordination than was established. The effect of this was, that on January 27, upon this letter of the archbishop, "That Hoper could not be brought to any conformity; but rather, persevering in his obstinacy, (they are the words of the Council-Book), coveted to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his head: it was agreed that he should be committed to the Fleet." And a letter was drawn for the archbishop to send Mr. Hoper to the Fleet upon the occasion aforesaid: and another letter to the warden of the Fleet to receive him, and to keep him from the conference with any person, saving the ministers of that house[b]. This disobedience of Hoper to the council's orders will make the severity of the council less liable to censure. Neither was Cranmer any other ways instrumental to Hoper's

Sent to the Fleet.

Council-Book.

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persevered in his former opinion of not wearing the bishops' apparel, he was now committed to the bishop of Canterbury's custody, either there to be reformed, or further to be punished as the obstinacy of his case requireth."—MSS. Council Book, Privy-council office, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 198. Original. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 128. b. 6195; Plut. lix. H. fol. 13, 14. British Museum. Copies. See also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. iii. pp. 36, 7, 8. ed. Lond. 1839.]

[b] ["At Greenwich, the 27th day of January, an°. 155$\frac{0}{1}$. Upon a letter from the archbishop of Canterbury, that Mr. Hoper cannot be brought to any conformity, but rather persevering in his obstinacy coveteth to prescribe orders and necessary laws of his head; it was agreed that he should be committed to the Fleet. A letter to the archbishop of Canterbury to send Mr. Hoper to the Fleet upon the occasion aforesaid. A letter to the warden of the Fleet to receive the said Mr. Hoper, and to keep him from conference of any person, saving the ministers of that house." — MSS. Council-Book.

imprisonment, than by doing that which was expected from him, viz. giving a true account of his unsuccessful dealing with him. But at last he complied, and received consecration after the usual form; and the church enjoyed a most excellent instrument in him at this time for his learning, zeal, courage, and activity.

Hoper conforms.

Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity.

This news Peter Martyr signified in a letter to Gualter[c]: for he and Bullinger, and the rest of his friends at Zurich, had heard of this contention, and were much concerned for this their acquaintance. But as he was consecrated in March, so in April following Martyr wrote to the said Gualter, "That he had never been wanting to Hoper, [whether in his counsel for satisfying his conscience, or in respect of his interest with the archbishop, or other chief men], and that he always hoped well of his cause. That he now was freed of all his troubles, and that he was actually in his bishopric, and did discharge his office piously and strenuously[d]." This was the more acceptable news to the foreigners, because some of the bishops took occasion, upon this disobedience of Hoper, liberally to blame the churches abroad, among which Hoper had been, as though they had infused these principles into him: and then fell foul upon Bucer and Martyr, that were set, the

A.D. 1550. fol. 207. Privy-council office. Original; Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 131. 6195. Plut. lix. H. fol. 14. British Museum. Copies.]

[c] [Rodolph Gualter, a divine of Zurich, was a Scot by nation, and came to England about the year 1537, and was received and entertained by abp. Cranmer. He shewed great kindness to many of the exiles for religion in the reign of queen Mary, and took a great interest and part in the progress of the English reformation.—See vol. iii. caps. xxiii. xxxiv.; Zurich Letters, 2nd series, p. 7. Park. Soc. ed.; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pref. p. viii. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[d] [Among Pet. Martyr's letters at the end of his "Common Places," p. 1091. ed. Tigur. 1587; see also Orig. Letters of the Reformat. pp. 486–488, 493. Park. Soc. ed.]

one professor in Cambridge, and the other in Oxon; as though they would corrupt all the youth in both universities, who would suck in from them such principles as Hoper had done. This Bucer heard of, and writ it with a concern to Martyr. Who writ again, how amazed and almost stupified he was to hear this[e]: but that it was well that the bishops saw his letter to Hoper, which would vindicate him from such imputations. And indeed both his and Bucer's letter, concerning this point, did or might seasonably stop this clamour.

[e] [See Peter Martyr's letter to Bucer, January 10, 1551. Appendix, No. lxi.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

BISHOP HOPER VISITS HIS DIOCESE.

Hoper visits his diocese.

The summer next after his consecration he went down and made a strict visitation of his diocese, fortified with letters from the privy-council; that so his authority might be the greater, and do the more good among an ignorant, superstitious, stubborn clergy and laity. I have seen a manuscript in folio, giving an account of the whole visitation, of the method thereof, and of the condition he found the clergy of the diocese in, as to their learning and abilities. First, he sent a general monitory letter to his clergy, signifying his intention of coming among them, gravely advising them of their office, and what was required of them who were entered into this holy vocation. This letter may be found in the Appendix. When he visited them, he gave them articles concerning Christian religion, to the number of fifty; which bore this title: "Articles concerning Christian religion, given by the reverend father in Christ, John Hoper, bishop of Gloucester, unto all and singular deans, parsons, prebendaries, vicars, curates, and other ecclesiastical ministers within the diocese of Glocester, to be had and retained of them for the unity and agreement, as well as the doctrine of God's word, as also for the confirmation of the ceremonies agreeing with God's word." Let me give the reader but a taste of them.

Number XLVII.

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His articles of religion.

"I. That none do teach any manner of thing to be necessary for the salvation of man, other than what is contained in the books of God's holy Word.

"II. That they faithfully teach and instruct the people committed unto their charge, that there is but one God, everlasting, incorporate, almighty, wise and good, the maker of heaven and earth, the father of our Lord Jesus

Christ, by whom also he will be called upon by us. And though one God in essence and unity in the Godhead, yet in the same unity three distinct persons.

"III. That they teach all the doctrines contained in the three creeds.

"IV. That they teach that the church of God is the congregation of the faithful, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the sacraments justly ministered, according to the institution of Christ: and that the church of God is not by God's word taken for the multitude or company of men, as of bishops, priests, and such other; but that it is the company of all men hearing God's word, and obeying to the same; lest that any man should be seduced, believing himself to be bound unto an ordinary succession of bishops and priests, but only unto the word of God, and the right use of his sacraments.

"V. That though the true church cannot err from the faith, yet nevertheless, forasmuch as no man is free from sin and lies, there is, nor can be any church known, be it never so perfect or holy, but it may err." These are the five first.

His injunctions and interrogatories.

Then he gave them injunctions to the number of one and thirty; seven and twenty interrogatories and demands of the people and parishioners, and of their conversation, to be required and known by the parsons, vicars, and curates. Sixty-one interrogatories and examinations of the ministers, and of their conversation, to be required and known by the parishioners. There were also articles, whereupon all ministers were examined concerning the Ten Commandments, the Articles of faith, and the petitions of the Lord's Prayer; viz. to each minister were these questions put:

1. Concerning the Commandments,
   1. How many Commandments.
   2. Where they are written.
   3. Whether they can recite them by heart.

2. Concerning the Christian faith,
   1. What are the Articles of the Christian faith.
   2. Whether they can recite them by heart.
   3. That they corroborate them by authority of Scripture.

3. Concerning the Lord's Prayer.
   1. Whether they can say the petitions by heart.
   2. How they know it to be the Lord's Prayer.
   3. Where it is written.

218 Which demands, how easy soever they were, many curates and priests, (such was the ignorance of those days), could say but little to. Some could say the Pater Noster in Latin, but not in English. Few could say the Ten Commandments. Few could prove the Articles of faith by Scripture: that was out of their way.

The memory of such as have been greatly useful in the church or state ought religiously to be preserved. Of this number was this bishop, who, as he was naturally an active man, put forth all his strength and vigour of body and mind to set forward a good reformation in religion, and afterwards as courageously shed his blood for it.

Holds Worcester in "commendam."

Therefore I cannot part with this good prelate till I have gathered up and reposited here some farther memorials of him. The diocese of Worcester becoming void by the deprivation of Hethe in October 1551, and requiring an industrious man to be set over that see, it was given to Hoper to hold in "commendam[f]." In the year 1552, in July, he visited that diocese, which he found much out of order. But before he had finished, he was fain to go back to Gloucester, hearing of the ungodly behaviour of the ministers there. He left them the last year seemingly

[f] [See above, p. 205, n. [n].]

very compliant to be reformed, and took their subscription to his articles of religion. But in his absence, when his back was turned, they became as bad altogether as they were before. Yet he conceived good hopes of the lay-people, if they had but good justices and faithful ministers placed among them, as he wrote to secretary Cecyl; to whom he signified his desire that the Articles of religion, which the king had mentioned to him when last at London, were set forth. Them he intended to make the clergy not only subscribe, (which, being privately done, he saw they regarded not), but to read and confess them openly before their parishioners. At his visitation he constituted certain of his clergy superintendants, who in his absence were to have a constant eye over the inferior clergy.

And visits that church and see.

After this visit to Gloucester, he returned back again to Worcester in October, and then proceeded in his visitation there. Here Johnson[g] and Jolliffe[h], two canons of this church, disallowing some doctrines recommended to them by the bishop, (in his articles abovesaid), held a dispute thereupon with him and Mr. Harley[i], (who was after-

[g] [— Johnson, canon of Worcester, "wrote against Hoper's articles, but kept his writing privately by him during king Edward's reign;" in queen Mary's reign he "got a prebend in the church of York, and a rectory in the same county."—Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 2. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[h] [Henry Jolliffe, canon of Worcester, became dean of Bristol, Sept. 9th, 1554, but was deprived of his preferment upon queen Elizabeth's accession. He carried Johnson's MS. with him beyond sea to Louvain, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and printed it at Antwerp, A. D. 1564, with additions of his own. —Id. ibid. See also Le Neve's Fasti, p. 50.]

[i] "John Harley, was consecrated bishop of Hereford, May 26, 1553. In the beginning of queen Mary's days he was deprived, and died soon after."—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 111. For a further account of this divine, see Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 82. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

ward bishop of Hereford.) And one of these behaved himself most insolently and disrespectfully to both. The bishop sent up by Harley a large relation of his visitation in writing, and the matter these canons misliked, and recommended Harley to the secretary to give account of the disputation. This caused him to break out into a complaint for want of good men in the cathedrals: "Ah! Mr. Secretary, that there were good men in the cathedral churches! God then should have much more honour than he hath, the king's majesty more obedience, and the poor people better knowledge: but the realm wanteth light in such churches, whereas of right it ought most to be." In Worcester church he now put in execution the king's injunctions for the removal of superstition. For which there arose a great clamour against him, as though he
219 had spoiled the church; and yet he did no more than the express words of the injunctions commanded to be done.

Goes over both his dioceses again.

After his visitation was over, he accounted not his work done; but soon went over both his dioceses again, to take account of his clergy, how they profited since his last examining them; and to oversee even his superintendants themselves, to commend their well-doings, and to see what was ill done. So great was his pains and zeal; which made him most truly and experimentally write as he did to the secretary: There is none that eat their bread in the sweat of their face, but such as serve in public vocation. Yours is wonderful, but mine passeth. Now I perceive that private labours be but plays, nor private troubles but ease and quietness. These matters I extract from two original letters of this bishop to secretary Cecyl; which I have thought well worthy of preserving in the Appendix; and there they may be met with.

Number XLVIII.

The Coun-

Whereas it was mentioned before, how the bishop had

sent up a writing of the matters in controversy between the two canons and himself, we may see what care the council took hereof, and what countenance they gave the bishop, by an order they made November 6, 1552. Which was, that "a letter should be wrote to Mr. Cheke and Mr. Harley, to consider certain books sent unto them touching matters of religion in controversy between the bishop of Worcester, and two of the canons of Worcester, and to certify their opinion hither, that further order may be therein taken[k]." Council's order concerning the two canons. MS. Council-Book.

January 29, 1551. "Upon suit made by the duchess of Somerset[l] to sir Philip Hobby[m], and Mr. Darcy, lieutenant of the Tower[n], to be a mean unto the king's majesty, and my lords, that the bishop of Gloucester," (who had been chaplain unto the duke), "might be suffered to have access unto her for the settling of her conscience; order was by their lordships taken for the same, and letters written to the lieutenant of the Tower in that behalf, as followeth: 'To the lieutenant of the Tower, to permit the bishop of Gloucester, from time to time, to speak with the duchess of Somerset, in the presence of sir Philip Hobby, and of the said lieutenant: and in case the said lady of Somerset desire to speak with the License for the bishop of Gloucester to attend upon the duchess of Somerset in the Tower.

[k] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. Privy Council Office. fol. 636.]

[l] [i. e. Anne Stanhope, countess of Hartford, and duchess of Somerset, the wife of the lord protector, who was confined in the Tower during the reign of Edward VI. See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 8. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[m] [See above, p. 136. n. [d].]

[n] [i. e. sir Anthony Darcy, who succeeded to the lieutenancy of the Tower, A. D. 1551, and delivered up his office by indenture to sir Edward Warner, October 1552. See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 15, 247. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

said bishop apart, that in that case they license her so to do[o].'"

Other matters relating to this bishop.

May 29, 1552. "A letter to make a book to the elect bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, of discharge of the first fruits and tenths to be paid for the same, in consideration that he hath departed with certain lands to the king's majesty[p]:" which probably he seeing would, whether he would or no, be pulled away from him, to be conferred upon some of the mighty of the court, made the best of a bad market, and got himself freed from that charge, payable to the king.

April 12, 1553. "A letter" was wrote "to the chancellor of the augmentations, to cause a book to be made from the bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, of a surrender to the king's majesty of his jurisdiction in the forest of Dean, with a certain deanery, which belongeth of right to the bishopric of Hereford: and thereupon to make
220 another book of the grant thereof from his highness to Mr. Harley, elect bishop of Hereford[q]."

April 16, 1553. "A letter to the [said Mr.] chancellor," (of the augmentations), "to cause a book to be devised in form of law, licensing the bishop of Worcester and Gloucester to give to three poor vicarages within his diocese, the parsonages whereof are impropriated to his bishopric, such augmentation of living towards their better maintenance, as he shall think convenient, out of the lands of the said see[r]."

[o] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 479. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 212.]

[p] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 563.]

[q] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 705. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 248, b. 249.]

[r] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 707.]

April 20, 1553. "A warrant to the receiver of the wards, to deliver to the bishop of Worcester, by way of reward, twenty pounds for his attendance here ever since the parliament by his majesty's commandment[s]." These are transcriptions out of a Council Book.

[s] [Id. fol. 709.]

CHAPTER XIX.

TROUBLES OF BISHOP GARDINER.

In this year 1550, the council and our archbishop had much trouble with some other bishops also, of a quite different judgment from the above spoken of; I mean Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Nicolas bishop of Worcester, and Day bishop of Chichester, of whom what I shall here briefly set down are for the most part extractions out of an old Council Book, and king Edward's Journal.

Divers great lords repair to Gardiner.

At Greenwich, June 8, was this order of council concerning bishop Gardiner; "Considering the long imprisonment that the bishop of Winchester hath sustained, it was now thought time he should be spoken withal; and agreed, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and would henceforth apply himself to advance the king's majesty's proceedings, his highness in this case would be his good lord, and remit all his errors past: otherwise his majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Petre, were appointed the next day [i. e. June 9.] to repair unto him. Signed by E. Somerset, T. Cant., W. Wiltshr., J. Bedford, E. Clynton, T. Ely, A. Wyngfield, W. Herbert, W. Petre, Edward North[t]." Accordingly, June 9, the duke of Somerset, the marquis of Northampton, the lord treasurer, the earl of Bedford, and secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester to know what he would stick to; whether to conform to and promote the king's laws, or no? He answered, "That he would

[t] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 47. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 83. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 766. 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. p. 79. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

obey and set forth all things set forth by the king and parliament: and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the council, and not reason openly against it." And then he desired to see the king's book of proceedings. At Greenwich, June 10, report was made by the duke of Somerset and the rest, sent to the bishop of Winchester, that he desired to see the said book [u]. The next day were the books sent to him, and delivered to him by the lieutenant of the Tower, as the council appointed, to see if he would set his hand to them, and promise to set them forth to the people. At Greenwich, June 13, the lieutenant of the Tower declared unto 221
the council, that the bishop, having perused the books of the proceedings, said unto him, He could make no direct answer, unless he were at liberty, and so being, he would say his conscience [w]. On the 14th day the duke of So-

[u] ["At Greenwich, the 10th day of June, an°. 1550.—Report was made by the duke of Somerset, and the rest sent to the bishop of Winchester, that he desired to see the king's book of proceedings, upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer; seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereto, and promising that in case any thing offended his conscience he would open it to none but to the council; whereupon it was agreed the book should be sent him, to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon, and that for the mean time he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk were absent." — MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 47 B. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 83. b. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 766. 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. p. 79. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[w] ["At Greenwich, the 13th day of June, an°. 1550. — This day the lieutentant of the Tower, who before was appointed to deliver the king's book unto the bishop of Winchester, declared unto the council, that the bishop having perused it, said unto him he could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty, and so being he would say his conscience; whereupon the lords and other that had been with him the other day were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer that the council thereupon might determine further order for him." —MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–

merset, and five more of the council, again repaired to the bishop, to whom he made this answer; "I have deliberately seen the book of Common Prayer. Although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfy my conscience: and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see others my parishioners to do it." And this the counsellors testified under their hands, as his saying.

The council's proceedings with him.

July the 8th, there were certain articles drawn up, signed by king and council, for the bishop to subscribe; which contained the confession of his fault; the supremacy of the king and his successors; the establishing of holy-days, or dispensing with them to be in the king; the Service-Book to be godly and Christian: the acknowledgment of the king to be supreme head, and to submit to him and his laws under age; the abolishing the Six Articles; and the king's power of correcting and reforming the church[x]. These articles, together with a letter

1553. fol. 51. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 84, b. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 766. 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. p. 79. ed. 1843–48.]

[x] ["At Westminster, July 8, an°. 1550.—This day the bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the king's majesty's proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the king's highness, with the which the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the master of the horse, and Mr. Secretary Petre should repair unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth."—Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 70. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 88–90. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 766. 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. p. 79. ed. Lond. 1843–48. For the king's letter to the bp. of Winchester, and the Six Articles to be subscribed by him, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1356, 7. ed. Lond. 1583; and vol. vi. pp. 80, 81. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

from the king, the earl of Warwick, lord great master[y]; the lord St. John, lord treasurer[z]; sir William Herbert, master of the horse[a]; and secretary Petre[b], carried to the bishop, requiring him to sign them. Which he did, only making exception to the first.

July 10, the said lords made report unto the council, that they had delivered the king's letter unto the bishop, together with the articles. Unto all which articles he subscribed thus with his own hand, *Stev. Winton*, saving the first: against which he wrote in the margin these words; "I cannot in my conscience confess the preface, knowing myself to be of that sort I am indeed, and ever have been." To which articles, thus subscribed by the bishop, these of the council wrote their names; E. Somerset, W. Wiltshr., J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E. Clynton, G. Cobham, William Paget, W. Herbert, Willm. Petre, Edward North[c].

July 11, at Westminster, this was brought to the council: and his boggling in this manner at the confession displeased the king, that being the principal point. But to the intent he should have no just cause to say he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed, that sir William Herbert and the secretary should go the next day to him to tell him, that the king marvelled he refused to put his

[y] [See above, p. 206. n. [o].]

[z] [See above, p. 11. n. [x].]

[a] [See above, p. 182. n. [e].]

[b] [See above, p. 123. n. [a].]

[c] ["At Westminster, the 10th day of July, an°. 1550.—This day the lord treasurer, lord great master, the master of the horse, and Mr. Secretary Petre made report unto the council, that they had not only delivered unto the bishop of Winchester the king's majesty's letter, but also the articles appointed, unto all which articles he subscribed with his own hand, saving to the first, whereunto he wrote his answer in the margin, as hereafter appeareth."—MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 70–72. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 90 b.–92.]

hand to the confession: and that if the words thereof seemed too sore, then to refer it to himself in what sort, and with what words, he should devise to submit himself; that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the king might extend his mercy towards him, as was determined[d].

Articles propounded to him to subscribe.

July 13, sir William Herbert and the secretary reported, that the bishop stood precisely in his own justification. He said, "That he could not subscribe to the confession, because he was innocent; and also because the confession was but the preface to the articles." Upon this it was agreed by the council, that a new book of articles, and a new submission, should be devised for the bishop to subscribe. And the bishop of London, secretary Petre, Mr. Cecyl, and Goodrick, a common lawyer,
222 were commanded to make these articles according to law. And then, for the more authentic proceeding with the bishop, the two former persons were again to resort to him with the new draught, and to take with them a divine, which was the bishop of London, and a lawyer, which was Goodrick[e]. These articles were twenty in

[d] ["At Westminster, the 11th of July, an°. 1550.—This day the bishop of Winchester's case was debated, and because it appeareth that he thinketh upon the submission, which is the principallest point, considering his offences that he now goeth about to defend, to the intent he should have no just cause to say that he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed that the master of the horse, and Mr. Secretary Petre should repair unto him again with the same submission, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in case the words seem too sore, then to refer it unto himself, in what sort, and with what words he should devise to submit him: that, upon the acknowledging of his fault, the king's highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined."—MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 75. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 92 b.]

[e] ["At Westminster, the 13th day of July, an°. 1550.—The master of the horse, and Mr. Secretary Petre made report that they had been with the bishop of Winchester, who stood precisely in

number, and to this tenor: "That king Henry VIII. had justly suppressed monasteries. That persons may marry, who are not prohibited to contract matrimony by the Levitical law, without the bishop of Rome's dispensation. That vowing or going pilgrimages were justly abolished; the counterfeiting St. Nicholas, St. Clement, &c. was mere mockery. That it is convenient that the Scriptures should be in English. That the late king, and the present, did upon just ground take into their hands chauntries, which were for maintenance of private masses. That private masses were justly taken away by the statutes of the realm; and the communion placed instead thereof, is very godly. That it is convenient that the sacrament should be received in both kinds. That the mass, where the priest doth only receive, and others look on, is but the invention of man. That it was upon good and godly consideration ordered in the book, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and shewed to the people to be adored. That it is politicly and godly done, that images in churches, and mass-books, were enacted to be abolished. That bishops, priests, and deacons have no commandment in the law of God to vow chastity, or abstain from marriage. And that all canons and constitutions, which do prohibit marriage to the clergy, be justly taken away by parliament. That the Homilies, and the forms set forth of making archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, are

justification of himself that he had never offended the king's majesty, wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more surety of which denial, it was agreed that a new book of articles should be devised, wherewith the said master of the horse and Mr. Secretary should repair unto him again, and for the more authentic proceeding with him they to have with them a divine, and a temporal lawyer, which were the bishop of London and Mr. Gooderick." — MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 77. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 93 b.]

godly and wholesome, and ought to be received. That the orders of subdeacon, benet, and colet, &c. be not necessary, and justly left out in the book of orders. That the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines necessary to salvation. That upon good and godly consideration it was enjoined that Erasmus' Paraphrases should be set up in churches. And that it was the king's pleasure that the bishop should affirm these articles by subscription of his hand, and declare himself willing to publish and preach the same[f]." These articles were brought to the bishop by the master of the horse, and secretary Petre, with the bishop of London, and Goodrick. To whom the bishop answered, "That he would not consent to the article of submission; praying to be brought to his trial, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, when he was at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them, it not being reasonable he should subscribe them in prison."

This being reported to the council, July 15, it was agreed, that he should be sent for before the whole council, and examined, whether he would stand at this point? Which if he did, then to denounce the sequestration of his benefice for three months, with intimation, if he reformed not in that space, to deprive him. This order was signed by Somerset, Wilts, Bedford, Clynton, Paget, Wyngfield, Herbert[g].

[f] [For these articles, see MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 78–81. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 94–96 b. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1357. ed. Lond. 1583. vol. vi. pp. 82–84. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[g] ["At Westminster, the 15th day of July, 1550.—Report was made by the master of the horse and Mr. Secretary Petre, that they, with the bishop of London and Mr. Gooderick, had been with the bishop of Winchester, and offered him the foresaid articles according to the council's order: whereunto the same bishop of Winchester made answer: That,

July 19, the bishop of Wynton was brought before the council; and there the articles before mentioned were read unto him distinctly. Whereunto he refused either to subscribe or consent: answering in these words, "That in all things his majesty would command him, he was willing and most ready to obey; but forasmuch as there were divers things required of him, which his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused." And thereupon secretary Petre, by the council's order, proceeded to read the sequestration[h]. Thus

223 Winchester sequestered for three months.

first, to the article of submission he would in nowise consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king's majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself, praying earnestly to be brought unto his trial, wherein he refused the king's mercy, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered, that after he were past his trial in this first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them, not being, (as he said), reasonable he should subscribe them in prison. Whereupon it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council, and peremptorily examined over again, whether he would stand at this point or no, which if he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestration of his benefice; and consequently the intimation, in case he were not reformed within three months, as in the day of appearance shall appear." — MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 82. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 97. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 769. 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. p. 84. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[h] ["At Westminster the 19th day of July, an°. 1550.—This day the council had access unto the king's majesty for divers causes, but specially for the bishop of Winchester's matter, who this day was therefore appointed to be before the council, and there having declared unto his highness the circumstance of their proceedings with the bishop, his majesty commanded that if he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, the council should then proceed to the immediate sequestration of his bishopric, and consequently to the intimation. Upon this the bishop of Winchester was brought before the council, and there the articles before mentioned read unto him distinctly and with good deliberation; whereunto he refused either to subscribe or consent, and thereupon was both the seques-

fairly and calmly was this bishop dealt with by the king and his council, from June 8 to July 19. And notwithstanding this sentence, the council favourably ordered, that the bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present state until the expiration of the three months; and that the matter in the mean time should be kept secret.

The sequestration expires.

The three months expired October 19: but with such clemency was he used, that it was November 23 before

tration and intimation read unto him in form following:—'Where-[as] the king's majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord hath at divers times sent sundry of us to travail with you to the intent you acknowledging your bounden duty, should as a good and obedient subject have conformed yourself to that uniformity in matters of religion, which is already openly set forth both by acts of parliament, and otherwise by his majesty's authority, and hath also of late by certain of his majesty's council sent unto you certain articles, with express commandment that you should affirm them with subscription of your hand, and also declare and profess yourself, well contented, willing, and ready to publish and preach the same to others at such times and place, and before such audience as to his majesty should from time to time be seen requisite: because you did at that time expressly refuse to do as you were commanded, to the great contempt of his highness' most dread commandment, and dangerous example of others, we having special commission from his majesty, to hear and determine your manifold contempts and disobediences, do eftsoons ask and demand of you, whether you will obey and do his majesty's said commandment or not.' Whereunto he answered that in all things that his majesty would lawfully command him he was willing and most ready to obey, but forasmuch as there were divers things required of him that his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused. And hereupon Mr. Secretary Petre, by the council's order, proceeded with these words." — MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 88, 89. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 100, b. 101, b. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 769, 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. p. 84. ed. Lond. 1843–48. For the form of the sequestration read by Mr. Secretary Petre, see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1358. ed. Lond. 1583, and vol. vi. p. 85. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

his business was renewed. And then, considering the time of his intimation was long sithence expired, it was agreed that the bishop of Ely[i], Mr. Secretary Petre[k], Dr. May[l], and Dr. Glynne[m], all learned in the civil law, should substantially confer upon the matter: and upon Tuesday next, the 26th day of this present, to certify unto the council what was to be done duly by order of the law in this case[n]. And now the archbishop of Canterbury began to be concerned in this troublesome business. A commission, dated December 12, was issued out from the king to the said archbishop, and to the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, to sir William Petre, sir James Hales, and some other lawyers, to call the said bishop of Winchester before them, and, continuing in his contempt, to proceed to deprive him. Council Book.

December 14, the lieutenant of the Tower was ordered "to bring the bishop on Monday next to Lambeth before my lord of Canterbury, and other commissioners, upon his cause: and likewise upon their appointment to bring him thither from day to day, at times by them prefixed[o]."

December 15 was the day of Winchester's first appearance. The business done this session was the opening and reading the commission; and, after that, divers articles The commissioners sit to examine him.

[i] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[k] [See above, p. 123. n. [a].]

[l] [See above, p. 169. n. [f].]

[m] [See above, p. 170. n. [i].]

[n] ["At Westminster, the 23rd day of November, an°. 1550.—This day the bishop of Winchester's matter was renewed, and thereupon, considering the time of his intimation was long since expired, it was agreed that the bishop of Ely, Mr. Secretary Petre, Dr. May, and Dr. Glyn, all learned in the civil laws, should substantially confer upon the matter, and upon Tuesday next, the 26th of this present, to certify unto the council what was to be done duly by the order of the law in this case."—MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 167. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 118.]

[o] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 185. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. 125, b., 126.]

against the bishop, who then made a speech. Wherein, first, he protested against these his judges, and excepted against their commission; and required this his protestation to be entered into the acts of the court. Then desiring a copy of the commission, it was granted him, together with that of the articles too, to make his answers to. Next, the archbishop gave him his oath to make true answer: which he took still with his protestation. Then the bishop desiring counsel, the archbishop and the rest not only granted his request, but allowed him whomsoever he should name: which was the next day allowed also by an order of council. Certain honourable persons were deposed and sworn for witnesses, as sir Anthony Wingfield, controller of the household[p]; sir William Cecyl, secretary[q]; sir Rafe Sadlier[r]; sir Edward

[p] [Sir Anthony Wingfield, a privy councillor, comptroller of the king's household, a knight of the garter, lord-lieutenant of Suffolk, and one of the chamberlains of the exchequer, was one of the privy-council appointed by Henry VIIIth's will to assist his executors; he took part against the lord protector, besides being a witness against bishop Gardiner, he was also one of the commissioners to hear bishop Boner's appeal against his trial: he died at Bethnal Green, Aug. 15, 1552, and was buried at Stepney. — See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 7. 36, 282. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. p. 565. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 465, 587, 588. pt. ii. pp. 63, 160, 162, 163, 202, 228. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 38. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[q] [Sir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, secretary of state and lord treasurer, who takes a prominent position in the history of this and the two succeeding reigns.]

[r] [Sir Ralph Sadler, or Sadlier, was one of the privy-council appointed by the will of Henry VIII. to assist his executors; he took part against the lord protector, became one of queen Elizabeth's privy-councillors, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and of the exchequer. — See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 7, 36, 280. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 161. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 500. pt. ii. pp. 317, 707, 709. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

North[s]; Dr. Cox, almoner[t]; and others. The bishop also protested against them, and the swearing of them. At this first sessions he had also said, in the hearing of a great multitude present, concerning the duke of Somerset and some other privy-counsellors, sent to him in the Tower, "That they had made an end with him before for all the matters for which he was committed: insomuch that he verily thought he should never have heard any more of it[u]." 224

This, coming soon to the ears of these nobles, highly offended them, as reporting falsely of them. So that, to justify themselves in as public a manner, the next sessions they sent their letter, dated December 17, signed by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Wiltshire and Bedford, and sir Edward North: wherein they denied any such matter; saying, "That the bishop defended his cause with untruths, and that, upon their fidelities and honours, his tale was false and untrue; for that their coming to him in the Tower was to do their endeavour to reclaim him. And they prayed the commissioners, that, for their vindication, they would cause this their letter to be publicly read." Which was accordingly done; though the bishop, thinking how this would reflect upon him under his former protestation, laboured hard that he might first be

A letter of some noblemen, whom he had belied.

[s] [Sir Edward, afterwards lord North, was chancellor of the court of augmentations, one of Henry VIIIth's executors, and governor to Edward VI. and the kingdom: he was also a privy-councillor, and was one of the opponents of the lord protector: he signed the letter to the princess Mary, acquainting her that the lady Jane Grey was queen, and was one of the peers appointed to attend queen Elizabeth upon her coming to London. —See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 679. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 279, 471. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 391. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[t] [See above, p. 160. n. [n].]

[u] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 776, 778. 1st ed. 1563. and vol. vi. pp. 93, 97. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

heard, and that he had something to propose why it should not be read. Which notwithstanding they would not grant[x].

January 19. The council sitting at Greenwich, the bishop's servants came and desired, that certain of them might be sworn upon certain articles for witness on his behalf. And if they might not be sworn, that upon their honours, as they would answer before God, they would witness truly according to their conscience, and as effectually as if they were sworn upon a book[y]. And they were allowed.

Gardiner offers his book against Cranmer to the commissioners.

The bishop, to make his cause the more plausible, as though he were the public defender of the Roman catholic church in England at this time, laboured to make it believed, that he fell into all this trouble for the defence of the real presence in the sacrament, and for maintaining the catholic doctrine in a sermon before the king[z]; and that he made his book to vindicate himself therein. And therefore, in one of his appearances before the commissioners, openly in the court delivered them his book against archbishop Cranmer, printed in France: and to make it suit the better, he had altered some lines in the beginning of his book, so as to make it to relate to his present case. But in truth Gardiner had wrote and finished his book before. This Cranmer unveiled in his answer to this book of Gardiner's: saying there, "That he made his book before he was called before the com-

Page 2.

[x] [Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 778, 9. 1st ed. 1563, and vol. vi. pp. 97, 8. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[y] [MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 202. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. 1. fol. 129. b. See also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 792. 1st ed. 1563. vol. vi. pp. 121, 2. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[z] [This sermon preached before the king on St. Peter's day, 1548, will be found in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 87–93. ed. Lond. 1843–48, where it is reprinted from the 1st ed. 1563, pp. 771–776.]

missioners, as he could prove by a book under his own handwriting; and that he was called before the commissioners by his own suit and procurement, and as it were enforcing the matter. But indeed the true cause was, that he was called to justice for his manifest contempt and continual disobedience from time to time, or rather rebellion against the king's majesty; and was deprived of his state for the same[a]."

[a] ["The first entry of your book sheweth to them that be wise, what they may look for in the rest of the same, except the beginning vary from all that followeth. Now the beginning is framed with such sleight and subtlety that it may deceive the reader notably in two things: the one, that he should think you were called into judgment before the king's majesty's commissioners * at Lambeth for your catholic faith in the sacrament; the other, that you made your book for your defence therein; which be both utterly untrue. For your book was made or ever ye were called before the said commissioners; and after you were called, then you altered only two lines in the beginning of your book, and made that beginning which it hath now. This am I able to prove, as well otherwise, as by a book which I have of your own handwriting, wherein appeareth plainly the alteration of the beginning.

"And as concerning the cause wherefore ye were called before the commissioners, whereas by your own importune suit and procurement, and as it were enforcing the matter, you were called to justice for your manifest contempt and continual disobedience from time to time, or rather rebellion against the king's majesty, and were justly deprived of your estate for the same, you would turn it now to a matter of the sacrament, that the world should think your trouble rose for your faith in the sacrament, which was no matter nor occasion thereof, nor no such matter was objected against you, wherefore you need to make any such defence. And where you would make that matter the occasion of your worthy deprivation and punishment, (which was no cause thereof), and cloak your wilful obstinacy and disobedience, (which was the only cause thereof), all men of judgment may well perceive, that you could mean no goodness thereby, neither to the king's majesty nor to his realm." —Answer to Stephen Gardiner upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Works of abp. Cranmer,

* ["See the definitive sentence of these commissioners in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1359, 60. ed. Lond. 1583. It was passed on the 18th of April, 1551, Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 341. ed. Oxon. 1829."]

He is deprived.

225 In short, after a great deal of pains and patience, the bishop was by the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners deprived, after no less than two and twenty sessions, held at divers places, that is, from the 15th of December to the 14th of February: though Stow falsely nameth but seven[b]. The bishop, when he saw the sentence definitive ready to be pronounced, made an appeal from them to the king: for his doing which he produced these reasons. For that these his pretended judges were not indifferent, but prejudiced against him. That my lord of Canterbury had caused him to be sent to prison, (whereas the archbishop was only present at the council when he was by them ordered to the Tower): and so had Hales[c], Goodrick[d], and Gosnold[e] counselled to send him

vol. i. p. 10. Park. Soc. ed. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iii. pp. 35, 36.]

[b] ["Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, having been divers times conveyed from the Tower of London to Lambeth, (to wit, on the 15. and the 18. of December; the 8., the 12., and the 16. of January; the 13. and 14. of February), and at every the said times, examined by the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's high commissioners, he was now on the said 14. of February deprived of his bishopric, and committed again to the Tower: into his place was translated Dr. Poynet, late bishop of Rochester; and master John Scorie was made bishop of Rochester."—Stow's Annals, p. 605. ed. Lond. 1631.]

[c] ["Sir James Hales, knight, a pious and good man, and a just and able judge under king Henry and king Edward," who was the only person that refused to sign the letters patent of Edward VI. settling the crown upon lady Jane Grey. In the reign of queen Mary he fell into trouble, and was imprisoned for his religious sentiments. He was prevailed upon to recant by Day, bishop of Chichester, and Portman, a judge; .... but the trouble that arose in his conscience filled him with great terror, and overwhelmed him with sorrow, so that he attempted to kill himself. Having recanted, and being "dismissed home into his own country and habitation, conquered with grief and despair, he drowned himself in a shallow pond near his own house," "about the beginning of the month of February, or the month of January before, A.D. 1555."—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 274–276. ed. Oxon. 1822; Burnet's Hist. of Refor-

thither. Also, that the archbishop, and the bishops of London[f] and Lincoln[g], did contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and taught and set forth manifest condemned errors against the presence in the sacrament. And because the bishop, as well in his writings as otherwise, did set forth the catholic faith of the very presence of Christ's body and blood: therefore they shewed themselves unduly affected towards him. That sir William Petre[h] decreed the fruits of his bishopric to be sequestered "de facto, sed non de jure," and now was judge in his own cause. But notwithstanding this appeal, the archbishop with the rest of the commissioners pronounced him deprived, and his bishopric void. After this was done, the bishop appealed again to the king, instantly, more instantly, most instantly, from their sentence as injust, and of no effect in law; and asked of them letters dimissory to be granted to him, and a copy of the judgment. But the judges declared they would first know the pleasure of the king and his council therein. And so this last session brake up[i].

The day after, being the 15th of February, the council The council's order for his strait confinement.

mat. vol. ii. pp. 457,8. ed. Oxon. 1829; Foxe's Acts and Monuments. pp. 1410, 1467, 1532, 3. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[d] [Richard Goodrick, or Goodrich, an eminent civilian, who was lawyer to Edward VI., and engaged in most of the remarkable trials of this reign.]

[e] [John Gosnold, or Gosnald, was a privy-councillor, and solicitor to the court of augmentations: he was also made solicitor-general, and at first objected, with sir James Hales, to the settlement of the crown upon the lady Jane Grey, but being threatened by the duke of Northumberland and the earl of Shrewsbury, he consented and signed Edward VIth's limitation thereof in her behalf.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 340, 457, 8; pt. ii. pp. 76, 123; vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 281. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[f] [Nicholas Ridley.]

[g] [Henry Holbeach.]

[h] [See vol. i. p. 118. n. [u]. and above, p. 11.]

[i] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 865–867. 1st ed. 1563, and vol. vi. pp. 261–266. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

Council-Book.

sitting at Westminster, "upon debating [of] the bishop of Winton's case; Forasmuch as it appeared he had at all times, before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the king's majesty, and [very] slanderfully towards his council; and especially yesterday, being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his judges heretics and sacramentaries, they being there the king's commissioners, and of his highness' council; it was therefore concluded by the whole board, that he should be removed from the lodging he hath now in the Tower to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one, by the lieutenant's appointment, in such sort as by the resort of any man to him, he have not the liberty[j] to send out to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewise that his books and papers be taken from him, and seen; and that from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his detestable purposes[k], but be sequestered from all conference, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way[l]."

Poynet made bishop of Winton.

March 8, at Westminster. "This day, by the king's majesty's own appointment, Dr. Poynet, bishop of Rochester, was appointed and admitted[m] bishop of Winchester." And the archbishop of Canterbury had given him 266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (i. e. 400 marks) for his pains and charges about the bishop of Winchester[n]. And thus I have, from
226 very authentic authority, gathered together these memorials of this turbulent haughty man; who was now so seasonably laid aside in this king's reign, till we hear of him loudly in the next; when he sufficiently wreaked his revenge against our good archbishop and the true religion.

[j] ["He have the means." MSS. Council Book.]

[k] ["His determinable purposes." Harl. MSS.]

[l] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 222. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. fol. 136 b.]

[m] ["Was chosen bishop." Strype.]

[n] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 240, 1.]

CHAPTER XX.

BISHOP HETHE AND BISHOP DAY, THEIR DEPRIVATIONS.

Other popish bishops dealt with.

While the aforesaid bishop lay under sequestration in the Tower, two other bishops, that were wayward to the king's proceedings in the reformation of the church, (viz. of Worcester and Chichester), came under the hands of the privy-council, resolving to make them comply, or deprive them: that others, more willing and better affected to reformation, might succeed and do service in the church; and that the archbishop might go forward with less stop and impediment in the good work he had dedicated himself unto. Both of them were of the archbishop's raising, and seemed very compliant with the archbishop during king Henry's reign. But now both hung off from him, seeming much offended with him for his relinquishing the doctrine of the corporeal presence, and for writing a book against it: whereof they made mention, with dislike, in their depositions in the bishop of Winchester's trial before the commissioners[o].

[o] [The articles, to which bishops Heathe and Day were sworn, were the IVth and VIth of these, which Gardiner, in addition to those he had previously presented, exhibited at the ninth session upon his cause, held in the house of Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of Durham, before Thomas Goodrich, and Henry Holbeach, bishops of Ely and Lincoln, with the other commissioners, judically sitting, Wednesday, January 21st, 1551; they were to the following effect: (IV.) "That in the months November and December, in the second year of the king's majesty's reign, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, London, Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, and Westminster, (being of the most ancient bishops, and best learned in this realm), did openly, in the parliament then kept at Westminster, defend the very and true presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar." (VI.) "That the truth of Christ's most precious body

Bishop Hethe's troubles.

In the last year, the year 1549, twelve learned divines, bishops and others, were appointed by the council to prepare a new book for the ordination of ministers, purged of the superstitions of the old ordinal. Hethe bishop of Worcester was nominated for one of these: but he, not liking the thing, would not agree to what the others did,

and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hath not been, nor was impugned, by any famous clerk, or yet by any named learned man in any part of all Christendom, either in the Greek, or in the Latin church, by our time; specially at the time of the letters sent by the same duke of Somerset to the said bishop, mentioned in this matter aforesaid; but only by Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Vadianus, and Carolostadius, the impugning whereof was most manifest error; and, in England, no learned man named had, or yet did, openly defend or favour that error. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous." ——"Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, of the age of forty-nine, or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions, deposeth as followeth: To the said IVth article, he deposeth the contents of this article to be true, saving that where he himself is named among the ancient and best learned bishops, he referreth that to the judgment of others. To the VIth article, to that part 'Carolostadius,' etc., he saith, that the article is true, saving, as he thinketh, that there were divers other sacramentaries, which, besides these that be named in the article particularly, did impugn the said truth. And to the next part of the article, this deponent saith, that the impugning thereof is manifest error. And to the last, so beginning, 'And in England,' etc., this deponent saith, that he hath been in prison a long season; and what hath been defended or maintained since his coming to prison, he is not able to declare, but he judgeth, that whosoever defendeth that error, he is not sufficiently in that matter learned. And otherwise he cannot depose."—— "George, bishop of Chichester, of the age of forty-nine, or thereabout; sworn and examined upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions additional. To the IVth he saith, that the contents of the article are true: saving, (he saith), that himself is none of the most ancient bishops of the realm, nor taketh himself to be one of the best learned bishops. To the VIth article, unto this place, 'And Carolostadius,' he saith, that in foreign realms and countries, he knoweth not that any famous clerk, or named

nor subscribe the book when made[o]. For which, in March, he was committed to the Fleet; where he lay under easy confinement all the next year, the year 1550; during which time I find him once produced as a witness on bishop Gardiner's behalf[p].

But in the year 1551, the court being at Chelsey, and the council sitting September 22, by virtue "of the king's express commandment, Nicolas bishop of Worcester was sent for, and came before the lords and others: to whom was repeated the cause of his imprisonment to be, for that he refused to subscribe the book devised for the form of making archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, being authorized by parliament. At the time of which refusal, being not only gently and reasonably required to subscribe it, but also being manifestly taught by divers other learned men, that all things contained in that book were

Sent for before the council. Council-Book.

learned man in our time, hath impugned the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, but such as be named in the said article; saving that he knoweth that Bullingerus and Musculus have written against the truth of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament: and though he taketh these for learned men, yet he doth not asssent to their doctrine in this matter of the sacrament. And to this part of the article, 'The impugning whereof is manifest error,' he saith, it is true. And to the last part, he saith, that at the time the bishop of Winton preached on St. Peter's day, he knoweth not any learned man, within this realm, did impugn the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. And since that time, my lord of Canterbury hath made a book against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament; and that the bishop now of London, did openly impugn the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament in the parliament at Westminster: from both whose learning and judgments in this matter, this deponent doth dissent, although he taketh them for learned men. And otherwise he cannot depose." —Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 794, 5. 854. 1st ed. 1563; and vol. vi. pp. 126, 240. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

[o] [See above, p. 130.]

[p] [See above, p. 246. n. [u].]

good and true, and that the book was expedient and allowable, the said bishop declared himself to be a very obstinate man. And for that his doing, it was now shewed to him, that he deserved longer imprisonment. Nevertheless the king's majesty's clemency was such, that now if he had, or would reconcile himself, and obey his majesty in this former commandment, he should recover the king's
227 majesty's favour. For which cause it was told to him, that he was then presently sent for, and willed now to subscribe the same. Whereunto he answered, [confessing] that he took the cause of his imprisonment to be as was alleged, and that also he was very gently used, rather like a son than a subject. Nevertheless, he said, he remained in the same mind, not willing to subscribe it, although he would not disobey it. And although he was reasoned withal by every of the said council in disproving his manner of answer, that he would not subscribe it, being every thing in the said book, true and good; and being devised by eleven other learned men, to [the] which he was joined as the twelfth, and received of all the whole estate of the realm, agreeing also that he would obey it, but not subscribe it, which contained a contradiction in reason: yet he still, as a man not removeable from his own conceit, refused to subscribe it. Whereupon, to prove all manner of ways for the winning of him to his duty, he was offered to have conference with learned men, and to have time to consider the matter better. Whereunto he said, that he could have no better conference than he had heretofore: and well might he have time, but of other mind he thought never to be: adding, that there be many other things whereunto he would not consent, if he were demanded, as to take down altars and set up tables. And in this sort, seeing him obstinately settled in mind (not) to be conformable, he was

in the king's majesty's name expressly commanded and charged to subscribe the same [book] before Thursday next following, being the 24th hereof, upon pain of deprivation of his bishopric, to all and singular effects which might follow thereof. And hearing that commandment, he resolutely answered, he could not find in his conscience to do it, and should be well content to abide such end, either by deprivation or otherwise, as pleased the king's majesty. And so, as a man incorrigible, he was returned to the Fleet[p]." This order was subscribed by these of the privy-council; W. Wiltshr, J. Warwick, W. Herbert, W. Cecyl, Jo. Masone.

Bp. of Chichester, his troubles.

That which gave the council the first occasion against Day bishop of Chichester was, partly his refusal of complying with the order of changing the altars in his diocese into tables; and partly going down into his diocese, and there preaching against it, and other matters of that nature then in agitation, to the raising of dangerous tumults and discontents among the people. This came to the council's ears; and October 7, this year, Dr. Cox[q], the king's almoner, was ordered "to repair into Sussex to appease the people by his good doctrine, which were now troubled through the seditious preaching of the bishop of Chichester and others[r]."

Council-Book.

November 8. The said bishop "appeared before the council to answer" such "things as should be objected against him for preaching. And because he denied the words of his accusations, therefore he was commanded within two days to bring in writing what he preached[s]."

[p] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 390, 1. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 183 b.–185.]

[q] [See above, p. 160. n. [n].]

[r] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 140. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. fol. 113.]

[s] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 158.]

Bishop Day will not pull down altars.

November 31. "This day the duke of Somerset declared to the council, that the bishop of Chichester came [to him]" within "two days past, and shewed to him, that he received letters from the king's majesty, signed with his majesty's hand, and subscribed with the hands of divers
228 lords of the council. The tenor of which letter here ensueth; "Right reverend father in God," &c. [It is the same letter as is printed in Foxe's Acts, about pulling down altars[t]]; "according to which letter" the said bi-

[t] ["Furthermore in the next year following, (1550), other letters likewise were sent for the taking down of altars in churches, and setting up the table instead of the same, unto Nicholas Ridley, who, being bishop of Rochester before, was then made bishop of London, in Boner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these, as follow: 'Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it is come to our knowledge, that being the altars within the more part of the churches of this our realm [are] already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there doth yet remain altars standing in divers other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth amongst sundry of our subjects, which if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that, minding to have all occasions of contention taken away, which many times grow by these, and such like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm, we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless specially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention, and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence, all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and in lieu of them a table set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And, to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith

shop "said, he could not conform his conscience to do that he was by the said letter commanded; and therefore prayed the said duke he might be excused. Whereunto the said duke, for answer, used divers reasons moving the said bishop to do his duty, and in such things to make no conscience, where no need is. Nevertheless the said bishop would not be removed from his former opinion, [and] therefore the said duke said, he would make report to the rest of the council. And so in the end he prayed the lords of the council this day, that the bishop might be sent for, and shew his mind touching this cause. Which was agreed, and commandment given for the bishop to be" at the council the next day[u].

Appears before the council.

December 1. "[This day] the bishop [of Chichester] came before the council; and being asked what he said to the letters sent to him from the king's majesty, he an-

certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; to the which, and such others as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet before the taking down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof we require you to open the foresaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there, and in such other market towns, and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite. Given under our signet, at our palace at Westminster, the 23rd day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

E. Somerset.
T. Cant.
W. Wiltshire.
J. Warwick.
John Bedford.
W. North.
E. Clinton.
H. Wentworth.
T. Ely."

[u] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 175, 6. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 120, 121 b.]

swered, that he could not conform his conscience to take down the altars in the churches, and in lieu of them to set up tables, as the letter appointed. For that he seemed for his opinion (to have) the Scripture, and consent of the doctors and fathers of the church; and contrariwise did not perceive any strength in the six reasons, which were set forth by the bishop of London[v] to persuade the taking down altars and erection of [the] tables. And then, being demanded what Scripture he had, he alleged a saying in Esay: which place, being considered by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and other lords of the council, was found of no purpose to maintain his opinion.

Es. xix. 19.

The archbishop and bishop of Ely reason with him.

And thereupon, by the said archbishop and [the] bishop of Ely[w], divers good reasons were given to prove[x] that it was convenient to take down the altars, as things abused; and in lieu of them to set up tables, as things most meet for the supper of the Lord, and most agreeable to the first constitution. And besides that, his other reasons were then fully answered.

The council give him time to confer.

Wherefore the council commanded him expressly, in the king's [majesty's] name, to proceed to the execution of his majesty's commandment in the said letter expressed. Whereunto he made request, that he might not be commanded to offend his conscience: saying, if his conscience might be instructed to the contrary, he would not thus molest the council with his refusal[y]. Which his saying, considered by the council, moved them to shew thus much favour unto him; that they willed him to resort unto the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, or London, and to confer with them in this matter, so as he might be instructed by them to accept the just command of the

[v] [Nicholas Ridley.] [w] [Thomas Goodrich.]
[x] ["Made to prove."—MSS. Council Book.]
[y] ["Any refusal."—Id.]

king's majesty with a safe conscience[a]. And for his second answer, day was given him until the 4th of this month. At which day he was commanded to return again[b]."

December 4. "This day the bishop of Chichester came before the council; and was demanded, Whether he had been with the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops, according to [the] former order given him; who answered, that he was one afternoon at Lambeth, to have waited on the archbishop, but he was answered, that he was at the court: and upon a demand what time his grace would come home, one of the chamberlains, as he saith, answered, that he doubted it would be late ere his grace come home, because he so used; [and] therefore he tarried not[c]. And to any other bishops he made no repair: saying further, he had not been well in health; for the which cause he took some physic yesterday. The archbishop hereunto said, that the same afternoon when the bishop of Chichester had been there, he came home very early on purpose to have conferred with the said bishop: for the which cause he had leave of the king's majesty the same day to depart [home] sooner than for other business he might conveniently. To the matter he was asked, what mind he was of, touching the executing the king's command[d]; and what he could say, why the same should not be obeyed? who answered as he did before[e], that his conscience would not permit him to do the same; for that the same was against the Scripture

Before the council again.

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[a] ["And to confer with them to accept the just commandment of the king's majesty with his safe conscience."—Id.]

[b] ["MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 176, 7. Harl. MSS. fol. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 121 b., 122 b. and 6195. Plut. lix. H. fol. 16, 17.]

[c] ["And therefore, (said the bishop of Chichester), he tarried not."—MSS. Council Book.]

[d] ["Touching the execution of the king's commandment."—Id.]

[e] ["As before."—Harl. MSS.]

and the doctors. And being asked of the first, he alleged a place in the last [of Paul] to the Hebrews, mentioning
Heb. xiii. 10. the word ALTAR: which place being considered[f], was manifestly by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Ely declared to be meant of Christ: as by the very context[g] of the same most manifestly appeared to every reader. Next to this he alleged the former place of Esay, which also was most evident to be meant otherwise than he alleged, and so proved. [And] as to the use of the primitive church, besides the texts of the New Testament, it was most clearly by Origen contra Celsum proved, that in his time Christian men had no altars, by direct negative propositions[h]. Besides this, the abuse of the altars was shewed unto him, and reasons declared how necessary it was to reform the same. [And] touching the naming [of] the table an altar, it was left indifferent to him, [so to name it,] because ancient writers sometimes call that table an altar. But yet, notwithstanding that his own reasons were fully [soluted] solved, and divers good and weighty reasons made, he persevered in the pertinacy of his own singular opinion. Whereupon the council, rehearsing to him the evil (that) should come of this his disobedience, if he should be suffered[i], commanded him, in the king's majesty's name, upon his allegiance expressly to become an obedient subject, and so to execute the king's commandment[k]. And for that it should appear [un]to him, that there was as much favour meant as might be, not offending the king's majesty, on his majesty's behalf they would be so bold as to appoint him

[f] ["This word altar, which place considered."—MSS. Council Book.]

[g] ["As the very context."—Id.]

[h] [Origen. contr. Celsum. lib. viii. vol. i. pp. 754–756. ed. Paris, 1733–59.]

[i] ["If it should be suffered."—MSS. Council Book.]

[k] ["And to execute the king's majesty's commandment."—Harl. MSS.]

Sunday next to make his final answer; and in the meantime he might advise himself, and weigh the cause as it ought to be. And so the day was given him" [for appearance[l].]

December 7. "[This day] the bishop of Chichester" again "appeared before the council;" and being asked touching the execution of his majesty's commandment in the letter[m], he answered plainly, he could not do it, saving his conscience: for the altars seemed [un]to him a thing anciently established by the agreement of the holy fathers, and confirmed by ancient doctors, with the custom also of a number of years, and, as he thought, according to the Scriptures. Wherefore he could not in conscience assent to the abolishing of them, and determined rather to lose all that ever he had, than to condemn his own conscience; with many other circumstances to that effect. Finally, the matter being well debated, it was thought good, yet to give him two days respite further to be advised, in hope he might reconcile himself: which if he did not upon his next answer, appointed to be on Tuesday next, the council agreed to proceed ordinarily against him, as against a contemptuous person, by way of sequestration[n]." Before the council the third time. 230

December 11. "This day the bishop of Chichester" appeared before the council: and being "demanded[o] whether he would obey the king's" commandment in pulling down And the fourth time, when he was sent to the Fleet.

[l] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 179, 180. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 122, b.–124 and 6195. Plut. lxi. H. fol. 17, 18.]

[m] ["Where being demanded of a direct answer touching the execution of the king's majesty's proceedings mentioned in his highness' letters."—MSS. Council Book.]

[n] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 183 b. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 124 b. 125.]

[o] ["Was called before the council and once again demanded." MSS. Council Book.]

the altars[p], "as is before rehearsed; he answered, that he thanked both the king's highness[q], and his council, of their great clemency used towards him: but he said he could not by any means persuade himself to do that thing that was against his conscience. Wherefore he prayed them to do with him what they thought requisite; for he would never obey to do this thing[r] that his conscience would not bear. Whereupon for his contempt he was, by the order of the whole council, committed to ward in the Fleet, till further order should be taken for him[s]."

Commissioners appointed for Worcester and Chichester.

We hear no more of him and his fellow, the bishop of Worcester, till nine months hence. And so we leave them both in the Fleet till September 27, 1551. When we find sir Roger Cholmely, Kt.[t] lord chief baron of the exchequer, sir Richard Read[w], Richard Goodrick[x], John Gosnold[y], John Oliver[z], and Richard Ryel, being "com-

[p] ["The king's majesty's commandment touching the pulling down of the altars." MSS. Council Book.]

[q] ["King's majesty." Harl. MSS.]

[r] ["For he would never obey to do this thing, thinking it a less evil to suffer the body to perish, than to corrupt the soul with that thing that his conscience would not bear." MSS. Council Book.]

[s] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 184, 5. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 125 b.]

[t] [Sir Roger Cholmely, lord lieutenant of Middlesex, chief baron of the exchequer, and lord chief justice, was sent to the Tower for opposing queen Mary's title to the crown, but being discharged, was afterwards (A. D. 1538) in a commission in her reign against the Lollards, and was "a turncoat and a covetous man."—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 480. pt. ii. p. 76. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 465. pt. ii. pp. 63, 226. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 24, 34, 35. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 57. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[w] [Sir Richard Read, or Rede, a judge, who besides being in a commission for the trial of bishops Heathe and Day, was engaged in others of a similar nature, as in the cases of bishops Tonstal and Boner.]

[x] [See above, p. 243. n. [d].]

[y] [See above, p. 243. n. [e].]

[z] [See vol. i. p. 33.]

missioners appointed by the king's majesty for the proceeding in the causes laid against" these two bishops, were commanded, by letter from the council, "to call the said bishops before them at Whitehall; and beginning with the bishop of Worcester's cause, to proceed also with Chichester: for as the judgment of the one might succeed the other, without any delay of time more than needed. And when the acts of the council proceeded in those causes should be requisite, the same, upon knowledge given thither, should be sent them: and in the mean time to use for their instruction the acts that were passed upon Worcester's cause, and those that Mr. Read had already concerning Chichester; with admonition, seeing their contempts so evident, not to give them any long delay, by granting any learned counsel, or otherwise by such pretexts[a]."

They are deprived.

September 28, the council sent a letter to the lord chancellor, "with the commission directed to the above-named persons, for the examination and determining of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester's causes: praying him to send the same to such of the council as are at or near London, whose hands be not thereto, that they might sign it; and then to seal it, and send it with a letter from the said lords, enclosed within his, to the said commissioners[b]." According to these orders, within less than a month, these two bishops were at last deprived, after the expectation of their compliances a long while.

And October 24, 1551, the council sent "a letter to the chancellor of the augmentations, to take immediate order for [the] seizure into the king's majesty's hands of the temporalties of" their bishopries, "lately given to his highness 231

[a] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 379. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 186.]

[b] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 397. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 186. b.]

by the judgment passed[c] by the commissioners, [lately] appointed for the hearing of those bishops' causes[d]."

Placed the one with the lord chancellor, the other with the bishop of London.

These bishops remained prisoners in the Fleet, after their deprivation, till the next summer. When, as it seems, for their healths-sake, they desired to be removed to some place of better air, and more liberty. Whereupon, June 15, 1552, Dr. Day was sent to the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor, and Dr. Hethe to the bishop of London, by the appointment of his majesty. And they were directed to use them as to Christian charity should be most seemly. At whose hands the king doubted not but they should receive such Christian advice, as would tend to the glory of God. July 17, upon the motion of the bishop of London, the lords of the council were content that he should send Dr. Hethe unto the bishop's own house at London [from Fulham] to recover his health, and then to have him again. So far more kindly were these popish bishops dealt withal in this reign, than the protestant bishops were in the next. Hoper, bishop of Gloucester, succeeded in the see of Worcester[e]; and Scory, bishop of Rochester, in that of Chichester[f].

I will here crave the reader's leave to insert two or three words concerning bishop Day; thereby to judge the better of him.

Day writes to King's college for

About the year 1547, saying of masses was laid aside in King's college in Cambridge, the members of which

[c] ["Judgment given." MSS. Council Book.]

[d] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 420. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 195.]

[e] [See above, p. 205. n. [n].]

[f] [John Scory was consecrated bishop of Rochester, upon the translation of John Poynet to Winchester, at Croyden, Aug. 30, 1551, and was translated to Chichester, upon the deprivation of George Day, May 23, 1552. He was himself deprived in the following year, and Day was restored.—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 58, 251.]

college generally favoured the Gospel. Day, the provost thereof, (which place he held "in commendam" with his bishopric[g]), hearing of this, wrote an angry letter to the vice-provost, and in him to the whole college, for divers things which they had done relating to reformation; and particularly for leaving off saying masses. In which, he said, "They departed from the institution of the house, and that they did it rashly, and besides the law; there being as yet no law for so doing. He charged them with the breach of statute; and so would involve them in the sin of perjury. And whereas in their public disputations they gave questions against popish doctrines, he charged them with disputing wickedly and turbulently, to the wounding of tender consciences, and the infamy of the house. And finally required that things should be put in the same posture they were before." To which the college, by Dr. Haddon's elegant pen[h], wrote an answer: "That as to

leaving off masses.

Haddoni Ep. p. 169.

[g] [George Day, S.T.P. was admitted master of St. John's college, Cambridge, void by the cession of Nicholas Metcalf, July 27, 1537. He was elected provost of King's college, June 5, 1538, and bishop of Ely, April 24, 1543.—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 58, 428, 433. Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 168. ed. Lond. 1840.]

[h] [Walter Haddon, fellow of King's college, Cambridge, was one of those learned men who were invited to join the foundation of cardinal Wolsey at Oxford, which he declined: he afterwards became regius professor of civil law, in the university of Cambridge, and succeeded to the mastership of Trinity hall about the year 1549, which he held till he was appointed master of Magdalen college, Oxford, Sept. 30, 1552, upon the resignation of Owen Oglethorpe. This headship he also resigned, October 30th, 1533, when bishop Gardiner visited that college. During the reign of queen Mary he escaped the persecution of the times, which was attributed to his having written congratulatory verses on her accession. He wrote a similar poem on the accession of queen Elizabeth, to whom he became master of requests; he was also made judge of the prerogative court by the appointment of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. He

their abolishing masses, they said, they were private masses; and the statutes of the college did seem to enjoin only masses, wherein was a communion of the body and blood of Christ. That that was not perjury, when by the common consent of the college, some minuter matters of the statutes were changed. That had he himself been there, he would have done as they did, considering the reports that came from the court, brought by witnesses worthy of credit. And that as for their disputations they urged, that it was free for them to dispute matters controverted, for better inquiry into the truth: and that it was done with lenity, without any perverseness of speech[i]."

His unnatural carriage towards his brother.

He had a younger brother named William, (who was above forty years after bishop of Winton[j].) This man was a scholar of the college while his brother was provost and bishop: to whom he sent once a request, to supply him with a little money to buy him some books and other necessaries he stood in need of at that time. His brother answered him, knowing him to be well affected to the Gospel, "That for his part he held it not fit to relieve those that were not of the true church, and therefore he

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Hatcher's MS. Catal. of Provosts, &c. of King's coll.

died, A. D. 1572, "in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was buried at Christ's Church, London."—See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 411, 426, 493. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 466, 7, n. f. vol. iv. p. 152. ed. Oxon. 1845. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 539. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 11, 60, 210. vol. ii. p. 145. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 369. pt. ii. p. 268. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 23, 82. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 8, 125, 165. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[i] [The letter of G. Haddon to Day, bishop of Chichester, will be found in the Appendix to this volume.]

[j] [William Day, S. T. P., was elected bishop of Winchester Nov. 3, 1595, confirmed January 22, and consecrated at Lambeth the 25th of the same month 159$\frac{5}{6}$. He died Sept. 20. 1596. — Le Neve's Fasti, p. 287.]

would not in any wise relieve him." Thus had his religion destroyed in him the very principles of nature.

Preaches against transubstantiation.

This bishop had been a vehement asserter of transubstantiation: yet in April 1550 he preached against it at Westminster; which king Edward thought fit to take notice of in his journal[k]: and he complied, and went along with all the steps of the reformation till the declining of this year 1550; when the matter of taking down altars was set on foot. For then it seems either there was a prospect that the reformation, carrying on, would have a stop, or it was secretly agreed, among the popishly affected, now to fall off.

His change charged on him.

In queen Mary's days he was a mighty busy man, and one of the commissioners for the examination and condemning to death the professors of religion. When in conference with Bradford, that holy man had charged him for departing from the reformed church, as it was in king Edward's days; he told him, "That he was but a young man, (and yet in the first year of that king he was five or six and forty years of age); and that, coming from the university, he went with the world: but it was always against his conscience[l]." He could, it seems, dispense

[k] ["April 4. The bishop of Chichester, before a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against [it] at Westminster in the preaching place."—Cotton MSS. Nero. C. x. fol. 15. b. British Museum. Original and holograph. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 14. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[l] ["Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said:

"'Brad. Assuredly, as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think you have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again, for you can never prove it, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church.'

"'Chichest. Ah! master Bradford, you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world, but I tell you it was always against my conscience.'"—Con-

with his conscience upon occasion: and yet what a man of conscience was he when altars were to be pulled down! He sat a commissioner upon Hoper, together with Winchester[m], London[n], Durham[o], and Landaff[p]: and however gently he had been used in his trouble, that was forgot; and he treated that reverend man most rudely, indecently falling upon him with foul words, and with a scornful countenance calling him "hypocrite[q]."

ference between Bradford and the abp. of York, (Nicholas Heathe), and Chichester, (George Day.) Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1616. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[m] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[n] [Edmund Boner.]

[o] [Cuthbert Tonstal.]

[p] [Anthony Kitchen, alias Dunstan.]

[q] ["The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called master Hooper 'hypocrite,' with vehement words, and scornful countenance." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1506. ed. Lond. 1583.]

CHAPTER XXI.

PAPISTS GROW BOLD.—LOOSE PROFESSORS RESTRAINED.

The papists write libels.

Thus indeed, when the papists found they could not prevail by outward force, which they had tried to the utmost the last year, they now used other arts. One among the rest was to libel the government, and disperse scurrilous rhymes and ballads upon the preachers. One of these was this year fastened upon the pulpit of some eminent church, probably of St. Paul's; which nevertheless soon had an answer to it. And not long after a more witty ballad was put abroad, glancing, as it seems, at the archbishop, upon occasion of the liberty of reading the Bible, and of the English service, and the publishing the Homily-book, and other good books: whipping the government under the person of one John Nobody, because that, notwithstanding all these religious pretences, there was so much sin, lechery, adultery, bribery, and want of charity. A taste of this their poetry I have put into the Appendix: because some probably may be so curious as to peruse the fancy of that age. 233 No. XLIX.

Several papists now taken up.

The papists were at this juncture very bold, whether it were that they had taken up a conceit that the old religion would be again restored upon the disgrace of the duke of Somerset, or upon some other reasons. To stay these men, the council, as they had proceeded before against some popish bishops, so they thought fit to use some rigours towards others, noted to be the forwardest men. One of these was Dr. Chedsey[r], who was one of the disputants against Peter Martyr, the king's professor. He took now upon him to preach openly at Oxford against

Council Book. Chedsey.

[r] [See above, p. 159. n. [k].]

the steps of the reformation that were made, and making. Wherefore, March 16, he was committed to the Marshalsea for seditious preaching: where he lay till November the 11th, 1551: and then he was ordered to be brought to the bishop of Ely's, where he enjoyed his table, and an easier restraint[s]. March 19, serjeant Morgan[t] was committed to the Fleet for hearing mass in the lady Mary's chapel. March 22, sir Anthony Brown[u] was committed to the Fleet for the same offence. And three days after, viz. March 25, Mr. "White, warden of Winchester[w], ap-

Morgan.

Brown.

White.

[s] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 246, 435.]

[t] [Morgan was a serjeant at law, and afterwards a judge: he was present at bishop Hooper's examination before the bishops of Winchester, Durham, Chichester, and Llandaff, at whom he railed "a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men, and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was." He pronounced the sentence of death upon the lady Jane Grey, which had "so violent an operation" upon him, that he "fell into a frenzy and madness, and died of the same," and was buried in Northamptonshire, Sept. 6, 1558. —See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 546. ed. Oxon. 1829; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 94; pt. ii. p. 117. ed. Oxon. 1822; Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 378. ed. Oxon. 1824; Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 317. ed. Oxon. 1821; Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1506. ed. Lond. 1583; MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 248.]

[u] [Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, and knight of the garter, afterwards created viscount Montague, was one of Henry VIIIth's executors and governors to Edward VI., and the kingdom, and joined the council against the lord protector; he was sent as ambassador to Rome in queen Mary's reign, of whose privy-council he was a member; he was one of the noblemen appointed to attend queen Elizabeth upon her first going to London, but dissented from the bill in parliament for restoring the queen's supremacy.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 282, 601, 771; pt. ii. pp. 145, 573. ed. Oxon. 1829; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 18, 19; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 333, 350, 359; pt. ii. pp. 75, 159, 160. ed. Oxon. 1822; Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 84, 87. ed. Oxon. 1824; MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 249.]

[w] [John White, chaplain to

peared before the council, and confessed that he had divers books and letters from beyond sea, and namely, from one Martyn, a scholar there, who repugneth the king's majesty's proceedings utterly. And (it) being manifest that he [lately] (had) consented to things of that sort in such wise, that greater practices were thought to be in him that ways, he was committed to the Tower:" where lying for some months, he shewed better conformity in matters of religion. So that in June 14, 1551, the council wrote a letter to the archbishop, that he should send to the lieutenant of the Tower for Mr. White to be brought to him, and with him to remain, till such time as he should reclaim him. Which being done, he was to be sent back again to the Tower, until the king's majesty's further pleasure upon his lordship's certificate of his proceedings with him. This White, however he complied now, was in queen Mary's reign made bishop successively of Lincoln

bishop Gardiner, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, April 1, 1554, and translated from thence to Winchester, May 16, 1556; he assisted at the trials of bishop Hooper, and Dr. Taylor, and was present at the consecration of cardinal Pole as archbishop of Canterbury; he was also one of the commissioners for judging bishops Latimer and Ridley. He dissented in the first parliament of queen Elizabeth from the bill for restoring the supremacy to the crown; and took part on the popish side in the disputation at Westminster, for which he was summoned before the queen, deprived, and sent to the Tower; he persisted in his refusal to take the oath of supremacy, and with Watson, his successor in the see of Lincoln, "had the presumption to threaten to excommunicate the queen. He died of ague, January 12, 1559, at sir Thomas White's place in Hampshire; and the 15th was carried, and buried at Winchester." — See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 141, 287; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 552, 638, 682, 693, 757, 758, 771, 776, 782, 783, 792. ed. Oxon. 1829; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 374; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 180, 286, 290, 473, 487. ed. Oxon. 1822; Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 82, 84, 128, 130, 133, 138–140, 206, 210, 211, 220, 213. ed. Oxon. 1824; MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 252, 327.]

and Winchester, and preached that queen's funeral sermon: and was deprived by the next queen for refusing conformity to the religion then established.

Other professors restrained.

And while the papists on one hand were so busy in promoting their ends, there were a looser sort of professors of religion disgraced the reformation on the other. For some there were that took the liberty of meeting together in certain places, and there to propound odd questions, and vent dangerous doctrines and opinions. Of these also the council having notice, they thought it very fit to discountenance and restrain them. January 27, a number of persons, a sort of anabaptists, about sixty, met in a house on a Sunday, in the parish of Bocking in Essex; where arose among them a great dispute, "Whether it were necessary to stand or kneel, barehead or covered, at prayers? and they concluded the ceremony not to be material; but that the heart before God was required, and nothing else." Such other-like warm disputes there were about Scripture. There were likewise
234 such assemblies now in Kent. These were looked upon as dangerous to church and state: and two of the company were therefore taken and committed to the Marshalsea; and orders were sent to apprehend the rest, viz. to sir George Norton, sheriff of Essex, to apprehend and send up to the council those persons that were assembled for Scripture-matters in Bocking: nine of them were named, being cowherds, clothiers, and such-like mean people. The like order was sent to sir Edward Wotton[x], and to sir Thomas Wyat[y], to apprehend others of them,

[x] [Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais, was one of Henry VIIIth's executors and governors to his son, and the kingdom, and a privy-councillor. He took part with those who separated from the lord protector.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 6, 36, 279. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[y] [Sir Thomas Wyat was a

seven whereof are named, living in Kent. February 3, those that were apprehended for the meeting at Bocking appeared before the council, and confessed the cause of their assembly to be, "For to talk of Scriptures; [not denying but] they had refused the communion above two years," and that, as was judged, "upon very superstitious and erroneous purposes: with divers other evil opinions, worthy of great punishment." Whereupon five of them were committed: and seven of them were bound in recognizance to the king in forty pound each man. "The condition, to appear when they should be called upon, and to resort to their ordinaries for resolution of their opinions, in case they had any doubt in religion[z]."

kinsman of the duke of Northumberland, but nevertheless he took part with the princess Mary in opposition to that nobleman's design of placing the lady Jane Grey upon the throne; he proclaimed queen Mary, but in consequence of her intended marriage with Philip of Spain, he entered into a conspiracy, and headed a rebellion, in which he was defeated, and taken prisoner. At his trial, "he begged his life in most abject terms, and offered to promote the queen's marriage," if his life were spared; "but for all that he was beheaded."—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 538, 540, 543, 547; vol. iii. p. 431. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[z] ["At Greenwich the 27th day of January, an°. 155⅘.—Upchard of Bocking, was brought before the council, touching a certain assembly that had been made in his house in Christmas last, who confessed that (there) were (some) certain Kentish men to the town to have lodged with good man Cooke, and because Cooke's wife was in childbed, they came to this Upchard's house, where Cooke was then at dinner, and by Cooke's intreaty there they were lodged; and upon the morrow, which was Sunday, divers of the town about twelve of the clock came in, and there they fell in argument of things of the Scripture, specially whether it were necessary to stand or kneel, bareheaded or covered at prayer, which at length was concluded in ceremony not to be material; but the hearts before God was it that imported, and nothing else. And because it seemed such an assembly, being of sixty persons or more, should mean some great matter, therefore both the said Upchard and one Simpson, of the same sort, was committed to the Marshalsea till

further trial were had, and order taken that letters should be sent both into Essex and Kent for the apprehension of those that are accounted chief of that practice. A letter to sir George Norton, knight, sheriff of Essex, to apprehend certain persons, whose names were sent enclosed in a schedule, and to send them hither, that none of them have conference with other.—A like letter to sir Edward Wotton, and sir Thomas Wyat, to apprehend and send up these persons," &c.—MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 206, 207, 215. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 130, 1.]

CHAPTER XXII.

FOREIGNERS ALLOWED CHURCHES.—A LASCO.

The archbishop's care of the souls of strangers residing here.

We shall now shew a remarkable instance of the archbishop's episcopal piety, in the care he took of the souls of foreigners, as well as of the native English. For in king Edward's reign there were great numbers of strangers in the realm; French, Dutch, Italians, Spaniards, who abode here upon divers occasions: some for trade and commerce, and some, no doubt, to be secret spies, and promoters of the pope's affairs, and to hinder the propagation of the religion: but the most were such as fled over hither to escape the persecutions that were in those times very violently set on foot in their respective countries, and to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the free profession of their religion. Our prelate had a chief hand in forming these strangers into distinct congregations for the worship of God, and in procuring them convenient churches to meet in, and setting preachers of their own over them, to instruct them in the true religion; Cecyl and Cheke joining with him in this pious design, and furthering it at court with the king and duke of Somerset. And this they did both out of Christian charity and Christian policy too; this being a probable means to disperse the reformed religion into foreign parts; that when any of these strangers, or their children, should return into their own country, they might carry the tincture of religion along with them, and sow the seeds of it in the hearts of their countrymen.

The Dutch congregation begun under John a Lasco.

This year the German or Dutch congregation began under Johannes a Lasco, a nobleman of Poland, styled their superintendent: and this by the favour and influence of our archbishop, who had entertained him in his 235

family with respect due to his quality and great piety. This person had forsaken his country and honours for the sake of the gospel, and became a preacher to a protestant congregation at Embden in East Friezland. But seeing all things look black and stormy round about him, and tending to a persecution, he took an opportunity to embark for England: where, being a person not only of honour, but of great learning and piety, and withal an exile for the sake of Christ, and voluntarily taking up the ministry out of zeal to promote the gospel, he met with a very honourable and friendly reception; and soon became acquainted with many eminent persons here: as with Dr. Turner, the duke of Somerset's physician, and dean of Wells[a]; sir John Cheke, sir William Cecyl, and our archbishop; and, by their means, with the duke of Somerset himself. His chief business here seemed to be, to make some provision for himself and his congregation, in case of persecution. For this purpose he got a conference with the said duke, a way, as it seems, being made thereunto by the archbishop; requesting that he and his congregation might have leave to transplant themselves to London, that they might have a church here, and certain privileges likewise: moving the protector thereunto by arguments as well taken from charity as policy, namely, that hereby a trade and gainful manufacture would be introduced into England. He desired therefore that they might be incorporated by the king's letters patents, and

The occasion of his coming into England.

His business here.

[a] [William Turner, a native of Northumberland, was educated at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and early favoured the gospel there: he succeeded to the deanery of Wells, A. D. 1550, and was deprived A. D. 1553, when he fled to the continent: he was restored to his deanery A.D. 1560, and "died July 7, 1568."—Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, p. 7. ed. Oxon. 1821; Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 13, 93. ed. Oxon. 1821; Le Neve's Fasti, p. 37.]

that some old dissolved church or monastery might be granted to them, to worship and serve God in. When he had done this, he desired a certain Italian friend of his to acquaint Cecyl with the sum of his discourse with the protector: and so, taking an opportunity on a sudden of passing again to Embden along with some ambassador that was going into those parts, he took his leave of England; leaving the archbishop and Cecyl to second his business with the duke as occasion should serve. Being at Yarmouth, before his going abroad, he wrote to Cecyl his full mind, in case he and his congregation should be driven away. He desired him, "that if he should understand any thing concerning his call into England, or would be informed by him of any other matters, that he would convey his letters unto one Robert Legat, an Englishman, living at Embden, who would communicate them unto him."

From Embden he wrote to the archbishop, and to Cecyl.

Being arrived at Embden, he writ to the archbishop, relating all passages that he knew concerning the state of affairs, and particularly of religion in those parts: desiring him to impart them to the protector. He writ also unto Cecyl, his letter bearing date in April 1549, referring him to the protector's letters: and withal acquainting him in what a ticklish and dangerous condition they were. "That they certainly expected the cross; that they did mutually exhort one another to bear it, with invocation upon God's holy name: that by patience and faith they might overcome all whatsoever God should permit to be done against them, to the glory of his name, or for their trial. They were sure he had a care of them, and that he was so powerful, that he could in a moment, by a word of his mouth, dash in pieces all the forces of their enemies, whatsoever they were. And that he was so good, that he would not suffer so much as an hair, without cause, to fall

The sad condition of the protestants there.

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from their head, although the whole world should make an assault upon them. And that he could no more wish them harm, than a mother could her own infant, or any one the apple of his own eye; yea, no more than he himself could not be God. Who was to be praised in all things whatsoever happened to them, since he permitted nothing to fall out to them, but for their good; and so, for their welfare. And that therefore they committed themselves wholly to him, and did expect with all toleration whatsoever he should allow to be done to them." In this pious manner did a Lasco write to Cecyl; and no doubt in the same tenour to the archbishop. This made a very great impression upon the godly hearts of them both, and caused them vigorously to use their interest with the protector to provide a safe retreat for him and his congregation: which was obtained for them soon after. His whole letter, in a handsome Latin style, as some memorial of him, I have reposited in the Appendix.

No. L.

Latimer mentions A Lasco to the king.

Latimer also made way for his reception: who, in one of his sermons before king Edward, made honourable mention of him; using an argument proper for that audience, namely, how much it would tend to the bringing down God's blessing on the realm, to receive him, and such pious exiles as he. "Johannes a Lasco was here, a great learned man, and, as they say, a nobleman in his country; and is gone his way again. If it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. I would wish such men as he to be in the realm: for the realm should prosper in receiving [of] them: ['qui vos recipit, me recipit.'] 'He that receiveth you receiveth me,' saith Christ. And it should be for the king's honour to receive them and keep them[b]."

Third sermon before the king, anno 1549.

[b] [Latimer's Works, vol. i. p. 141. Park. Soc. ed.]

It was but a little after the king had received this congregation of foreigners into England, and had granted them a church, viz. St. Augustin's, but great contest happened among them about their church, yielded them for their religious worship. This P. Martyr took notice of with grief to Bucer: and addeth, "that their minds were so implacable to one another, that the difference was fain to be referred to the privy-council to make an end of[c]." But not to leave our superintendent yet.

Contest amongst à Lasco's people. MSS. of Benet college.

À Lasco with his strangers being settled at London, and incorporated by the king's patents, being their chief pastor, and a stirring man, was very industrious to procure and maintain the liberties and benefits of his church. The members thereof had planted themselves chiefly in St. Katharine's, and in great and little Southwark. Here they were now and then called upon by the church-wardens of their respective parishes to resort to their parish churches, though the ministers themselves did not appear in it. In the month of November, anno 1552, some of these strangers, inhabiting the parts of Southwark, were again troubled by their church-wardens, and threatened with imprisonment, unless they would come to church. Whereupon their superintendent à Lasco applied himself to the lord chancellor, who then was Goodrich, bishop of Ely. By the way one might inquire, why he resorted not rather to his friend and patron the archbishop of Canterbury. But the reason may soon be guessed: namely, that after the fall of Somerset, the archbishop's good friend, he came not so often to court, or transacted business there, unless sent for: knowing his interest likewise to be but little with the duke of Northumberland, who

The care of à Lasco over his church and its privileges.

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[c] [See Peter Martyr's letter to M. Bucer, 10 Jan. 1551; Appendix, No. lxi.]

now bare all the sway, and who had a jealous eye of him, as he had of all Somerset's friends. And so the archbishop might have rather hindered than forwarded à Lasco's business, if he had appeared in it. But this "en passant." The chancellor gently received à Lasco, and, dismissing him, sent him to secretary Cecyl with this message, to get him to propound the business the next day in the afternoon at the council-board, when himself should be there: promising him likewise, that he would be assistant to him in procuring him a warrant in writing to be directed to all ministers and church-wardens of the parishes of Southwark and St. Katharine's, that for the time to come the strangers of this congregation should receive no molestation in that regard any more. Accordingly à Lasco the next morning sent one of the elders of his church to Cecyl with his letter, excusing himself that he came not, being grievously afflicted with a pain in his head. Therein he acquainted him with the sum of his conference with the lord chancellor, adding, that the obtaining such a warrant would be necessary for them to produce and shew to such as at that present did annoy them, and to be hereafter kept by the church; that they might not be forced at other times, upon the like occasions, to create new trouble to the king's council, or himself, in suing for new warrants of that nature. Meaning hereby to put the secretary upon drawing this up the more formally and substantially. And so, entreating him to hear what the elder had to say, and to dispatch him, he took his leave. This letter also is inserted in the Appendix. No. LI.

Favourably received by the lord chancellor Goodrich.

Labours with the secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church.

The extent of his superintendency.

The superintendency of à Lasco seemed to extend not only to this particular congregation of Germans, but over all the other churches of foreigners set up in London, as also over their schools of learning and education. They

were all subject to his inspection, and within his jurisdiction. And Melancthon, in an epistle to him in the month of September, 1551, speaks of the purity of doctrine "in his churches." His condition now, as to worldly circumstances, began to be so good, that he was able to relieve and succour such learned foreigners as should retire hither. For when one Nicolas Forst, a learned and grave man, who had lived long in the university of Louvain, and had spent some time with Melancthon, was minded, for the sake of religion, to convey himself into England; he recommended him earnestly to the superintendent, as a person fit to teach in his churches and schools: and that he would friendly entertain him as an exile for the same cause himself was, and find him some little nest to remain in. Nay, and the said Melancthon himself had some thoughts of sheltering himself under à Lasco here, as appears by the forementioned letter, wherein he styles him his patron. For the superscription of his letter is thus, "Illustri, magnifico, ac reverendo viro, nobilitate generis, virtute et sapientia præstanti Dn. Johanni a Lasco, patrono suo colendo." So much of deference and honour did learned and pious men then use to give him. In this letter Melancthon told him, that the calamities of the churches were great, and that he himself expected banishment, and might probably in a short time arrive where he was. And in respect of his hospitable reception of strangers, he told him, that he believed he did often remember that saying of the exiled queen,

Melancthon's Epistles, printed at Leyden, 1647.

Melancthon thought to shelter himself under him.

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"Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."[d]

[d] ["Illustri, magnifico, et reverendo viro, nobilitate generis, virtute et sapientia præstanti Dn. Johanni à Lasco, patrono suo colendo. S. D. Scripsit apud nos orationem de fratre tuo homo ingeniosus, et valde amans familiæ tuæ, quæ tot jam sæculis præ-

His great abilities for government.

Nor was à Lasco any ways unfurnished for this spiritual government, being a man of good learning, and of great piety, strictness, and gravity from his younger age: and of whom the great Erasmus himself acknowledged that he learned much. For in his epistle to Johannes à Lasco, the archbishop of Gnesne, who was namesake and uncle to our superintendent, he speaks thus of his nephew: "That he was but young, yet grave beyond his years; and that he himself accounted it none of the least parts of his happiness, that he happened to have his converse and society for some months:" praising the endowments that God had given him; and particularly, concerning the benefits he received by him, he could not but confess,

Erasmus' praise of him. Ep. 3. Lib. 28.

stantes, et duces et senatores regno Polonico genuit. Etsi autem scriptum est, ut videbis, juvenile, tamen propter argumentum, ac vero etiam propter autorem libenter edidi. Ego si mihi fratris historia magis nota fuisset, retexuissem, quamquam et mea oratio squalidior est. Te scio habere illas dotes, quæ in scriptore postulantur, *σύνεσιν πολιτικὴν, καὶ δύναμιν ἑρμηνευτικὴν*, 'prudentiam civilem, et interpretandi facultatem.' Quare optarim te ipsum aliquid de fratre edere, aut certe commentarium nobis mittere. Exempla orationis exhibebit tibi hic Nicolaus Forstius natus in Brabantia, vir eruditus et gravis, qui propter doctrinæ puritatem in ecclesiis vestris mavult vivere quamalibi. Diu in Academia Lovaniensi fuit, postea hic amplius anno commoratus est, et comperimus ejus integritatem nobis ab Alberto Hardenbergio vere prædicatum esse. Poterit istic in docendis Belgicis ecclesiis usui esse. Poterit et in scholis docere. Quare te valde oro, ut hospitem tecum exulantem in eadem causa amanter excipias, et ei nidulum alicubi quæras. Credo tibi sæpe in mentem venire dictum exulantis reginæ, 'non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.' Eadem oratione fortassis brevi apud te coram utar. Expectamus enim nos quoque exilia. Tantæ cum sint calamitates ecclesiæ, Prutenicus Gorgias *ταράσσει τὸ κεφαλαιότατον μέρος τῆς διδασκαλίας· περὶ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ περὶ ἀρτολατρείας*, 'turbat maxime capitalem partem doctrinæ de justitia et adoratione panis.' Sed oremus filium Dei, ut ipse tot magnis vulneribus ecclesiæ medeatur. Bene vale, Die nova Septembris, 1551."—Epist. P. Melancthon. pp. 321–323. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1647.]

"Senex juvenis convictu factus sum melior, ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici[e]." "That by the conversation of that young man, he, an old man, became better: and that sobriety, temperance, awfulness, government of the tongue, modesty, chastity, integrity, which the young ought to learn of the old, he, an old man, had learned of a young." This he wrote in August 1527, soon after à Lasco was gone from him. And in June the same year, while he resided with him, in another letter to Leonard Cox, a learned Englishman, he signified the great complacency he took in his company. "Johannis a Lasco tale sum expertus ingenium, [quotidieque experior], ut vel hoc uno amico mihi videar sat beatus[f]." "That he had found à Lasco's parts to be such, that he seemed happy enough in his single friendship." Lib. 19. Ep. 15.

And this good understanding continued between them as long as Erasmus lived. For à Lasco seems to have been with him in his last sickness; when, as the last token of Erasmus' esteem of him, he made a purchase to Abel Rediviv. Purchased Erasmus' library.

[e] ["Ut autem tam insignem ecclesiæ doctorem tui nominis auspicio potissimum veluti renatum in lucem prodire vellem, cum primis in causa fuit Joannes à Lasco, te patruum non minus morum ornamentis quam nomine referens: nam juvenis senem sic exprimit, ut in eo veluti renatus videri queas. Is tui simulachrum quoties mihi depingebat oratione, toties agnoscebam in narrante imaginis expressæ antitypon. Adeo dum patruum depingit, seipsum depingebat imprudens. Hunc mihi convictorem pauculos licet menses contigisse, non in postrema felicitatis parte pono. Utinam mihi liceret per adulationis invidiam prædicare Dei dotes, quas in illo et amavi, et veneratus sum. Illud non possum non fateri, senex juvenis &c." (ut supra). Erasmi. Epist. DCCCLXXVIII. tom. i. col. 991. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1706.]

[f] [Id. p. 982.]

him of his own library, (that incomparable treasure), if we may believe the author of his life in English[g].

A Lasco a married man.

A Lasco thought not the clergy obliged to celibacy, or single life, for he himself was a married man. Who his wife was, I know not; but as for her qualities, she was in all probability a pious and discreet woman, whereby she gained a great share in his affections. He styled her "the other part of himself." But in August 1552, God deprived him of her. Which stroke put him for some time under much sadness and indisposition both of mind and body, as appears by one of his letters.

His influence in the reformation under queen Elizabeth.

He was alive at the accession of queen Elizabeth to the English throne; and though he came not back then to England again, whence he departed upon king Edward's death, yet, according to that great interest he had here
239 with the most eminent persons, and even the queen herself, he neglected not by his letters to promote the reformation, and to give his grave counsel in order thereunto. And Zanchy, public professor at Strasburgh, knowing the sway he bare here, in a letter to him in the year 1558, or 59, excited him in these words; "Non dubito, quin T. P. jamdudum scripserit ad reginam, eique consuluerit, quæ

[g] ["His library he sold upon his death bed to Johannes à Lasco." Fuller's Abel Redevivus; (life of Erasmus); p. 77. ed. Lond. 1651. The words "upon his death bed" must be understood in a wide sense. Erasmus was confined to his bed nearly a month before he died, which event took place, July 12th, 1536. His will bears date Feb. 12th, in the same year. A copy of the original will may be seen in the Appendix to Dr. Samuel Knight's life of Erasmus. Append. p. cx. ed. Camb. 1726. The words referring to the transaction with à Lasco are these: "Bibliothecam meam jam quidem vendidi D. Joanni à Lasco Polono, juxta syngrapham super hoc contractu inter nos confectam: non tradentur tamen libri, nisi hæredi numeravit ducentos florenos."]

pro illius regni conservatione, et regni Christi instauratione facienda judicarit," &c. "That he doubted not he had before now written to the queen, and given her his advice, what he judged fit to be done for the preservation of her kingdom, and for the restoring of the kingdom of Christ. Yet he would not omit to pray him to do it again and again by his repeated letters. For I know," said he, "how great your authority is with the English, and with the queen herself. Now certainly is the time that you, and such as you be, should by your counsels help so pious a queen, and consult for the safety of so great a kingdom, yea, and succour the whole Christian church, every where afflicted and vexed. For we know that if Christ's kingdom be happily introduced into the kingdom of England, no small aid will thence come to all the other churches dispersed through Germany, Poland, and other countries[h]."

Blamed for meddling in our controversies.

There is one thing that is wont to be urged against him, and which makes him to this day to be somewhat ill thought of; which was, that he opposed himself so openly, by writing against the habits prescribed the clergy, and the posture of kneeling at the reception of the holy sacrament: whereby he incurred the censure of a meddling

[h] ["Non dubito, quin T. P. jam dudum scripserit ad reginam, eique consuluerit, quæ pro illius regni conservatione, et regni Christi instauratione facienda judicarit: non omittam tamen, quin T. P. rogem, ut idem sæpenumero, et multiplicatis literis faciat. Scio enim, quanta sit tua apud Anglos, atque apud ipsam reginam autoritas. Nunc certe tempus est, ut tu tuique similes, vestris consiliis adjuvetis tam piam reginam, consulatis saluti tanti regni, imo vero toti Ecclesiæ Christianæ, ubique terrarum afflictæ et vexatæ, succurratis. Scimus non parum adjumenti accessurum reliquis omnibus per Germaniam, Poloniam, et alias regiones dispersis ecclesiis, si regnum Christi in regnum Angliæ feliciter introducatur. Ergo videmus, in cujus rei studium sit diligenter incumbendum."—Zanchii Op. tom. viii. col. 360. ed. [Heidelberg] 1613.]

temper, and of ingratitude to that nation that so kindly had entertained him. Concerning the habits, Bucer and he had some controversy. The sum of which, on both parts, archbishop Parker drew up, (upon the desire, I suppose, of sir William Cecyl), about the year 1565, when that controversy was hotly renewed again by Humfrey[i] and Sampson[j]. This sum whosoever is minded to see, may probably hereafter find it in the memorials of that archbishop, if God grant life and opportunity to me to write them[k].

A church of Italians constituted in London.

About this time, viz. in the year 1550, or 1551, there was also a church of Italians constituted in London, by the influence and care of our archbishop and sir William Cecyl, under à Lasco's superintendency. This church consisted of divers Italian nations, as Florentines, Genoese, Milanois, Venetians, and others: though several of them

[i] [Laurence Humfrey, Humphrey, or Humphreys, S. T. P., president of Magdalen college, Oxford, and regius professor of divinity in that university, was an exile during the reign of queen Mary, and dwelt at Zurich: he and Sampson were the leaders of the nonconformists in the succeeding reign, and were brought into much trouble for refusing to wear the ecclesiastical vestments; through the interest of lord Burleigh, who induced him to wear these habits, he was made dean of Gloucester, March 13, 1570, upon the preferment of Thomas Cowper to the see of Lincoln, and October 14, 1580 he was removed to the deanery of Winchester. "He died Feb. 1, 1589, ætat. 63, and was buried in Magdalen college Chapel, Oxford." See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 103, 289, 471, 493. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 590. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 232, 409. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 132, 144, 518. pt. ii. p. 65. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 222, 223, 322–328, 367. ed. Oxon. 1821. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 466. vol. iv. pp. 153, 207, 329. vol. v. p. 232. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

[j] [See above, p. 129. n. [1].]

[k] [See Strype's life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 340–343. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

joined themselves with this congregation more out of worldly ends than conscience, as will appear afterward. For they had a kindness for the mass, and could not endure to hear the pope's supremacy called in question, and inveighed against. One Michael Angelo Florio, a Florentine by birth, was appointed their preacher; probably brother, or kinsman, unto Simon Florio, preacher at the city of Clavenna among the Rhætii, an eminent professor of the gospel in those parts, who wrote a letter to Gratalorius, an Italian physician, concerning two whole towns in Calabria, utterly destroyed by reason of the rigor of persecution exercised there: and about eight hundred or a thousand of the inhabitants put to death, because they professed the gospel. Which letter is extant in Foxe, in his table of the Italian martyrs[1]. 240

Michael Angelo their minister.

[1] ["The end of a certain letter of master Simon Florellus, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian saints, in the parts of Calabria.—News out of Italy, A. D. 1560.—As concerning news, I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Consentia; the one called St. Sixtus within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto: the other called Guardia, situate upon the sea coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus: the which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, (or, as some write from the city of Rome), no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter was servant to Ascanius Caracciolus. The country and people there I well knew, to take the first original of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses. For before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters and two preachers. The last year the two preachers were martyred: the one at Rome, named Joannes Aloysius Paschalis, a citizen of Cunium: the other, at Messina, named James Bovell, both of Piedmont: this year the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 942. ed. Lond. 1583.]

The service the archbishop did for this church;

For the encouragement of this congregation, the archbishop procured the members of it to be free denizens, to live and traffic here with as much freedom as natural English subjects, which they were admitted to by swearing fidelity and allegiance. For their more easy and convenient dwelling here, they often petitioned the king for new privileges and immunities, as they saw they needed them; and such favour and countenance was shewn them, that they seldom failed of their suits. The archbishop also, that their preacher might be provided for, dealt with the congregation, and made them oblige themselves to provide him with all necessaries; as a dwelling, and a competent yearly salary. In the year 1552, Michael Angelo sued again to our archbishop for some favour to be obtained from the king; whether it were for the better establishment of his church, or for some further immunities to be granted to the members thereof, it doth not appear. But this the most reverend man readily furthered, by writing in that behalf to the duke of Northumberland from his house at Ford, near Canterbury, the duke being, I suppose, with the king in progress at this time. He likewise dispatched another, dated November 20,[m] the year abovesaid, to the secretary, entreating him to forward that cause as much as lay in him.

and for the minister.

Ann. 1552.

Divers of this church fall out with their minister, and go to mass again.

But however serviceable this their minister had been unto these Italians, in preaching the gospel to them, and soliciting the archbishop for their benefit; yet many of them carried themselves but little obliging to him. Whether it were some misbehaviour or imprudences in him, which he was not altogether void of, or his too violent declaiming against the pope and popish doctrines, which they were not yet enough ripened in evangelical knowledge to receive, or that he too roughly charged them with the

[m] [See the Appendix to the 3rd volume of this edition, No. cvii.]

hardness of their hearts, and backwardness to receive gospel-truths, as he did use to do: but many of them wholly withdrew from him, and went to mass again. His contribution also fell very low, not having received above five pounds in a considerable time from them. Hereupon he resorted to the secretary, "making heavy complaints of his own poverty, that many of his people had forsaken his assembly, spake very slanderously against him and his ministry, and the gospel which he preached, after they saw and heard him in an open manner preaching against the pope's doctrines, his tyranny and hypocrisy, and reproving them for their unbelief, and the hardness of their hearts." The too much vehemency and passion of this man, and his neglect of informing the judgments of these Italians in milder and more leisurely methods, I suspect to have been a great cause of this apostasy.

A conjecture at the cause thereof.

But, upon this complaint, the secretary bade the pastor send him a list of the names of those that had thus behaved themselves, and that he himself would call them before him, and discourse with them. Accordingly he sent the names of fourteen in a letter to the said secretary, withal aggravating to him their misbehaviour, and informing of their daily going to mass, and adding, that therefore they, being free denizens, and so subjects to the English laws, ought to be punished as any Englishman would be, if he heard mass. He quoted a place or two in Deuteronomy, where those that rebelled against God, the laws, and the judges, should be slain without mercy. He subjoined, that Elisha, by God's command, anointed Jehu to be king for this very purpose, that he should wholly root out the house of Ahab, and kill all the priests of Baal; and thence makes his uncharitable conclusion, (more agreeable to the religion that he was so hot against), that therefore these Italians should be so served,

Their minister sends their names to the secretary, and accuses them.

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since they opposed the gospel and the king's pious proceedings. But it might make one apt not to think overfavourably of this man; a pastor, thus to turn accuser of his flock; a professor of the reformed religion to require the utmost rigor of punishment for differing in religion.

The morals of this man tainted.

I also find the morals of this man tainted, having once made a very foul slip, being guilty of an act of uncleanness; for which sir William Cecyl, secretary of state, who had been his good friend, was exceedingly displeased with him, and withdrew all favour and countenance from him, calling him "wicked man," and intending to inflict some severe punishment upon him, which seemed to be banishment out of the nation, or at least turning him out of his family, where he seems to have been entertained. Angelo wrote him a very penitent letter, minding him of the frailty of human nature, and of the mercy of God to Moses, Aaron, David, Jonas, Peter, after their falls: and that if he were forced to depart the kingdom, he must either be compelled to renounce the truth of the Gospel, or have his blood shed by the enemies thereof. This was, as I suppose, in the year 1551. In fine, he got over this brunt, and recovered mild Cecyl's favour: for I find, a year after, our archbishop wrote to him to further a certain business of Michael Angelo at court, as much as he could[n].

Writes a penitent letter to the secretary.

This is all I have to say of that Italian congregation, and the minister thereof. For further memory of which, I have added in the Appendix two letters of this Michael Angelo to secretary Cecyl, whence many of the matters next above mentioned were collected.

No. LII. LIII.

A French church also in London.

As there was thus a German and Italian church in London, so also there was a third of Frenchmen, under

[n] [See the Appendix to the 3rd volume of this edition, No. cvii.]

à Lasco's superintendency. One member of which, a very honest man, and of sound religion, by the general testimony of that church, had desired to set up a printing-house for his livelihood, chiefly for printing the Liturgy, and other books of the church of England, in French, for the use of the French islands under the English subjection. In whose behalf the superintendent readily interceded by a letter with the secretary to procure the king's letters patents, for his license and authority so to do. The issue of which will be seen in the progress of this history. The letter I have transcribed to accompany two others of à Lasco in the Appendix. No. LIV.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CHURCH AT GLASTENBURY.

Another church of strangers at Glastenbury. Their trade weaving.

In the same year, viz. 1550, another church of strangers, and they mostwhat French and Walloons, began to settle at Glastenbury in Somersetshire. They were weavers, and followed the manufacture of kersies, and cloth of that nature, as I conjecture. Their great patrons were the duke of Somerset and sir William Cecyl; I add, and our archbishop, though I do not find his name mentioned in the papers I make use of, relating to this church: for there is no question but that his counsel and aid concurred in the settlement of this church, as well as those in London: and particularly as to the preacher; whom I suspect to have been one of those learned foreign divines whom he harboured in his own house. His name was Valerandus Pollanus, a man of great worth both for learning and integrity, who had the title of "Superintendent of the strangers' church at Glastenbury," as John à Lasco had of that at London; given to each to fix a character of honour and esteem upon their persons, and perhaps to exempt them and their churches from the jurisdiction of the bishops of those respective dioceses. This Pollanus turned into Latin, and printed, the disputations held in the beginning of queen Mary's reign between the protestants and papists at the convocation, anno 1553. If any desire to know the particular state and condition of the establishment of these strangers, as to their trade, it stood thus:

Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and superintendent.

How they came to fix here.

Pollanus, in behalf of the rest, had preferred a petition to the duke of Somerset, and the rest of the lords of the council, to this effect; "That they might be permitted to form themselves into a church for the free exercise of

religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving; declaring, as an argument to persuade them to allow the same, the considerable benefit that would accrue thence to the realm; and that for shops and working-houses, and for reception of them and their families, they might enjoy some old dissolved religious house." Their petition was condescended to: and the duke, being a great cherisher of those of the religion, resolved to be their patron, and to take the managing of this whole cause upon himself. The duke, in the month of June[o] this year, had made an exchange of certain lands with the king, and that probably for the better accommodating of these strangers. He had parted with the castle and lordship of Sleaford, and other lands and tenements in the county of Lincoln, to the king: and the king had granted him, in lieu thereof, all and singular his messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with their appurtenances, in the town of Glastenbury, (namely, what had belonged to the abbey), and other lands and tenements in Kingston-upon-Hull, to the value of 214*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* obq. as I find in a manuscript book, mentioning the several sales that king made. Having obtained such conveniences in Glastenbury, he

[o] ["I have yet met with nothing of this abbey from the time it was pulled down, to king Edward VIth's days; and so I presume it laid near a dozen years waste and desolate. But in Fuller's* history of abbeys I find, that it was granted by king Edward, on the fourth of June, in the fourth year of his reign, (that is to say, in the year of Christ 1550.), to Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, in consideration of his petition and the advice of his council, to support his dignity. But he enjoyed it only one year, seven months, and twenty days, being beheaded on Tower-hill, the 24th of January, 155½. So little did this and his other sacrileges thrive with him."—Hearne's Hist. of Glastonbury, p. 52. ed. Oxon. 1722.]

* [Fuller's Abbeys, p. 368.]

resolved to plant this manufacture here; which he thought
243 would tend so much to the benefit of the country, himself, and these poor strangers too. Conditions were mutually entered into.

Conditions of trade between Somerset and them.

The conditions on Somerset's part were, "That he should provide them houses convenient for their occupations, and to contain themselves and families: that five acres of pasture land, or as much as would serve for the feeding of two cows throughout the year, should be allotted to each of them: and until land were so allotted, they should enjoy the park in common for the said use, with some part also of the gardens. They were also to be supplied with monies from the duke to buy wool, and to defray other charges necessary to set them on work. They were also empowered to employ both English men and women, as they should have occasion, in spinning and other works belonging to their trade." And so accordingly they went down to Glastenbury, and fell to work.

Their trade obstructed by the troubles of Somerset.

But upon the troubles and fall of Somerset, which happened about fourteen or fifteen months after, their affairs were much obstructed. His servants neglected to furnish them with money according to contract: nor was he at leisure now to regard them. The people, among whom they lived, took this opportunity to express what little kindness they had for them: it being the temper of the common sort to be jealous of strangers, and rude to them. So that they were not without their discontents and discouragements: for they wanted those conveniences of room for work-houses and habitations, that were promised them. They ran in debt, and were forced to lay to pawn the clothes they had wove, to supply their wants. Cornish, one of the chief of their procurators, appointed to oversee them, and further their trade, proved very deceitful and false to them; who came to them, pretending

letters from the council, and treating them at first with fair words, and after with threatenings: and so compelled them to deliver the clothes that they had made to him, though they had by mere necessity been forced before to pawn them. He had also, by his importunity and fraud, got the grant of the park from them, though he knew the duke had fully purposed and intended it for their use, for the necessary maintenance of themselves and families.

Things being in this ill condition with them, and Somerset no longer able to befriend them, they were glad to apply again to those above. Pollanus therefore, in their behalf, petitioned the lords of the council to take their declining state into their consideration, and to carry on that good work the duke of Somerset had begun. He did also ply the secretary to further their petition, (who was indeed of his own accord their most hearty friend); and laboured particularly with all earnestness imaginable, both by word of mouth and by divers letters, to get the factory discharged of Cornish, urging that the weavers had never found the least grain of integrity, justice, or candour in him. This man was now very industrious and busy at court to get himself continued in his office; which the strangers understanding, were as diligent to get themselves delivered of him. The superintendent had but a little before dispatched to the secretary one Peter Wolf, a good man, and a great sufferer, a Brabanter by nation, to relate the evil deeds of this man: and now again he dispatched Stephen Le Provost, a deacon of his church, with another message to the same import to the said secretary. Telling him, "That those who were to be set over others ought themselves in the first place to be honest and just; but especially they ought to be so in the highest degree that were to be placed over such good men, and who were exiles only for the sake of Christ; unless any

Apply themselves again to the council,

and to the secretary Cecyl.

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could be willing that such upright men should be undone, and that those very considerable advantages that were likely to accrue to the commonwealth by them should be diverted to some other place or country. That they could not enough wonder with what forehead this man should attempt this thing, after he had so plainly betrayed his base treachery and ill-will towards them: and could not but know, how very hardly they could away with him, and who were going to sue to the duke for that which they now desired. That himself was solicited by the prayers of those good men to write this to him, that he would be their advocate with the lords in this behalf."

The council become their patrons, and assist them.

The result was, that the lords consented to uphold and encourage them, and sent down their letters to the overseers of this manufacture, and to the chief officers of the town, Powis, one of the king's servants, and Hyet, the chief magistrate, and others, to examine into the present state of these strangers, and to give them in writing an account thereof. These letters the superintendent delivered to them; and one Clark, a justice of peace, was then present, who being a gentleman and a scholar, that understood both French and Latin, did, out of his good will to them, interpret to the rest Pollanus' petition to the lords of the council, and the contents of their contract with the duke of Somerset, and other matters relating to this business; that so they might be the better acquainted with their affairs, and it might appear there were no neglects or breaches of covenants on the strangers' parts. And so letters were dispatched back to the lords from the overseers, signifying how they had examined the affairs of these strangers, and had found all things fair and just on their side; mentioning likewise what considerable commodity they hoped for by them, and likewise from the chief of the town to the same import.

Speedily upon this, orders came down from the lords to certain gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, whereof one Dyer was one, a person of good religion, and their cordial friend, commissioning them to set this manufacture forward, and to take care the undertakers might be relieved in what they needed, according to their former contract with the duke. So they obtained the use of the park for the running of threescore head of kine, till other pasture were provided them. Thirty houses were ordered to be forthwith repaired and fitted up for them: and money was paid sufficient for the clearing them of their debts. These gentlemen had also assigned them a stated provision of money for the future, but it was too scanty; the allowance that they had proportioned them for two months would scarcely hold out for five weeks. Nor was any wool at all bought for their use, though their stock was almost at an end; and then their work must stand still for want thereof, having no money themselves to purchase more: and to take it upon credit would enhance the price thereof. For one Crouch had demanded of them thirty-two shillings for wool, when they could buy it of their neighbours for four and twenty, had they money. Their only hope was in Dyer, who promised them wool at a far more reasonable rate, and kindly offered them a long day of payment for it, without consideration for forbearance: their doubt only was, whether his wool was proper for their use. But the interest of Cornish was such, that he was continued by the lords in his office over these tradesmen, and enjoyed a part of the park to himself. These things were transacted in the month of November, anno 1551, which was the month after the duke's commitment.

Orders from the lords to set this manufacture forwards.

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In all this affair Pollanus was very much employed, taking a great deal of pains in settling this trade: for he

Pollanus very serviceable to them.

took many journeys between Glastenbury and the court, and was, as himself wrote, at incredible expences; and in fifteen months' space received not an halfpenny, though he had a large family to maintain. The office also of surveying the reparation of the houses lay upon him: and, fearing the lords of the council might be displeased at the greatness of the charge they had been at already in the repairs, and the little profit that as yet arose to quit the cost, he entreated the secretary that he would bear up their reputation with the lords; telling him, "That he doubted not that the project would hereafter redound much to their own praise, by reason of the very great emolument that all men should perceive would come to the realm thereby within three years, God prospering them, as he had begun to do. And for himself, all he desired was, that for all his charge and trouble he might obtain a stipend of fifty pounds to be settled upon him." The letters of Valerandus Pollanus, being three in number, I have inserted in the Appendix.

Nos. LV. LVI. LVII.

An apology for the largeness of the former relation.

I acknowledge, that many of these things I have related concerning this business may seem too little and minute for an historian to take notice of. But I was loth any particulars of so remarkable a design should be lost, which in probability would have turned so much to the benefit of our nation. It being also an instance of the pious care and good policy that was then taken by the court for the relief and sustentation of poor fugitives, flying hither from their native country, friends, and livelihood, for Christ's sake; and yet that the public might be as little burdened by them as might be.

After the king's death they remove to Frankfort.

Queen Mary's access to the crown spoiled this good design. For all strangers being then commanded suddenly to depart the realm, this congregation accordingly brake up, and removed themselves to Frankfort in Germany;

where the magistrates kindly entertained them, and allowed them a church. And when afterwards, viz. 1554, divers of the English nation fled thither for their religion, the governors of the town, upon their petition, received them also, and all other such English as should resort thither upon the same account, as many did. And two members of this French congregation, mindful undoubtedly of the former kindness themselves or their countrymen had received in England, assisted them much; namely, Morellio a minister, and Castalio an elder. The English here made use of the same church the French did; these one day, and the English another: and upon Sundays the use of it respectively, as themselves could agree.

Troubles at Frankfort.

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Prove friends to the English exiles there.

And as there were settled here congregations of French, Italians, and Dutch strangers, so I am very apt to believe there was also a church of Spaniards too. Indeed I do not find express mention of any such till the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; when Cassiodorus and Antonius Corranus Hispalensis [of Seville], (a member of the Italian congregation), were their preachers, of whom I shall have occasion to say something in my memorials of archbishop Grindalp. It is certain, that in queen Mary's days many of those Spaniards, who came over in the retinue of Philip, the Spanish prince, or after, forsook popery, and became professors of the reformed religion: which one cannot well tell how it should come to pass, unless it were by the hearing of the Gospel preached in their own language here. And it is observable, that among these many had been sent for over, in that queen's time, to convert our nation from heresy, as they termed it, and to reduce it to the Roman church. This notable

A Spanish church.

Cassiodorus and Corranus their preachers.

Many of king Philip's Spaniards become protestants.

p [See Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, pp. 69–71. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

success and power, which the clear evidence of truth had upon these men, was in those times taken much notice of, as it might well be. James Pilkington, the master of St. John's college in Cambridge, and who was afterwards bishop of Durham[q], makes a note of it to the university, in the sermon which he preached at the restitution of Bucer and Fagius, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, after the barbarous indignities that had been offered them in the former queen's reign, in raking their dead bodies out of their graves, and burning them. "It is much more notable," said he, "that we have seen to come to pass in our days, that the Spaniards, sent for into the realm on purpose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned home, replenished many parts of their country with the same truth of religion, to the which before they were utter enemies[r]."

Great numbers of protestants in Spain and Italy.

Nay, and not long after this, such earnest professors of the true religion were found in Spain, that many of them endured the fiery trial, and offered up their bodies to the flames, for Christ's sake; and more were cast into prisons: and yet the Gospel got ground there to admiration, as Zanchy gave a relation thereof to à Lasco in one of his letters; wherein he spake of the great numbers of true professors in Italy also. The place being so much to our present purpose, I will take leave to lay before the reader. "In Calabriæ duobus castellis," &c. "In two

Zanchii Ep. lib. 2.

[q] [See above, p. 172. n. 9.]

[r] ["Sed multo tamen celebrius esse, quod his nostris temporibus contigisse vidimus. Hispanos opprimendi Evangelii causa in hoc regnum accersitos, reversus domum multas suæ patriæ partes eadem religionis veritate, cujus hostes erant, replevisse."—Conc. de J. Pylkinton. in restitut. D. M. Buceri et P. Fagii. — Bucer. Script. Anglic. p. 942. ed. Basil. 1577.]

castles of Calabria, one belonging to the duke of Montalto, the other to a nobleman of Naples, were found four thousand brethren, being the remainders of those brethren called Waldenses. They were for many years unknown, and lived safely in their ancestors' possessions. For though they approved not of masses, yet they thought the faithful might go to them with a safe conscience. 247 But being untaught this bad doctrine, they did wholly and universally abstain going any more. And so it came to pass, that they could not be concealed any longer: therefore a persecution was raised up against them. They writ to the brethren at Geneva to assist them by their prayers, their counsel, and also by human aid. We see also in Italy, where the seat of Antichrist is, there is a great harvest; but very few to gather it. O God, have mercy upon Italy! In Spain very many were burnt, more cast into prison. Nevertheless, in the mean time, the Gospel goes forward, as we hear, wonderfully[s]." And in another letter he writes thus; "There is a very

[s] ["In Calabriæ castellis duobus, quorum unum est sub ditione ducis Montis alti, alterum est cujusdam nobilis Neapolitani, reperta sunt 4000 fratrum, e reliquuis illorum fratrum, qui Waldenses appellantur. Ii annos per multos incogniti: tuto in paternis ædibus vixerunt. Etsi enim missas non probabant, sentiebant tamen posse eas a fidelibus, salvis conscientiis adiri. At ubi hanc malam doctrinam dedocti fuerunt, omnes simul ab eis abstinuerunt. Itaque factum est, ut non potuerint amplius latere. Persecutio igitur adversus illos est excitata. Scripserunt ad fratres Genevam, ut tum precibus, tum consilio, tum etiam humana ope se adjuvent. Videmus etiam in Italia, ubi sedes est Antichristi, multam tamen esse segetem: sed qui eam colligant, perpaucos. O Deus miserere Italiæ! In Hispania permulti fuerunt combusti, multo plures in carcerem conjecti: interim tamen Evangelium mirabiliter, ut audimus, serpit. Totus terrarum orbis parturit Christum, adsit igitur parturienti optimus Pater cælestis." — Zanchii Op. tom. viii. col. 360. ed. [Heidelberg.] 1613.]

great persecution in Italy, nor a less in Spain: a sign there be many faithful there that dare confess Christ[t]."

[t] ["In Italia maxima persecutio, nec minor in Hispania. Argumento est, multos ibi esse fideles, qui audent Christum confiteri."—Zanchii Op. tom. viii. col. 359.]

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S CARE OF THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH.—BUCER DIES.

I RETURN now to our prelate again, to take a further view of him, acting in his high function in the English church. It must not be omitted to be ranked among his good services towards it, that he did what in him lay to preserve the revenues of it in his time, when there were so many hungry courtiers gaping after them. These were again in a new danger after the duke of Northumberland, and his party had removed Somerset, and made themselves the great controllers of public affairs.

The archbishop laboured to preserve the revenues of the church.

It was indeed the scandal of the reformation, that the demeans, that had been settled long before by our pious ancestors for the maintenance of God's ministers, as they had been formerly wrongfully appropriated to monasteries, and swallowed up by lazy monks, so they had not now recurred and been restored to their true owners; but became possessed by laymen: so that in many scores of parishes there remained not sufficient to buy bread for the incumbents and their families. And it was more than suspicious that many patrons did render the condition of the church still worse in these days by retaining and reserving to themselves, whether by contract or power, the tithes of the benefices they presented to: and by these means pluralities and nonresidences, the old mischief of the church, were not redressed, but rather made necessary. This abuse grieved good men, and lovers of the reformation, both at home and abroad; because they saw how the preaching of the Gospel was obstructed hereby.

The detaining the church revenues a scandal to the reformation.

Concerning this, Bucer from Cambridge wrote privately

Calvin to the archbishop upon this matter.

to Calvin in the year 1550. And this made Calvin address a letter to our archbishop, telling him, that, for the flourishing state of religion, he thought it highly needful to have fit pastors, that might seriously set themselves to perform the office of preaching. One great obstacle whereof he makes very truly to be, "Quod prædæ expositi sunt ecclesiæ reditus;" "That the rents of the church were exposed to be a prey:" which he calls "malum sane intolerabile[u]." And of the same thing, and not long after, viz. July 1551, he admonished the duke of Somerset in a French letter, all of his own handwriting: which because of the antiquity of it, and the matter it treats of, referring to our church, and not being among his printed epistles, I have added in the Appendix. In which letter he excites the duke to take care that there might be fit and able ministers fixed in parishes to teach the people: the want whereof he attibuted to two causes. The one whereof he made to lie in the universities; and the other in the matter that we are speaking of. "That the revenue of the cures was withdrawn and dispersed away; so that there was nothing to maintain good men, who were fit to perform the office of true pastors. And hence it came to pass, that ignorant priests were put in, which made great confusion; for the quality of the persons begat great contempt of God's word. Advising the duke to endeavour to bring those that had these spiritual possessions, to be willing to part with them, inasmuch as they could not prosper in defrauding God's people of their spiritual food, which they did by hindering the churches of good pastors."

Ep. 127.

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And to the duke of Somerset.

No. LVIII.

Bucer publicly disputeth at

Bucer, the king's divinity professor at Cambridge, was this year engaged in a public disputation; as his col-

[u] [See Calvini Epist. p. 62. ed. Amstelod. 1667.]

league, Peter Martyr, the king's professor at Oxon, had been there the last [w]. Before this disputation happened, Bucer communicated his purpose to his said colleague and friend; who, having sufficient experience of the vain-glorious ends of the papists in these kinds of disputations, and of their unfair dealings, advised him in a letter not to engage in it, but to decline it. On which letter archbishop Parker, into whose hands it fell, wrote this inscription; "Ad Bucerum, prudens Martyris consilium, ut non det se in disputatione cum gloriosulis Thrasonibus [x]." But it seems he was too far engaged to avoid it with reputation, nor thought he fit to do it for the vindication and sake of truth. The questions disputed of, and his antagonists, were before mentioned [y]. It seems he came off with great credit; for his friend Martyr, in a letter to him soon after it was over, professed a great deal of gladness that his disputations had that good success: and that it so well happened was by God's providence: which, he said, he could scarce have believed to have been a thing possible, without visitors, or other grave judges; since the papists reckoned it enough for their business only to dispute, afterwards studiously dispersing their lies, to their own advantage, and the disparagement of those that disputed against them. And therefore, Martyr said, he wondered not that Christ in the beginning confirmed the disputations of his apostles with miracles.

Cambridge.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

November 9, Bucer began a learned reading of the power and use of the ministry, but lived not to finish it; for the latter end of this year put an end to this learned man's life; of whose counsel and advice our archbishop made great use in the steps he made for reformation of

Dieth.

[w] [See above, pp. 152, et sqq.] [x] [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxix. p. 105.]
[y] [See above, pp. 168, et sqq.]

religion. He made his will before he left Strasburgh: but the codicil to that will he added, February 22, a few days before his death[z]. Wherein he left to his wife to take the advice of Mr. Bradford[a], and the minister of All-hallows, for ordering of his burial, and constituted two
249 eminent men of that university his executors, namely, Dr. Matthew Parker, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Walter Haddon, after master of requests to queen Elizabeth: and both of them adorned his funeral, the one with an English sermon before the university, and the other with a Latin oration, being university orator: both which are extant in print. He died but poor; and seemed to be in some want of necessaries in his last sickness: for there is a short letter, in a scrawling hand, which I have seen, wrote by him to the aforesaid Parker, then master of Benet college, and his great friend, to lend him ten crowns; which because it was the last letter, I believe, he ever wrote, and but short, I shall here insert.

[z] [The original will was made at Strasburgh Jan. 23, 1548, and the codicil added at Cambridge Feb. 22, 1551.—C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxix. p. 69.]

[a] [i. e. "John Bradford, who was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and there tutor to archbishop Whitgift: he was ordained priest by bishop Ridley, and became his chaplain, and prebendary of St. Paul's; he was also appointed one of Edward VIth's chaplains for itinerant preaching, but was omitted when the number was reduced to four. He was deprived and imprisoned in the reign of queen Mary, and occupied the same apartment with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with whom he studied the New Testament: having been excommunicated and condemned, he was burnt in Smithfield, July, A. D. 1555."—See Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 10, 421. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Whitgift, vol. i. p. 8. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 383, 384, 403, 522, 524. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 77, 166, 331. ed. Oxon. 1822. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1603 et sqq. ed. Lond. 1583. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vi. pp. 11, 106. ed. Lond. 1840, 41.]

"S. D. Oro D. T. Clarissime D. Doctor, ut des mihi X coronatos mutuo, uno tantum mense. Reddam bona fide. Opt. vale.

D. T. deditiss. in Dno.

Martinus Bucerus manu perægre propria."

Under which is writ by Dr. Parker, out of the honour he had for his memory, "Scriptum novissimum omnium quod scripsit D. Bucerus, paulo ante mortem ejus[b]."

The university wrote up concerning his death.

Bucer's friends, after they had taken care for giving him an honourable funeral, consulted the supply of his widow, Wibrand Bucerin, that she might be well gratified, and presented with some gratuities, that might shew the respect the nation had for her learned husband. So the university wrote a letter to the king and council concerning Bucer's death, and their respectful interment of him, with the signification of their desire, that his majesty would send them another able professor in his room[c]. With this university-letter, Dr. Parker wrote another to sir John Cheke; entreating him to present their letter, and that he would particularly speak to the council, and to the archbishop of Canterbury, to remember the widow. Sir John Cheke, March 9, wrote a letter in answer to Dr. Parker's[d]; which I have placed in the Appendix. He therein lamented the loss of this man: commended him for his depth of knowledge, earnestness in religion, fatherliness in life, and authority in knowledge. He added, that the king would provide some grave learned man to maintain God's true learning in that university; though he thought in all points they would not meet with Bucer's like. He desired Parker, that all Bucer's books and writings might be sent up and saved for the king's majesty,

Number LIX.

[b] [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxix. p. 68.] [c] [Id. No. cvi. p. 461.]
[d] [Id. No. cxix. p. 79.]

except Mrs. Bucer might turn them to better account some other way[e].

[e] [The following letter was also addressed by abp. Cranmer to Bucer's widow, in answer to one from her to him dated April 20, 1552, for a translation of which, see Orig. Letters of Engl. Reformat. pp. 363, 4. Park. Soc. ed. —"S. P. Benevolentia singularis qua virum tuum cum adhuc viveret sum prosecutus, post mortem ejus nequaquam est imminuta. Siquidem egregia ejus pietas et insignis doctrina non momentaneos, verum æternos, fructus ecclesiæ attulit; quibus non tantum omnes pios, verum et me omnium maxime in perpetuam sibi devinxit. Quare a scribendo ad me ne ulla ratione patiaris te deterreri, si quid erit quod tibi aut rebus tuis adjumento esse possim. Nam literis tuis excitatus, et amici carissimi jucundam memoriam non absque voluptate mecum repetam, et tibi ejus viduæ propenso animo illa caritatis officia præstabo, quæ verbum Dei suadet impendenda, et pietati tuæ pro re nata exhibenda fuerint. Atque de eo quod mihi nuper significasti negotiis tuis expediendis opus esse, ut aliquo scripto certum ac testatum fieret, summam illam centum marcarum quam dono accepisti a majestate regia, cum hinc discederes, ad te ipsam proprie ac singulariter pertinere, literas ad tutores* liberorum Buceri dedi;

* [i. e. Conrad Hubert, Quinter Andernach, and Huldric Chelius, to whom the following letter was also addressed by Cranmer. "S. P. Quum nuper intellexerim ex literis quas vidua D. Buceri piæ memoriæ huc scripserat, ad facultates viri ejus jam defuncti partienda inter liberos, opus esse certa notitia seu fide quoad summam pecuniæ centum marcarum quæ donata est a regia majestate an ad viduam pertineat an ad liberos; ideo ut res liquida fiat, et ambiguitas prorsus tollatur, affirmo ac testor summam illam centum marcarum a serenissimo rege nostro post obitum D. Buceri viduæ peculiariter fuisse donatam, ut ad ipsam proprie pertineret: ut ex literis quas Domini consiliarii ad quæstorem scripserunt manifeste liquet, quarum exemplar ad viduam D. Buceri misi. Deus Spiritu Sancto suo vos gubernet, et successum in laboribus vocationis vestræ vobis donet!

Valete. Lambethi xx^mo Aprilis, 1552.

Vester ex animo,
T. Cantuarien.

Viris eruditione et pietate præstantibus D. Conrado Huberto, verbi Dei ministro, D. Quintero Andernaco, et D. Hulrico Chelio, medicinæ doctoribus, et ceteris tutoribus liberorum D. Buceri, dentur hæ literæ."]

These books and papers were apprized at one hundred pounds. But she received but fourscore pounds of those that bought them. Which she desired Parker and Haddon, the executors here in England, to testify under their hands; that she might shew it to vindicate her truth and honesty, not to have wronged the heirs. The library was divided into three parts. The king had the manuscripts, which was one part; the duchess [of Somerset, I suppose,] had the greater part of the books, and the archbishop of Canterbury had the remainder; for which he, for his share, paid her forty pounds. The university gave her an hundred crowns: the king an hundred marks more, 250 besides her husband's half year's pension, though he died before Lady-day, when it came due. He also allowed for such reasonable repairs as Bucer had bestowed about the house wherein he lived. And, March 31, 1551, she had a passage by sea granted her with eight persons in her company. She returned unto Strasburgh, whither she retired, by Mr. Richard Hills, merchant, the sum of two hundred twenty-six pounds two shillings. From Strasburgh, in February the next year, she wrote a letter to

Bucer's library.

His widow retires to Germany.

ex quibus apertis cognoscere poterunt, quænam fuerit ea de re serenissimi regis nostri voluntas. Mitto ad te exemplar literarum a dominis consiliariis ad D. Joannem Hales quæstorem regiæ majestatis, (qui nunc opinor est Argentorati), aut eo absente ad ejus vicarium, Anglice scriptarum, quæ clare testantur tibi a regia majestate centum marcas dono datas, idque post obitum mariti tui, quod literæ illæ ultimo Martii fuerunt scriptæ, quum maritus tuus præcipitato Februario ex hac vita decesserit. Deus qui fons est et pater universæ consolationis te consolari dignetur, et in utroque nomine cum tota familia servet!—Vale.

Lambeti xx^mo Aprilis, a^o 1552.

Tuus quantum potest,

T. Cantuarien."—

The letter of Matthew Parker and Walter Haddon to the guardians of Bucer's children, dated at Cambridge, 1551, with their account of his property, may be seen in Orig. Letters of the Engl. Reformat. pp. 361, 2. Park. Soc. ed.]

the executors, wherein she acknowledged their kindness to her, praying God for them, in respect of their singular humanity and benefits which they had shewed to her husband and herself, and especially when he was dead. "Miseram me," said she in that letter, "omnique solatio destitutam non deseruistis, sed in vestram me tutelam benigne suscepistis; omnia denique Christianæ charitatis officia demonstratis[f]." Bucer left a son named Nathaniel, and a daughter named Elizabeth, behind him, at Strasburgh, when he came into England: which, I suppose, were all the children he left surviving him, whom he had by a former wife that died of the plague there. By her he had many more, but they died before him.

The correspondence between him and Martyr. MSS. C.C.C.C.

As long as Bucer lived, there was a dear correspondence between him and P. Martyr, while they were the one at Cambridge, and the other at Oxford. In the private library at Benet college there be still remaining divers letters from Martyr to him: one whereof was writ upon occasion of Bucer's communicating to him his judgment of the habits; which he had composed for the use of Hoper[g]. Which letter began thus:

"S. P. Perlegi, Vir Dei, quæ de vestium discrimine docte pieque scripsisti, ac ex illis non mediocrem voluptatem cepi, tum quia vera quæ prædicas intelligebam, tum quod per omnia consentiebant cum his, quæ ego Londinum ad Hopperum ipsum, pridie ejus diei, qua tuæ mihi redderentur miseram." So that hence it appears they were both unanimous for wearing of the habits enjoined; and so had given their judgments to Hoper. In the same letter he answered a case put to him by Bucer, "Quamdiu fidem in Christo generalem, confusam aut implicitam satisfuisse ad hominum salutem." And the resolution of this

[f] [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxix. p. 81.] [g] [Id. ibid. p. 105.]

question being the chief matter of this letter, archbishop Parker, (into whose hands it fell), entitled it thus,

"Quamdiu fides implicita licuerit."

And on the margin of the same letter, where he entered upon another argument, is written by the same hand,

"De concordi confessione in re sacramentaria."

For à Lasco had lately wrote to Martyr his desire, that some confession about the sacrament might be drawn up; to which he and Bucer, and Bernardine, and Martyr, might set their hands, to testify the foreign protestants' consent. Another letter, wrote by Martyr to Bucer, bore this title, set to it by the same hand with the former,

"Quibus artibus instituerint disputationem theologicam in comitiis Oxoniensibus."

And on the side of this letter,

"Gaudet disputationem non esse factam, et astutia papistica in disputatione."

In a third letter he gave Bucer advice, "that he should 251
not engage in any disputation with the vain-glorious papists."

There is yet a fourth letter, wherein Martyr communicated to him how he had been employed by the archbishop of Canterbury in taking into examination the English book of Common Prayer, with his judgment thereon. This letter hath this title put to it by Parker,

"Censura libri communium precum."

A plot of the papists at Oxon against Martyr, at an Act.

The contents of the second and fourth letter, having some things very remarkable for the illustration of our history, I shall here set down more largely. In the former, having congratulated Bucer's coming off so well in his disputation with Young, the papist, he took notice of the unfair ways the papists used in their disputes: and then proceeded to tell what happened to himself the last Act at Oxford this year, by a party there, that did what

they could to affront him, and the evangelical truth, which he taught. Certain that then went out bachelors of divinity made this combination among themselves. One of them they set up to be respondent. The opponents, who were of the same strain, and the question to be disputed, they suppressed, and kept under great silence; on purpose that Peter Martyr, the king's professor, should not know: and when some had urged to them, that it belonged to the professor to know the question, they answered, that it did not; and that it was enough for them to know it that were to dispute on it. The day before the disputation was to be undertaken, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they set up the question upon the church-doors: and then it appeared to be in behalf of transubstantiation. And, to exclude the professor, they chose to themselves a great papist, Dr. Chedsey, for their father. And here the opponents were to have taken and managed all Martyr's arguments; and the respondent was to have assoiled them as he thought good. And then the opponents were to acknowledge, they were satisfied with the answers given thereunto. And their father, who was to occupy the professor's place, was by a speech highly to approve and applaud all that had been done. And things were so to be ordered that day, that the professor should not have any opportunity of speaking. For these disputations were to have been performed but a little before night, after the civilians had finished their parts; which used to be the last exercises. Or if, after this divinity-disputation were done, the professor had been minded to say any thing, he must do it when it was night, and when the tired auditors would be all going home: and then these disputants and their party were every where to cry "victory," and carry away the glory. There was now observed a greater confluence of people at this Act than could have been be-

lieved: for they had sent about their letters to invite such hither as were for their own turn: and all to increase the triumph. Among the rest there were present the chaplains of Winchester and Durham. But all this elaborate and fine-spun plot was by a providence broken on a sudden; the vice-chancellor, whether he feared any riot, or for what other cause, it was uncertain, forbidding the 252
divinity-disputations that day, without the privity of the professor.

Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book.

The matter of Martyr's other letter, wrote to Bucer in January, (as the former was in September before), related to the book of Common Prayer. For the correction of which the archbishop, the bishop of Ely[g], and the other bishops were, by the king's command, met together in consultation. And that this work might be the more effectually performed, the archbishop thought good to have the judgment herein of both the public professors, Bucer and Martyr. Accordingly Bucer wrote his "Censure," and Martyr his "Annotations," as was said before[h]: a Pag. 210.
copy of which "Censure" Bucer had communicated to Martyr, who in this letter declared his consent and approbation thereunto. As to his own annotations, Cheke's Latin version, which he used, was so brief and defective, that for that reason many things were omitted by him, which he would have noted, had he seen the book complete. But after he had sent in those his annotations to the archbishop, who earnestly required them, he saw Bucer's "Censure," whereby he perceived divers other things called for correction, than he had taken notice of. So he reduced whatsoever was wanting in his annotations into certain brief articles, and acquainted the archbishop therewith; and that in them all he did freely agree with Bucer, that it were fit they should be altered. But Martyr's an-

[g] [Thomas Goodrich.] [h] [See above, p. 200—204.]

notations did fully accord with Bucer's animadversions, though they were at a distance, and consulted not at all with one another before they wrote their judgments. But one thing was passed over by Bucer, which Martyr wondered at: it was in the office for the communion of the sick. Where it was ordered, "That if this private communion happened to be on the same Sunday when there should be a public one, then the priest was to take along with him some of the consecrated elements, and with them to administer the sacrament in the house of the sick[i]. Wherein this offended Martyr," as he said, "that the office that belonged to the communion should not be repeated before the sick man, and the rest that communicated with him, since the words of the supper do rather belong to the men, than to the bread and wine. And his advice was, that all that was necessarily required to the Lord's supper should be said and done whensoever it was privately, as well as publicly, celebrated." He subscribed to Bucer's "Censure" in every thing; and he thanked God, that had administered an occasion, that the bishops should by them be admonished of those matters. So that it was concluded by the bishops, at their conference about the communion-book, that much should be changed therein, as the archbishop told Martyr, then at his house: and if they would not do it, the king was resolved to do it by himself and his parliament, without them. In this letter he speaks something concerning Hoper, whose behaviour he disliked; and concerning Dr. Smith, who had lately written against the archbishop's book of the sacrament, and against himself concerning monastic vows. Both these letters, as well worthy the sight and perusal of the reader, I have reposited in the Appendix.

No. LX. LXI.

253 Thus this reverend and learned foreigner, after many

[i] [See Liturgies of Edward VI., p. 141. Park. Soc. ed.]

great difficulties passed through for the cause of religion, flying from one place to another, came at last to a natural death and a quiet end in this land. For his fame and wisdom he was called by the electors Palatine and of Brandenburgh, with the emperor's permission, to temper the emperor's rescript about religion, which was to be published, that so it might please both parties. But he thought he could not do it with any honesty; and, rather than meddle with it, he fled to Strasburgh with his wife and children: hereby he fell under the displeasure of those princes, as well as before he had done under that of the emperor for the reformation of Cologne; the envy of which Melancthon escaped, but it fell on poor Bucer. Being at Strasburgh, he also contracted much ill-will by means of the anabaptists and others, whom he opposed, and who, by their pretended sanctimony, had a great party there. His friends apprehended him on these accounts in great danger; but he thought of no removal to any other place, patron, or church, trusting himself in God's hands, till Sturmius[j] and some others advised him by all means to depart into England. Which he at length yielding to, the said Sturmius admonished him, for his safer travel, to take a more uncommon way, through Lorraine and Rheims, and some other parts of France, to Calais, and there to cross over the sea. Which he did, and was very hospitably here entertained, as was said before. Bucer's great dangers.

Bishops Consecrated.

June 29, John Ponet, or Poynet, D.D. chaplain to the archbishop, was consecrated bishop of Rochester at Lam- Ponet.

[j] [i. e. John Sturmius, whose learning acquired him the name of the "German Cicero," was born A. D. 1507 at Sleidan, near Cologne. In 1537 he formed an academy at Strasburgh, which the emperor Maximilian II. raised to an university in 1566, of which Sturmius became the first rector; he died A.D. 1589.]

beth chapel by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Nicolas, bishop of London, and Arthur, bishop of Bangor. This consecration was performed with all the usual ceremonies and habits, probably for this reason, to give as little occasion of offence to papists as might be, and to keep close to the old usages, avoiding superstition: therefore it was set down in the register at large in what formalities all was now done. The archbishop is described,

Cranm. Regist. [fol. 330. b. 331.] "Usitatis insigniis redemitus, et uno epitogio, sive capa— indutus, oratorium suum prædictum honeste et decenter ornatum ingressus," &c. "Having on his mitre and cope, usual in such cases, went into his chapel, handsomely and decently adorned, to celebrate the Lord's supper according to the custom, and by prescript of the book, intituled, 'The Book of Common Service.' Before the people there assembled, the holy suffrages first began, and were publicly recited, and the Epistle and Gospel read in the vulgar tongue, Nicolas, bishop of London[j], and Arthur, bishop of Bangor[k], assisting; and having their surplices and copes on, and their pastoral staves in their hands, led Dr. John Ponet, endued with the like habits, in the middle of them, unto the most reverend father, and presented him unto him, sitting in a decent chair, and used these words; 'Most reverend father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned man to be consecrated bishop.' The bishop elect forthwith produced the king's letters patents before the archbishop: which, by command of

254 the said archbishop, being read by Dr. Glyn[l], the said Ponet took the oath of renouncing the bishop of Rome, and then the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop. These things being thus dispatched, the archbishop exhorted the people to prayer and supplication to

[j] [Nicholas Ridley.] [k] [Arthur Bulkeley.] [l] [See p. 170. n. [1].]

the Most High, according to the order prescribed in the Book of Ordination, set forth in the month of March, 1549. According to which order he was elected and consecrated, and endued with the episcopal ornaments, the bishop of London first having read the third chapter of the first Epistle of Paul to Timothy, in manner of a sermon. These things being done, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper celebrated upon a table, covered with a white linen cloth by the archbishop and the two assisting bishops, the same archbishop decreed to write to the archdeacon of Canterbury[m] for the investiture, installation, and inthronization of the said bishop of Rochester, as it was customary. Present, Anthony Huse, principal register of the archbishop; Peter Lilly, John Lewis, John Incent, public notaries; and many others, as well clerks as laics."

March 8, John Hoper was consecrated bishop of Glocester, just after the same manner, by the archbishop; Nicolas, bishop of London, and John, bishop of Rochester, assisting, clothed, (say the words of the register), in linen surplices and copes, and John, elect of Glocester in the like habit. Hoper. [Cranm. Reg. fol. 332.]

[m] [Edmund Cranmer, who was collated to the archdeaconry of Canterbury March 9, 1553, and was deprived in 1554. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 13.]

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ARCHBISHOP PUBLISHETH HIS BOOK AGAINST GARDINER.

Ann. 1551. This year our archbishop published his elaborate book of the sacrament, confuting the gross and carnal presence of Christ there, in vindication of a former book of his, wrote against by bishop Gardiner and Dr. Smith. For, to give the reader some distinct account of this matter, in the year 1550, Cranmer printed a book in English in quarto with this title; "A defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same: grounded and established upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the consent of the most ancient doctors of the church." The great reason that moved him to write this book was, that he might the more effectually purge the church of popery; esteeming transubstantiation, and the mass, to be the very roots of it. "The taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, and such-like popery, was," (as he wrote in his preface), "but the lopping off a few branches, which would soon spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, were pulled up. Therefore out of a sincere zeal to the honour of God, he would labour," he said, "in his vineyard, to cut down that tree of error root and branch[g]." By this book

Cranmer publisheth his book of the sacrament.

His first book.

[g] ["But what availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other like popery, so long as two chief roots remain unpulled up? whereof, so long as they remain, will spring again all former impediments of the Lord's harvest, and corruption of his flock. The rest is but branches and leaves, the cutting away whereof is but like topping and lopping of a tree, or cutting down of weeds, leaving the body standing, and the roots in the ground; but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the

very many were enlightened to perceive the errors of the popish doctrines of the sacrament. This treatise he divided into five books or points. I. Of the true and catho- 255
lic doctrine and use of the sacrament of the body and blood of [our Saviour] Christ. II. Against the error of transubstantiation. III. The manner how Christ is present in the sacrament[h]. IV. Of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of [our Saviour] Christ. V. Of the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ. In the third part he made mention of the bishop of Winchester[i], in these words: "As many of them [i. e. of the papist writers] as I have read," (the bishop of Winchester only excepted), do say, that Christ called not the bread his

weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar, (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions.

"These injuries to Christ be so intolerable, that no Christian heart can willingly bear them. Wherefore seeing that many have set to their hands and whetted their tools, to pluck up the weeds, and to cut down the tree of error, I, not knowing otherwise how to excuse myself at the last day, have in this book set to my hand and axe with the rest, to cut down this tree, and to pluck up the weeds and plants by the roots, which our heavenly Father never planted, but were grafted and sown in his vineyard by his adversary the devil, and antichrist his minister. The Lord grant, that this my travail and labour in his vineyard be not in vain, but that it may prosper, and bring forth good fruits to his honour and glory. For when I see his vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth unto me, if I hold my peace, and put not to my hands and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard."—Preface to the Reader, prefixed to the orig. ed. of the "Defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament, 1550." Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 6. Park. Soc. ed. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 289.]

[h] ["In his supper."—Ed. 1550.]

[i] [Stephen Gardiner.]

body[j]." This bishop was much offended that he was named in the book, and pretended this to be one reason why he did write against it, to vindicate himself, as well as the papal church, hereby so dangerously struck at[k]. This book of Cranmer's was turned into Latin by John

[j] ["Now let the papists shew some authority for their opinion, either of Scripture, or of some ancient author. And let them not constrain all men to follow their fond devices, only because they say it is so, without any other ground or authority but their own bare words. For in such wise credit is to be given to God's word only, and not to the word of any man.

"As many of them as I have read, (the bishop of Winchester only excepted), do say, that Christ called not bread his body, nor wine his blood, when he said, 'This is my body, this is my blood.' And yet in expounding these words they vary among themselves; which is a token that they be uncertain of their own doctrine."—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 105. Park. Soc. ed. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 376.]

[k] ["Forasmuch as among other mine allegations for defence of myself in this matter, moved against me by occasion of my sermon made before the king's most excellent majesty, touching partly the catholic faith of the most precious sacrament of the altar, which I see now impugned, by a book set forth under the name of my lord of Canterbury's grace; I have thought expedient for the better opening of the matter, and considering I am by name touched in the said book, the rather to utter partly that I have to say by confutation of that book; wherein I think nevertheless not requisite to direct any speech by special name to the person of him that is entitled author, because it may possibly be that his name is abused, wherewith to set forth the matter, being himself of such dignity and authority in the commonwealth, as for that respect should be inviolable. For which consideration, I shall in my speech of such reproof as the untruth of the matter necessarily requireth, omitting the special title of the author of the book, speak only of the author in general, being a thing to me greatly to be marvelled at, that such matter should now be published out of my lord of Canterbury's pen; but because he is a man, I will not wonder, and because he is such a man, I will reverently use him, and forbearing further to name him, talk only of the author by that general name."—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 10. Park. Soc. ed. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iii. pp. 34, 35.]

Young[l]; who complied afterwards with the old religion under queen Mary, and was master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

Wrote against by Gardiner and Smith.

At this book the defenders of popery were so nettled, that, in the same year 1550, Winchester then in the Tower, and fickle Dr. Smith then at Louvain, printed answers[m]. Of Smith's book I shall only note by the way, that, March 8, 1550, there was an order of council to examine the bringer over of his book against Cranmer[n]: such a countenance did the state give to the archbishop and his book. Gardiner's book made the greatest noise: which was printed in France, and intituled, "An explication and assertion of the true catholic faith touching the most blessed sacrament of the altar, with the confutation of a book written against the same[o]." In the beginning of his book he wrote, "that his sermon before the king, [on St. Peter's day], touching the sacrament of the altar, gave occasion to the archbishop's book against it; and that he was called before the king's commissioners at Lambeth for his catholic faith in the sacrament[p]."

[l] [See vol. i. pp. 151, 152, and above, p. 170. n. [m]; see also Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Defensio veræ et cath. doct. &c. p. 2, note.]

[m] [The title of Smith's book was, "A Confutation of the true and catholic doctrine."]

[n] ["At Westminster the 8th day of March, an°. 1550.—Upon knowledge that one Sethe had brought over certain evil books made by Dr. Smith in France against the bishop of Canterbury and Peter Martyr's book; forasmuch as he directed his said books to divers persons by name, and also sent special letters, which Sethe delivered. Being thought a matter necessary to be examined, it was resolved that Dr. Poynet now named bishop of Winchester, Mr. Gosnall, and John Throgmorton should have the examination of the same matter." MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 240. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 157.]

[o] ["Made by Stephen, bishop of Winchester,—and exhibited by his own hand for his defence to the king's majesty's commissioners at Lambeth."]

[p] [See above, p. 314. n. [k].]

Whereas indeed this was not the cause of his troubles; nor had some former copies of his book these words: but, after the commission was issued forth against him, to make his cause appear the more specious, as if it were the cause of the church, he thought fit to make an alteration in the beginning of his book in the manner abovesaid: and, to carry on the scene, he in open court offered his book before the king's commissioners.

Vindicated in another book by the archbishop.

To this book of Gardiner's our archbishop studied and composed an answer; holding himself bound, for the vindication of the evangelical truth, as well as of his own writing, and for the satisfaction of the people, not to suffer it to lie untaken notice of. When it was known the archbishop was preparing an answer against Gardiner, the people were in very great expectation, and conceived an earnest desire to see and read it: having therefore dispatched his copy, and sent it to Rainold Wolf, his printer, it was printed off in the month of September 1551. But there was some stop put to the publishing of it, occasioned by a proclamation issued out from the king; whereby, for some political ends, both the printing and selling of English books, without the allowance of the king's majesty, or six of his privy-council, was forbidden [p]. The archbishop, being desirous that his book might come abroad the next term, for the contentation of many who
256 had long expected the same, sent to secretary Cecyl and sir John Cheke to procure, either from the king or council, a license to the said Wolf for printing and selling his book; which was obtained, and the book published accordingly. This letter of the archbishop's, dated Sept.
No. LXII. 29, I have thought not amiss to reposit in the Appendix. October 1, a license was granted to Wolf to publish the

[p] [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 1, 2. where it is "four of the king's most honorable privy-council."]

book, under the king's privilege, the court then being at Hampton-court, and the archbishop himself present[q]. The title this second book of the archbishop's bore was, "An answer by the reverend father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, doctor of law, late bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ. Wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such places of the book of Dr. Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also a true copy of the book written, and in open court delivered, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or diminished, but faithfully in all points agreeing with the original." This book of archbishop Cranmer's was printed again at London, 1580, with his life, and some other things[r].

The method of the archbishop's reply.

His reply to Gardiner was in the most fair and candid method that could be devised: for he first set down his own treatise, piece by piece; then Gardiner's reply there-

[q] ["At Hampton-court the 1st of October, an°. 1551.—A letter to Raynard Wolfe, printer, licensing him to publish and set to sale under the king's majesty's privilege, the book lately by him imprinted and set out by the archbishop of Canterbury against Dr. Gardiner's book." MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 401. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 203, b.]

[r] [i. e. by John Day, A. D. 1580; "revised and corrected by the said archbishop at Oxford before his martyrdom; wherein he hath beautified Gardiner's doings, with as much diligence as might be, by applying notes in the margin, and marks to the doctor's sayings, which before wanted in the first impression. Hereunto is prefixed the discourse of the said archbishop's life and martyrdom, briefly collected out of his history of the Acts and Monuments, and in the end is added certain notes, wherein Gardiner varied both from himself and other papists, gathered by the said archbishop."]

unto, word for word, leaving not one paragraph without a full answer. His reply to Smith was only of some things most worthy to be taken notice of, the rest of Smith's book being mere trifles. This reply to Smith he inserted in the body of his answer to Gardiner, as occasion served: only at the end he made a particular reply to Smith's preface [s].

The judgments made of this book. In Antiq. Brit.

It seemed to be a very complete exercitation upon that subject. The book was stored with so great learning and plenty of arguments, "Ut ea controversia," saith one of his successors [t], "a nemine unquam contra pontificios accuratius tractata esse videatur;" "That no one controversy was by any ever handled against the papists more accurately." It may not be amiss to mention here the opinion that Cranmer himself had of his book, in that famous and renowned confession he made of his faith in St. Mary's church, Oxon, immediately before he was led away to his burning. Where he expressed his full approbation and great confidence of the doctrine contained therein: saying, "that as for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. The which book," he said, "taught so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it should stand at the last

Foxe's Acts.

[s] [See Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 368–379. Park. Soc. ed.]

[t] ["Cranmerus domi otium omne suum sacris literis impartivit, scripsitque, contra pontificiorum sententiam illam crassam atque carnalem in sanctæ cœnæ sacramento Christi præsentiam affirmantium, tanta doctrina et argumentorum copia refertum librum, ut ea controversia a nemine unquam contra pontificios accuratius tractata esse videatur. Contra hunc librum Stephanus Gardinerus, Wintoniensis episcopus, Turri Londiniensi inclusus, furtim et prolixe in eo libro invectus est, quem Marcum Constantium nominavit. Atque hunc rursus Cranmero postea mortuo Petrus Martyr docte refellit et refutavit."—Parker. de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. in Cranmer. p. 400. ed. 1572.]

day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, should be ashamed to shew her face[u]." The papists spake as much against this book, being much galled by it. Dr. Tresham, in his disputation with Latimer, said, "there were six hundred errors in the book." Weston, thinking to invalidate the book by the pretended novelty of the doctrine, asked the same father, "how long he had been of that opinion?" He said, "not past seven years;" that is, about the year 1547; "and that archbishop Cranmer's book confirmed his judgment therein:" and added, "that if he could but remember all therein contained, he would not fear to answer any man in this matter[w]."

257 The archbishop had acknowledged to the queen's commissioners at Oxford, that Ridley had first begun to enlighten him as to the true notion of the presence, as he had maintained it in his book[x]. Hereupon one of them took occasion to try to baffle the true doctrine, by making the whole stress of it to depend upon the authority of single Ridley. Latimer, said he, leaned upon Cranmer, and Cranmer leaned upon Ridley[y]. Whereas the truth

How the archbishop came off from the opinion of the corporal presence.

[u] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1887. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[w] [Id. p. 1456. See also vol. i. p. 152. n. [k].]

[x] ["I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now; and so I did, until my lord of London, doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors drew me quite from my opinion." (Exam. before Brokes, bishop of Gloucester.) Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1877. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[y] ["Gloucester*.—If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one

* [i. e. James Brokes, S.T.P., who was consecrated bishop of Gloucester, after the deprivation and martyrdom of Hooper, April 1, 1554. See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 101.]

of this was no more, but that Ridley, reading Bertram's book of the body and blood of Christ[z], was sharpened to examine the old opinion more accurately, of the presence of Christ's flesh and blood; and looking into ecclesiastical authors, he found it greatly controverted in the ninth century, and learnedly writ against: which made him begin to conclude it none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but more lately brought into it. These his thoughts he communicated to archbishop Cranmer, which was about the year 1546: whereupon they both set to examine it with more than ordinary care: and all the arguments that Cranmer gathered about it he digested into his book[a]. Nor was the good archbishop ashamed

religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also." (Last Exam. of Ridley before the commissioners.) Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1765.]

[z] ["The celebrated work of Bertramus, or Ratramnus, 'de corpore et sanguine Domini,' is here alluded to. An English translation by William Hugh had shortly before this time, viz. in 1548, been printed, under the title of 'a book of Bertram the priest.' It is supposed that Ridley met with it in the year 1545 or 1546."—Ridley's Works, p. 159. n. 3. Park. Soc. ed.]

[a] ["Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favoring of Christ, and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear, that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with bishop Cranmer and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirm in that behalf." Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1718. ed. Lond. 1583.—"During all this mean time of king Henry aforesaid, until the entering of king Edward, it seemeth that Cranmer was scarcely yet throughly persuaded in the right knowledge of the sacrament, or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same: wherein shortly after he being more groundly confirmed by conference with bishop Ridley, in process of time did so profit in

to make a public acknowledgment in print of this, as well as of his other popish errors, in his answer to Smith's Preface, who, it seems, had charged him with inconstancy. "This I confess of myself, that, not long before I wrote the said catechism, I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in many other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, of purgatory, &c. being brought up from my youth in them. For the which, and other the offences of my youth, I do daily pray unto God for pardon and mercy. After it pleased God to shew me, by his holy word, a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, I put away my former ignorance. As God gave me light, so through his grace I opened my eyes to receive it. And I trust in God's mercy for pardon of my former errors[i]." I set this

more riper knowledge that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is to refute, and throw down, first, the corporal presence; secondly, the fantastical transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men do eat the natural body of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five books for the instruction of the church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth, and is received in this church of England." Id. p. 1870.]

[i] ["But this I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said catechism, I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors: as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome; being brought up from youth in them, and nousled therein for lack of good instruction from my youth, the outrageous floods of papistical errors at that time overflowing the world. For the which, and other mine offences in youth, I do daily pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying, 'delicta juventutis meæ et ignorantias meas ne memineris, Domine.' 'Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.' But after it had pleased God to shew to me, by his holy

down the more at large, to shew the great ingenuity as well as piety of this good man.

The archbishop's great skill in this controversy.

Peter Martyr, in the year following this, printed a book of the sacrament, which was the sum of what he had read before upon that point in the university of Oxford; which book he dedicated to his patron, the archbishop of Canterbury: and, giving the reason why he made the dedication to him, said, "That he knew certainly that Cranmer had so great skill in this controversy, as one could hardly find in any one besides. That there was none of the Fathers which he had not diligently noted; no ancient or modern book extant, that he [Martyr] had not with his own eyes seen noted by the archbishop's hand. Whatsoever belonged to the whole controversy, he said that the archbishop had digested into particular chapters; councils, canons, popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto: and that with so great labour, that, unless he had been an eye-witness of it and seen it, he could not easily have believed others, if they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence, and exactness, wherewith the archbishop had done it." He added, "that the archbishop had not bestowed such kind of pains and study in the matter of the
258 sacrament only, but that he had done the same thing as

word, a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened my eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God, and remain in darkness. And I trust in God's mercy and pardon for my former errors, because I erred but of frailness and ignorance. And now I may say of myself, as St. Paul said: 'When I was like a babe or child in the knowledge of Christ, I spake like a child, and understood like a child; but now that I come to man's estate, and growing in Christ, through his grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness.'" — Answer to Smith's Preface, Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 374. Park. Soc. ed.]

to all other doctrines, in effect, which in that age were especially under controversy. And this, that learned man said, he had made good observation of. Nor," as he went on, "that he wanted skill, a method, and industry in defending what he held. Which might," he said, "be known by this, because he had so often conflicted with his adversaries, both publicly and privately, and by a marvellous strength of learning, quickness of wit, and dexterity of management, had asserted what he held to be true, from the thorny and intricate cavils of sophisters; [glancing at his controversies with Winchester, who was commonly then called the sophister;] and that he wanted not a will, yea, a mind ready to defend sound and Christian doctrines. That all men did sufficiently understand, who saw him burn with so great an endeavour of restoring religion, that for this cause only he had great and heavy enemies, and neglected many commodities of this life, and underwent horrible dangers[j]." The great and intimate

[j] ["At controversiæ hujus tantam peritiam habere tuam celsitudinem, certe scio, quantam in ullo alio difficile quis reperiat. Nullus profecto est ex patribus, quem non diligentissime observaris. Neque veterum aut recentiorum libri ulli extant, in quibus ego hisce oculis non viderim tua ipsius manu adnotatum, quicquid ad universam hanc disputationem pertinet. Concilia, canones, pontificum decreta, quæ huc spectant, ipse tanto labore, quo ad hanc tractationem, in præcipua capita digessisti, ut hæc nisi testis oculatus deprehendissem, nunquam aliis narrantibus facile fuissem crediturus. Neque hujus generis operam, studium, laboremque, solum in hoc eucharistico negotio impendisti, verum idem quoque abs te factum observavi, quo ad omnia fere alia dogmata, quæ nostra hac ætate maxime sunt in controversia.—Ars etiam, ratio, et industria tuendi quæ amplecteris, nequaquam tuam celsitudinem deficit. Quod inde possumus edoceri, quia sæpius cum adversariis et publice et privatim es conflictatus, et mira ut doctrinæ, ingenii acrimonia, et agendi dexteritate, quæ vera esse cognoveras, a sophistarum spinosis et intricatis cavillis, asseruisti. Quam vero non desit voluntas, imo præsentissimum animum habeas ad

converse that P. Martyr had with Cranmer, gave him opportunity to know him very well: and therefore I have chosen to set down this character that he gave of him, and particularly of his ability in this controversy of the eucharist.

P. Martyr enlightened by Cranmer.

And I am apt to think that the careful perusal of these authorities, collected by the archbishop, and his conversation with this learned prelate, being much with him at Lambeth, was a cause of bringing Martyr to the true doctrine: for, at his first coming to Oxon, he was a papist, or a Lutheran, as to the belief of the presence. And so Foxe'sActs. Feckenham[k], dean of St. Paul's, told Bartlet Green at his

tuenda sana et Christiana dogmata, omnes pii satis intelligunt, qui tanto studio religionis instaurandæ te flagrare viderunt, ut hac una de causa gravissimas inimicitias susceperis, multa commoda hujus vitæ neglexeris, et horribilia pericula subieris." — Epist. nuncup. R. D. T. Cranmero. Tractat. de sacrament. ed. Lond. 1549.]

[k] ["Feck.—At last Fecknam* demanded of him, how long he had been of his opinion: 'for master Greene,' said he, 'you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house; and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine.' Greene.—And Greene confessed the same. Feck. —Then again he said, that Greene told him, that the said Peter Martyr was a papist in his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine that he professed was, which was grounded upon one man, and that upon so unconstant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith. Greene.—Greene said that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did believe so because Martyr believed the same, but because that he had heard the Scriptures, and the doctors of the church truly and wholesomly expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said master Peter say often, that he had not as yet, while he was a papist, read

* [See above, p. 123. n. b.]

examination; and that Martyr, perceiving the king's council, as he uncharitably suggested, to be of another opinion, he, to please them, forsook the true catholic faith. But Mr. Green, who had been a hearer of him at Oxon, replied, that he had heard Martyr say, "That he had not, while he was a papist, read St. Chrysostom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to them, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate

Chrysostome upon the 10th to the (1) Corinthians, nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture: 'which thing,' said Greene, 'if you, my lord, would do, I do not doubt but God would open your eyes, and shew you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true, that saith, 'ask, and it shall be given to you; knock, and it shall be opened unto you,'" &c.—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1854. ed. Lond. 1583. "'Peter Martyr,' saith he, 'at his first coming to Oxford, when he was but a Lutheran in this matter, taught as Dr. Smith now doth. But when he came once to the court, and saw that doctrine misliked them that might do him hurt in his living, he anon after turned his tippet, and sang another song.' Of M. Peter Martyr's opinion and judgment in this matter, no man can better testify than I; forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford, and I had with him many conferences in that matter, and know that he was then of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended after openly in Oxford, and hath written in his book. And if Dr. Smith understood him otherwise in his lectures at the beginning, it was for lack of knowledge, for that then Dr. Smith understood not the matter, nor yet doth not, as it appeareth by this foolish and unlearned book, which he hath now set out: no more than he understood my book of the catechism, and therefore reporteth untruly of me, that I in that book did set forth the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament."—Answer to Smith's Preface, Works of abp. Cranmer, pp. 373, 4. Park. Soc. ed. See also Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 190, 1. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

him, and bring him to the true understanding of Scripture."

Foxe's conjecture of the archbishop.

As to the authorities the archbishop allegeth in his book, it was the conjecture of John Foxe, that he made use of Frith's book, which he wrote of the sacrament against More, divers years before; and that from the said author the archbishop seemed to have collected the testimonies of the doctors, which he produced in his apology against the bishop of Winchester: and that he gathered the principal and chiefest helps thence, that he leaned to[l]. But although he might peruse Frith, as he did almost all other authors that wrote of this controversy, yet he was too well versed in the ecclesiastical writers, that he needed to go a borrowing to the readings of any others, for sentences and allegations out of them.

A second book of Gardiner against the archbishop.

Cranmer lived to see his book replied again unto by his adversary Gardiner, in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a divine of Louvain. His 259 book went under this title, "Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum eucharistiæ sacramentum ab impiis Capharnaitis impeti solet." Printed at Paris, 1552[m]. In this book he spared the name of the archbishop, but

[l] ["And as it were a great labor, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his (Frith's) reasons and arguments, or the testimonies, which he had gathered out of the doctors: specially forsomuch as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, in his apology against the bishop of Winchester, seemeth to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any author of that doctrine, than unto this aforesaid Frith." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1033. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[m] [This book was not published at Paris but at Louvain; there were two editions also of it, the first issued A. D. 1552, and the second 1554. See Watts' Bibliothec. Brit. (Authors) vol. i. col. 400 v. ed. Edinb. 1824.]

reduceth all the archbishop's book into no less than two hundred and fifty-five objections: to each of which, one by one, the catholic is brought in making answer. Next, whereas Cranmer had laid down twelve rules for the finding out the true sense of the Fathers in their writings, the catholic examines them, and enervates them. Then follows a confutation of the solutions, whereby the "sectary," as he is called, (that is, Cranmer), endeavoured to take off the arguments of the catholics. And, which is the fourth and last part of the book, he defends catholic men's sense of the allegations out of the Fathers against the sectaries. Gardiner, when he compiled this book, was in the Tower a prisoner; but yet he was under so easy restraint, that he was furnished there with workmen and amanuenses. "As they of old to the building of the tabernacle, so he to the preparing of his book, a kind of papistical tabernacle, [to use the words of Martyr,] all sorts contributed something. For his book was Pandora's box, to which all the lesser gods brought their presents. For every man, were his learning less or more, that had any arguments for the popish doctrine, brought them all to him, (many whereof were windy and trivial enough), and he out of the heap made his collections as he thought good[n]." But Watson and Smith were his chief assistants.

Preface to P. Martyr's book in defence of Cranmer.

[n] ["Taceo enim non ita me instructum fuisse ab opibus, ut tot operas, et amanuenses alere potuerim, quibus Gardinerus, etiam cum in carcere esset, ita abundavit, ut quemadmodum olim ad exædificandum tabernaculum, ita hic ad ornandum istum librum, ceu tabernaculum quoddam papistarum, omnes, quicunque tunc essent in illorum castris, etiam rustici, et tumultuarii milites, videantur aliquid contulisse. Est enim hæc, ne nescias lector, Pandoræ pyxis, in quam omnes etiam Minorum gentium dii sua munuscula congesserunt. Nam, ut olim, quemadmodum est in fabulis, Ulyssi navigaturo Æolus ventos omnes in utrem contrusos in manum dedit, ut ille cum soluisset in altum, eis pro suo arbitrio utere-

The archbishop begins a third book; but lives not to finish it.

The archbishop, though the times now soon after turned, and he cast into prison, was very desirous to prepare another book in confutation of Marcus Antonius, and in vindication of his own writing. He lived long enough to finish three parts: whereof two unhappily perished in Oxford, and the third fell into John Foxe's hands, and for aught I know, that by this time is perished also[o]. But the great desire he had to finish his answer to that book was the chief cause that, at his last appearance before the queen's commissioners, he made his appeal to a general council: that thereby he might gain some time and leisure to accomplish what he had begun, before his life were taken away, which, he saw, was likely to be within a very short space. "Otherwise," [as he writ to his lawyer, who was

tur: ita isti Gardinero, cum nescio quid contra nos moliretur, omnia sua argumenta, satis ea quidem ventosa et levia tradiderunt, ut ille ex acervo deligeret, quicquid vellet et sibi alieno vento vela faceret." — (Præfat. ad Lect.) Doct. vet. et apost. de Eucharist. Sacrament. P. Martyr. defens. ed. Tigur. 1559.]

[o] ["The unquiet spirit of Stephen Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another book in Latin of the like popish argument, but after another title, named Marcus Antonius Constantius. Whereunto first the archbishop again intending a full confutation, had already absolved three parts of his answer lying in prison. Of the which parts, two perished in Oxford: the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also bishop Ridley lying likewise the same time in prison, having there the said book of Marcus Antonius, for lack of pen and paper, with a lead of a window in the margin of the book wrote annotations, as straightness of time would serve him, in refutation of the same book. And finally, because those worthy martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to go through with their travail, that which lacked in them for accomplishment of that behalf was supplied shortly after by Peter Martyr, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defension of the truth, against the false sophistication of Marcus Antonius aforesaid."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1870. ed. Lond. 1583.]

to draw up his appeal], "it was much better for him to die in Christ's quarrel, and to reign with him, than to be shut up and kept in that body: unless it were to continue yet still awhile in this warfare, for the commodity and profit of his brethren, and to the further advancing of God's glory[p]."

Martyr takes up the quarrel.

Peter Martyr, his surviving and learned friend, being solicited by many Englishmen by letter and word of mouth, undertook the answering this book. But before he had finished it, an English divine and friend of Martyr's, with whom he held correspondence in queen Mary's reign, wrote him word, in the year 1557, that an answer to Antonius, by some other hand, was then in the press, naming the author. Martyr replied, "That he was rather glad of it, than any ways moved or disturbed at it, as a disappointment of what he was doing:" and added, "that he expected nothing from that man but what was very exquisite, acute, and elaborate; but that he feared the noise thereof would not hold true[q]." And so it proved. Whether this learned man withdrew his book, that he might give way to that which P. Martyr was writing, or

Mart. Epist. 260

[p] ["Potissima sane appellationis meæ causa est, ut, (si ita Deus voluerit), donetur eousque vivendi tempus, quousque cœptum contra Marcum Antonium Constantium responsum absolvero. Quod si veritatis hostes meæ appellationi deferre nolint, (quod existimo), fiat voluntas Dei, susque deque fero, modo glorificetur Deus, sive per vitam, sive per mortem. Melius est enim multo mori pro Christo et cum illo regnare, quam in hoc carnis ergastulo concludi, nisi in fratrum utilitatem ad majorem Dei gloriam propagandam liceat aliquandiu militare; cui sit omnis gloria in ævum. Amen."—Letter to a Lawyer, Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 455. Park. Soc. ed.]

[q] ["De libro D. Cantuariensis in Antonium, qui, ut scribis, jam est sub prælo, gaudeo, tantum abest ut quicquam ea causa movear. Nihil enim quod non sit expolitum, acutum et elaboratum, ex eo viro expecto. Sed vereor ne quod audivisti non sit verum."—Mart. Epist. ad calc. loc. commun. p. 1118. ed. Tigur. 1587.]

whether it were a flam given out to stop Martyr in his design, it is uncertain. But not long after this learned Italian put forth his answer. He had it under the press at Zurich in December 1558; and it came out the next year. Wherein, as he wrote to Calvin, he did unravel and confute all the sophisms and tricks of the bishop of Winchester[r]. And it came forth very seasonably, as Martyr hoped. For hereby the English papalins might see, at this time especially, that that book was not, as they boasted hitherto, invincible. He gave this title to his book, "Defensio doctrinæ veteris et Apostolicæ de S. S. Eucharistiæ sacramento." In the preface to which he shewed, "How this work fell to his lot: not that that most reverend father wanted an assistant, for he could easily have managed Gardiner himself. For he knew how Cranmer, in many and various disputes formerly had with him, came off with victory and great praise; but because the archbishop, when in prison, was forced to leave his answer, which he had begun, unfinished, by reason of his strait keeping, having scarce paper and ink allowed him, and no books to make use of; and being cut off so soon by death, before he could bring to perfection what he had writ[s]." Wherein, as Martyr said, he had

P. Martyr Ep.

[r] ["Nihil præterea novi habeo, nisi quod meum librum sub prælo habeo, quo Stephani Gardineri olim Vintoniensis episcopi omnia sophismata et præstigias de re eucharistica retexi et confutavi." —Calvin Epist. et Respons. p. 133. ed. Amstel. 1667.]

[s] ["Primum ergo, si forte miraris me ad hoc opus ita tarde aggressum esse, illudque nunc tandem ita sero edere, scire debes, ejus tam diuturnæ dilationis justas mihi fuisse, et vehementes causas. Nam cum doctissimus juxta ac sanctissimus vir, D. Thomas Cranmerus, archiepiscopus nuper Cantuariensis, eam in se provinciam suscepisset, quem scirem isto papistarum Achille in omni genere literarum longe esse superiorem, quod ego non adulationis causa dico, (quis enim adulletur homini mortuo), sed quod illum sciam ex multis, et variis disputationibus, quas habuit ali-

harder measure by far from the papists, than Gardiner had from the protestants in king Edward's days, when he wrote his book.

Cranmer puts out his book of the sacrament in Latin.

Gardiner, in that book of his under the name of M[arcus] Constantius, had shewn such foul play with Cranmer's book, mangling it, and taking pieces and scraps of it here and there, and confounding the method of it, to supply himself with objections to give his own answers to with the most advantage; that the archbishop thought, that if learned foreigners saw but his first book of the sacrament, as he wrote it, it would be vindication enough against Gardiner's new book against it: and therefore he took order to have it translated into the same language in which Gardiner wrote, that is, Latin, that impartial strangers might be able to read and judge: and sir John Cheke elegantly performed it for his friend the archbishop[t]. This book of Cranmer's thus put into Latin, with some additions, came forth 1553. Before it he prefixed an epistle to king Edward VI. dated at Lambeth, idib. Mart. the same year: wherein he said, "It was his care of the Lord's flock committed to him, that put him upon renewing and restoring the Lord's supper according to the institution of Christ. And that that was the reason that, about three years ago, he set forth a book in English

quando cum Vintoniensi, et cum victoria, et summa cum laude discessisse, non putavi esse pudoris mei, ut illi tam sanctum, tamque pium institutum prærriperem. At ille, cum in carcere arctissima custodia observaretur, ubi vix charta ad scribendum, nedum librorum copia suppeteret, et postremo cum durissima morte, quam in veræ fidei confessione denique constanter tulit, sublatus esset, opus, quod jam habebat præ manibus, coactus est relinquere inchoatum."—(Præfat. ad Lect.) P. Martyr. Defens. doct. vet. et apost. de eucharist. sacrament. ed. Tigur. 1559.]

[t] [See above, pp. 314, 315, where this translation is attributed to John Young.]

against the principal abuses of the papistical mass." Which book had great success upon the people's minds, in bringing them to embrace the truth. "Whereby," he said, "he perceived how great the force of truth was, and understood the benefits of the grace of Christ, that even the blind should have their eyes opened, and partake of the light of truth, as soon as it was revealed, and shewed itself clearly to them. But that this gave great offence unto Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, so that he thought nothing was to be done till he had answered
261 the book, supposing that there would be no helper of so declining and forsaken a cause, unless he put to his hand[u]." And so the archbishop proceeded to shew how

[u] ["Pro cura dominici gregis mihi commissa, in quo salutari pastu verbi divini erudiendo omnem curam cogitationemque meam collocare debeo, illustrissime princeps, cœnam Domini, (quæ multis et magnis superstitionibus violata est, et ad quæstum translata), renovandam ad Servatoris Christi instituta et redintegrandum putavi; et de vero ejus usu et verbi divini et veteris ac sanctæ ecclesiæ auctoritate commonefaciendos esse omnes judicavi, quorum cura et instructio ad officii mei auctoritatem aliqua ex parte pertinet. Itaque ante triennium missæ papisticæ abusus præcipuos, (quibus non modo ecclesia Anglica, sed etiam totus pene orbis fœdatus atque infectus fuerat), libello quodam Anglo confutavi, et verum atque Christianum ejus usum restituendum docui. Quo libro ita multi sunt ad sanam de ea re opinionem adducti, ut veritatis vim, quanta esset, sentirem, et gratiæ Servatoris Christi beneficia intelligerem, ut ad veritatis lucem patefactam occæcati homines splendorem lucis acciperint, et, (ut Paulus prædicante Anania), oculorum aciem perciperent. Hoc ita ægre Stephanus Gardinerus Wintoniensis tum episcopus tulerat, ut nihil sibi prius faciendum putarit, quam ut librum tam utilem et plausibilem confutaret, ratus nisi opera sua aliqua impedimenta objicerentur, nullos deploratæ jam et derelictæ pene sententiæ adjutores fore. Itaque eadem ipse lingua librum iisdem de rebus conscribit, et firmatam jam de vero cænæ usu sententiam evertere conatur, et papisticam opinionem, superstitionibus undique diffluentem, revocare conatur. Post hunc prodiit M. Antonius Constantius, Stephano Gardinero ita affinis et germanus, ut idem ipse esse videatur; tanta

that bishop first put forth his English book, endeavouring to overthrow the true doctrine, and to restore and bring again into repute the mass, with all its superstitions; and afterwards his Latin book, under a feigned name. In which Gardiner had so unfairly dealt with the archbishop's arguments, chopping and changing, defacing and disfiguring them, that he could not know them for his own; and all that he might make it serve his own turn the better: insomuch that he resolved to have his own book translated out of English into Latin, that his true opinon and mind in this controversy might the better be apprehended[v]. The whole epistle is writ in a pure elegant Latin style, with a good sharpness of wit.

The publication of this his Latin book he thought sufficient for the present to entertain the world, till he should put forth, in Latin also, a full answer to Gardiner, which he intended shortly to do. To this Latin book the archbishop, occasionally reviewing it while he was in prison, made sundry annotations and additions; not of any new arguments, but only of more authorities out of the Fathers and ancient writers. This valuable autograph fell into the hands of some of the English exiles at Embden, it may be by the means of bishop Scory, who was superintendent of the English church there, or sir John Cheke, who also for some time was in this place; both great friends of the archbishop. In the year 1557, the exiles here printed it

Printed again at Embden.

est ingeniorum subtilitas, scripturæ sophistices similitudo. Sed uterque idem tractat, alio tamen modo."—Defens. veræ et cathol. doct. de Sacrament. Epist. ad regem. p. 10. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Park. Soc. ed.]

[v] "Constantius [enim] libro Latine scripto ita argumenta mea persequitur, ut sibi optimum videtur; et ut causam juvet, sæpe truncata, sæpe inversa, sæpe disjecta, sic introducit, ut non magis a me agnosci potuerint, quam Medeæ liberi in multa membra disjecti et deformati, &c." [Id. ibid.]

with this title, "Defensio, &c. a Thoma Cranmero martyre scripta. Ab authore in vinculis recognita et aucta." Before it is a new preface to the reader, made, as it is thought, by sir John Cheke, relating to the archbishop and this his book, shewing how well-weighed and well-thought on this doctrine of the sacrament was, before he published it, and that he let it not go abroad till he had diligently compared and pondered all Scriptures and ancient authors, and confirmed it at last by his blood. In the body of the book, the places where any enlargements are, are signified by an hand pointing thereunto. In the margin is often to be found this word "Object." with certain numbers added: which numbers shew those places which Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Antonius, did endeavour to confute. The very original these English exiles here at Embden kept, as a great treasure, among them, and as a memorial of the holy martyr[w].

Cranmer's second book intended to be put into Latin. Foxe Ep. MSS.

Besides this, the archbishop fully intended to have his vindication of his book, impugned by Gardiner, put into Latin also; but he lived not to see that done. But care was taken of this business among the exiles: insomuch that both sir John Cheke and John Foxe were busied about it at the same time. But the former surceased, and left the whole work to Foxe, then at Frankfort, after he had finished the first part. In this piece done by Cheke, John à Lasco had an hand: for he put in the Latin school-terms, instead of more pure good Latin, which Cheke had used. And it was judged fit that such words should be used where the archbishop in his English had used them. And this Cheke and à Lasco themselves wrote to Foxe.

[w] "Autographon ejus in nostra apud Æmbdanos ecclesia pro thesauro quodam, et clarissimi viri. sanctique Christi martyris mnemosyno servamus." — In Epist. [pio lectori. Defens. veræ et cathol. doct. de Sacrament. p. 7. Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Park. Soc. ed.]

Foxe undertook the rest, by the incitation and encouragement of P. Martyr, and of Grindal and Pilkington, both bishops afterwards: who gave him directions for the 262
translating; and, as doubts occurred concerning the sense of certain matters in the book, as he met with them, he consulted with these men for their judgments therein. Grindal, in one letter, bad him write a catalogue of all passages by him doubted of, and send it to him. Foxe finished his translation in the year 1557, before June: for which he had a congratulatory letter from Grindal, who was his chief assistant and counsellor herein. The work was dispatched to the press, at Basil I suppose; and, when one part was printed, the censors of the press thought it would be better to defer an argument of that nature to better times, the controversy having been bandied up and down so much already: but Froscover undertook the printing of the whole book. Foxe would do nothing of himself; but, leaving himself to the judgment of his learned brethren, to commit the work now to Froscover, or no, queen Mary's death, and the return of the exiles, I suppose, stopped further progress in this matter. The original manuscript, under Foxe's own hand, in very cleanly elegant Latin, I have lying by me: it bears this title; "De tota Sacramenti Eucharistiæ causa Institutionum Libri V. Autore D. Thoma Cranmero Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Quibus et Stephani Garneri Episcopi Wintoniensi, et Smithi Doctoris Theologi, impugnationibus respondetur[x]."

Some notes of Cranmer concerning the sacrament. Miscellan. A.

And, that I may bring here together all that relates to Cranmer, as to this matter of the sacrament, I must not omit what I saw in the Benet library[y]. There is a thin note-book of this archbishop's with this title, wrote by his

[x] [Harl. MSS. 418 Plut. lxv. E. British Museum. Original.]

[y] [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cii. p. 151.]

own hand, "De re Sacramentaria;" which I verily believe are his meditations and conclusions, when he set himself accurately to examine the sacramental controversy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal presence. The notes consist of nothing but quotations out of ancient ecclesiastical authors about the Lord's supper; interlined in many places by the archbishop's pen. On the top of some of the pages are these sentences writ by himself, being doctrines proveable out of the sentences there produced, and transcribed.

"Panis vocatur corpus Christi, et vinum sanguis.

"Panis est corpus meum, et vinum est sanguis meus; figurativæ sunt locutiones.

"Quid significet hæc figura, edere carnem, et bibere sanguinem.

"Mali non edunt et bibunt corpus et sanguinem Domini.

"Patres Veteris Testamenti edebant et bibebant Christum, sicut et nos.

"Sicut in eucharistia, ita in baptismo, præsens est Christus.

"Contra transubstantiationem."

After this, follow these writings of the archbishop's own hand, (which archbishop Parker elsewhere transcribed for his own satisfaction.)

"Multa affirmant crassi papistæ, seu Capernaitæ, quæ neque Scriptura neque ullus veterum unquam dixerat. Viz.

"Quod accidentia maneant sine subjecto.

"Quod accidentia panis et vini sunt sacramenta: non panis et vinum.

263 "Quod panis non est figura, sed accidentia panis.

"Quod Christus non appellavit panem corpus suum.

"Quod cum Christus dixit, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' pronomen 'Hoc' non refertur ad panem, sed ad corpus Christi.

"Quod tot corpora Christi accipimus, aut toties corpus ejus accipimus, quoties, aut in quot partes, dentibus secamus panem."

Thus having set down divers assertions of papists, or "Capernaites," as he styled them, which neither Scripture nor ancient Fathers knew any thing of; his notes proceed to state wherein papists and protestants disagree.

"*Præcipua capita in quibus a papisticis dissentimus.*

"Christum papistæ statuunt in pane, nos in homine comedente.

"Illi in comedentis ore, nos in toto homine.

"Illi corpus Christi aiunt evolare, masticato vel consumpto pane; nos manere in homine dicimus, quamdiu membrum est Christi.

"Illi in pane statuunt per annum integrum, et diutius, si duret panis: nos in homine statuimus inhabitare, quamdiu templum Dei fuerit.

"Illorum sententia, quod ad realem præsentiam attinet, non amplius edit homo quam bellua, neque magis ei prodest, quam cuivis animanti."

Martyr succeeds Cranmer in this province.

Thus God made use of this archbishop, who was once one of the most violent asserters of the corporal presence, to be the chiefest instrument of overthrowing it. But this good work required to be carried on after Cranmer's death, for great brags were made of Gardiner's second book; and it was boasted, that none dare to encounter this their Goliath. P. Martyr was thought the fittest man to succeed Cranmer in this province, to maintain

Writes against Gardiner,

the truth that began now to shine forth. He, overcome by the solicitation of friends, composed a book against Gardiner, as was said before, and printed it at Zurich[s]. Wherein, 1. He defended the arguments of our men; which had been collected together, and pretended to be confuted, by Gardiner's book. 2. He defended those rules which Cranmer had put forth in his tract of the sacrament. 3. He maintained those answers, whereby the arguments of the adversaries were wont to be refuted. And, 4. He asserted the just and true interpretation of certain places out of the Fathers, which Gardiner and his companions brought for themselves and their errors.

and Smith.

After this defence followed another by the same author, printed in the same town of Zurich, against two books of Dr. Richard Smith, concerning the single life of priests, and monastic vows[t], which he wrote at Louvain against Martyr. For when Martyr had read at Oxford upon 1 Corinthians, chap. vii. where the apostle speaks much of virginity and matrimony, (the notes of which readings Smith had very diligently taken, being constantly present at them); from thence he composed two books, not so strong as malicious, "Of the Celibacy of Priests," and "Of Vows[u]:" designing thereby to confute Martyr's arguments, which he therefore thought fit to vindicate. In this book he not only answered Smith's arguments, but whatever else he could meet with upon that subject. But
264 it was thought to be a very improper undertaking, and

[s] [See above, p. 330.]

[t] [i. e. "Defensio P. Martyri, contra R. Smithæi, duos libellos de cœlibatu sacerdotum et votis monasticis." ed. Basil. 1559.]

[u] ["Ediderat Smithæus duos libellos contra Petrum Martyrem: alterum inscriptum: 'defensio cœlibatus sacerdotum;' alterum, 'confutatio quorumdam articulorum de votis monasticis Petri Martyri.' ed. Lovan. 1550."—Io. Geo. Walchii Bibl. Theol. vol. ii. p. 254.]

proved cause of mirth, that so filthy a fellow as Smith was known to be, and once taken in the act of adultery, should write a book of priestly chastity. Which occasioned these verses made by Laurence Humphrey;

"Haud satis affabre tractans fabrilia Smithus,
Librum de vita cælibe composuit, &c.
Dumque pudicitiam, dum vota monastica laudat,
Stuprat, sacra notans fœdera conjugii."

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET'S DEATH.—NEW BISHOPS.

The duke of Somerset's death.

THE archbishop of Canterbury this year lost the duke of Somerset, whom he much valued, and who had been a great assistant to him in the reformation of the church, and a true friend to it. His violent death exceedingly grieved the good archbishop, both because he knew it would prove a great let to religion, and was brought about by evil men, to the shedding of innocent blood, for the furthering the ends of ambition; and begat in him fears and jealousies of the king's life. It is very remarkable what I meet with in one of my manuscripts[x]. There was a woman, somewhat before the last apprehension of the duke, wife of one Woocock of Poole in Dorsetshire, that gave out, that there was a voice that followed her, which sounded these words always in her ears: "He whom the king did best trust should deceive him, and work treason against him." After she had a good while reported this, sir William Barkley, who married the lord treasurer Winchester's[y] daughter, sent her up to London to the council, with two of his servants. She was not long there, but, without acquainting the duke of Somerset, whom it seemed most to concern, (he being the person whom the king most trusted), was sent home again with her purse full of money. And, after her coming home, she was more busy in that talk than before. So that she came to a market-town called Wimborne, four miles from Poole, where she reported, that the voice continued following her as before. This looked, by the circumstances, like a practice of some

Inter Foxii MSS.

[x] [Harl. MSS. 425. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 127. British Museum. Original.]

[y] [See above, p. 11. n. [x].]

popish priests, accustomed to dealing in such frauds, to make the world the more inclinable to believe the guilt of the good duke, which Somerset's enemies were now framing against him. And so some of the wiser sort thereabouts did seem to think; for there were two merchants of Poole that heard her, and took a note of her words, and came to the house of Hancock, minister of Poole, who was known to the duke, counselling him to certify my lord of her. Which Hancock accordingly did, and came to Sion, where the duke then was, and told him of the words. He added, "Whom the king doth best trust we do not know, but that all the king's loving subjects did think that his grace was most worthy to be best trusted; and that his grace had been in trouble: and that all the king's loving subjects did pray for his grace 265
to the Almighty to preserve him, that he might never come in the like trouble again."

Then the duke asked him whether he had a note of the words: which when he had received from Hancock, he said to him, suspecting the plot, "Ah! sirrah, this is strange, that these things should come before the councillors, and I not hear of it. I am of the council also." He asked Hancock, before whom of the council this matter was brought? who replied, he knew not certain, but as he supposed. The duke asked him, whom he supposed? he answered, before the lord treasurer, because his son-in-law, sir W[illiam] Barkley, sent her up. The duke subjoined, "It was like to be so." This was three weeks before his last apprehension. This I extract out of Mr. Hancock's own narration of himself and his troubles; to which he added, that, at his first apprehension, the report was, that the duke, what time as he was fetched out of Windsor Castle, having the king by the hand, should say, "It is not I that they shoot at; this is the mark that

they shoot at;" meaning the king. Which by the sequel proved too true. For that good, godly, and virtuous prince lived not long after the death of that good duke.

Winchester supposed to be in the plot.

Indeed it seemed to have been a plot of the papists, and the bishop of Winchester at the bottom of it. This is certain, when, in October 1549, the duke was brought to the Tower, the bishop was then borne in hand he should be set at liberty; of which he had such confidence, that he prepared himself new apparel against the time he should come out, thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days. But finding himself disappointed, he wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords within a month after, to put them in remembrance, as Stow writes[z].

Articles against the duke.

The articles, that were drawn up against the duke, upon his second apprehension and trial, were in number

[z] ["Now when the duke of Somerset was first apprehended, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then being a prisoner in the Tower, ... was borne in hand, he should be set at liberty: in hope whereof he prepared him new apparel for that purpose, thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days: but when he was forgotten, and nothing said unto him by the space of one month after, he thought it good to put the lords in remembrance, by his letters, wherein, (after commendations had unto them), he wrote as followeth: 'I have continued here in this miserable prison now one year, one quarter, and one month, this same day that I write these my letters, with want of air to relieve my body, want of books to relieve my mind, want of good company, the only solace of this world: and finally want of a just cause why I should have come hither at all.' More of this letter came not to my hands, but that the lords took it in good part, and laughed very merrily thereat, saying, he had a pleasant head; for reward whereof they gave him leave to remain still in prison five or six weeks after, without saying or sending any word to him."—Stow's Chronicle, p. 600. ed. Lond. 1561. Stow, in addition to this extract, inserts a long letter of Gardiner, to the lords of the council, "requiring that he might be heard according to justice," &c.]

twenty, which I shall not repeat here, as I might out of a manuscript thereof[a], because they may be seen in Foxe[b]. But I do observe one of the articles is not

[a] [Harl. MSS. 419. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 130. British Museum. Original.]

[b] [The following are the "articles objected against the lord protector:—

"1. In primis, you took upon you the office of protector and governor, upon condition expressly and specially, that you would do nothing in the king's affairs, publicly or privately, but by the assent of the late king's executors.

"2. Also, you, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did stay and let justice, and subverted the laws, as well by your letters, as by your commandments.

"3. Also, you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter and felony to be discharged and set at large, against the king's laws, and statutes of this realm.

"4. Also, you have made and ordained lieutenants for the king's armies and other weighty affairs, under you own writing and seal.

"5. Also, you have communed with the ambassadors of other realms, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this realm.

"6. Also, you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the king's most honourable counsellors, for shewing and declaring their advices and opinions against your purposes in the king's weighty affairs, saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

"7. Also, you had, and held against the law in your own house, a court of requests, and thereby did enforce divers the king's subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same laws.

"8. Also, you being no officer, without the advice of the council, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the king's gift, for money, and granted leases and wards of the king's, and gave presentations to the king's benefices and bishoprics, having no authority so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the king's lands.

"9. Also, you commanded multiplication and alchymy to be practised, to abuse the king's coin.

"10. Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereby the common

printed in his book, namely, the tenth, which ran thus: "Also, you are charged, that you have divers and many people have made divers insurrections, and levied open war, and distrained and spoiled divers of the king's subjects, which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council.

"11. Also, you have caused a commission, with certain articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning enclosures of commons, highways, decaying of cottages, and divers other things, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the laws and statutes of this realm: whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, have risen and grown among the king's subjects.

"12. Also, you have suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble, and to lie in camp and armour against the king, his nobles and gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

"13. Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the said rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own money, and by promising to divers of them, fees, rewards, and services.

"14. Also, you in favor of the said rebels did, against the laws, cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels or traitors should be sued, or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion, to the clear subversion of the same law.

"15. Also, you have said, in the time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors; and said, that the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise; saying also, that better it were for the commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

"16. Also, you said, that the lords of the parliament were loath to incline themselves to reformation of enclosures and other things; therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

"17. Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, would never amend the same defaults.

"18. Also, you would not suffer the king's pieces beyond the seas, called Newhaven and Blacknest, to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces, and others, and were thereto advertised by the king's council; whereby the French king, being the king's open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the said pieces; to the king's great loss, and dishonour of his realm.

"19. Also, you declared and published untruely, as well to the

times, both openly and privately, said and affirmed, 'That the nobles and gentlemen were the only causes of the dearth of things, whereby the people rose, and did reform things themselves[c].'" Whence it appears, that one cause of the hatred of the nobility and gentry against him was, because he spake against their debauches and excesses, covetousness and oppressions. But that which I chiefly observe here is, that the draught of these articles, which I have seen, were made by bishop Gardiner, being his very hand, unless I am much mistaken. So that he, I suppose, was privately dealt with and consulted, (being then a prisoner in the Tower), to be a party in assisting and carrying on this direful plot against the duke, to take away his life, notwithstanding his outward friendship and fair correspondence in letters with the said duke. But Gardiner was looked upon to be a good manager of accusations; and he was ready enough to be employed here, that he might put to his hand in taking off one 266
that was such a great instrument of promoting the reformation.

He is generally charged for the great spoil of churches What he is blamed for.

king's majesty, and other the young lords attendant upon his grace's person, that the lords of the council at London minded to destroy the king; and you required the king never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewise you required the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his lords.

"20. Also, whereas the king's majesty's privy council, of their love and zeal, that they did bear unto the king and his realm, did consult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, did cause to be declared, by letters in divers places, the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realm."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1370. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[c] [Harl. MSS. 419. Plat. lxv. E. fol. 130. Brit. Museum. Original.]

and chapels; defacing ancient tombs and monuments, and pulling down the bells in parish-churches, and ordering only one bell in a steeple, as sufficient to call the people together. Which set the commonalty almost into a rebellion.

The new book of Common Prayer established.

As the archbishop the last year had procured amendments and alterations in the book of public prayers, and had consulted therein with the two learned foreign divines, Bucer and Martyr[d]: so this year, in January, an act was made by the parliament for authorizing the new book, and obliging the subjects to be present at the reading of it[e]. In this book the general Confession was added, and the Absolution[f]. At the beginning of the second service was added the recital of the Ten Commandments, with the short ejaculation to be said between each commandment[g]. Something was left out in the consecration of the sacrament, that seemed to favour a corporal presence[h]. Several rites were laid aside, as that of oil in confirmation, and extreme unction, and prayer for the dead, which was before used in the communion-office, and that of burial: together with the change and abolishing of some other things that were offensive or superstitious: as may be seen by those that will take the pains

[d] [See above, pp. 200–204, 307.]

[e] [i. e. "An act for the uniformity of common prayer, and administration of the sacrament." See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. pp. 130, 1.]

[f] [See Liturgies of Edward VI. pp. 218, 19. Park. Soc. ed.]

[g] [Id. pp. 266, 7.]

[h] [The following words were omitted: "and with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts, and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved son, Jesus Christ;" and the sentence was thus changed: "and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesu Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." Id. pp. 88, 279.]

to compare the two books, the one printed in the year 1549, and the other 1552. And this was brought about by the great and long diligence and care of our pious archbishop, and no question to his great joy and satisfaction: so that I look upon that but as an improbable report, that was carried about in Frankfort in those unseemly branglings among the English exiles there, that Bullinger should say, "That Cranmer had drawn up a book of prayers an hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies." But as his authority was now very great, so there was undoubtedly a great deference paid to it, as also to his wisdom and learning, by the rest of the divines appointed to that work: so that as nothing was by them inserted into the Liturgy but by his good allowance and approbation, so neither would they reject or oppose what he thought fit should be put in or altered.

Troubles at Frankfort.

The learning, piety, and good deserts of Miles Coverdale[i], in translating the holy Scriptures into the English

Coverdale made bishop of Exon.

[i] [Miles Coverdale was originally an Augustine monk, but became an early professor of the gospel; he assisted Tyndal in the translation and circulation of the Scriptures, and became one of Edward VIth's chaplains. Upon John Voysey's resignation of the see of Exeter, "he was nominated by the king to succeed him," August 14, 1551, consecrated the 30th of the same month, and enthronized September 11th following. He was deprived in 1553, 1°. Mariæ, when John Voysey was again installed. Coverdale fled abroad to escape the persecutions of queen Mary's reign, and was appointed preacher to the exiles at Wezel, and at Bergzaber by the duke of Bipont: he returned to England upon the accession of queen Elizabeth, but was not reinstated in his former bishopric: he assisted at the consecration of archbishop Parker, and was presented by Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, who had recommended him for the see of Llandaff, to the living of St.

tongue, and in a constant preaching of the gospel, and sticking to the true profession for many a year; and withal, very probably, their ancient acquaintance in Cambridge, were reasons that made our archbishop a particular friend to him. When the lord Russel was sent down against the rebels in the west, he was attended by Coverdale to preach among them. Coverdale afterwards became coadjutor to Voysey, the bishop of Exeter, who seldom resided, and took little care of his diocese. But this year, whether voluntarily, or by some order, he resigned up his bishopric, having first greatly spoiled it of its revenues. And when some wise and bold person, and excellent preacher, was found extremely needful to be
267 sent thither to inspect the clergy and ecclesiastic matters in those parts, the late rebellion having been raised chiefly by priests in hatred to the religion, heating and disaffecting the minds of the common people, Coverdale was judged a very fit person to succeed in that charge. Being now bishop elect of Exon, he had long attended at court to get his matters dispatched; namely, the doing of his homage, and the obtaining a suit to be excused the payment of his first fruits, being but a poor man. But such at that time were the great and urgent affairs of the

Magnus in the month of February, 1563; he died, May 20, 1565, "at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in St. Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange," London: from which place his body was removed in 1837, upon the pulling down of that church to make room for city improvements, to St. Magnus, where it still rests, and a tablet raised by the parishioners records his worth. See vol. i. p. 129. n.[f]. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 472, 568. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 490. pt. ii. p. 169: vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 233, 410. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 12, 55, 107, 110, 114–116, 121. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. i. pt. ii. p. 43. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Grindall, p. 134. ed. Oxon. 1821. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 83.]

state, or the secret hinderers of the gospel, that he found nothing but delays. So that he was forced to apply himself unto his friend the archbishop, to forward his business: who forthwith sent his letters to secretary Cecyl, making Coverdale himself the bearer, entreating him to use his interest to get this bishop dispatched, and that with speed: urging this for his reason, (becoming his paternal care over his province), that so he might without further delay go down into the western parts, which had great need of him. And also because he was minded, on the 30th of August, to consecrate him and the bishop of Rochester, [Scory], according to the king's mandate[k].

Scory bishop elect of Rochester.

This Scory[l] was at first preferred by the archbishop to

[k] [The following is the letter referred to, a copy of which in Strype's handwriting is preserved in the library of Balliol college, Oxford:—"After my very hearty commendations. Whereas the bearer hereof, Mr. Coverdale, bishop elect of Exeter, is now through in all matters to the consecration, save only in doing his homage and in the dispatch of his first fruits: these shall be heartily to desire, that, in consideration of his long attendance, and of the great lack that the west parts have of him, you will shew him your accustomable favour and help at this present: that by your procurement he may the sooner take his oath, and have your gentle assistance for the obtaining of his suit concerning the first fruits. For I mind, by God's grace, the 30th day of this month to accomplish the king's majesty's mandate concerning the consecration of him and of the bishop of Rochester. And thus I bid you most heartily well to fare. From my manor at Croydon, the 23rd of August, 1552.

Your loving friend,
T. Cant.

To the right worshipful and my very good friend, Mr. William Cecil, one of the king's majesty's two principal secretaries."

—This date 1552 is in Strype's copy, but it is manifestly a mistake for 1551. See Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 429. Park. Soc. ed. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. pp. 342, 3.]

[l] [John Scory was appointed one of the six preachers of Canterbury by archbishop Cranmer in the year 1541, and was "an hearty embracer and furtherer of religion;" he was one of the archbishop's, and also of bishop Ridley's chaplains, and was conse-

be one of the six preachers at Canterbury, and always continued firm to the purity of religion, and endured trouble for the good and wholesome doctrine that he preached; having been presented and complained of, both in the spiritual courts, and to the justices at their sessions, when the Six Articles were in force. He was a married man, and so deprived at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, fled beyond sea, and was superintendent of the English congregation at Embden in Friezland. There, in the year 1555, he wrote and printed "A Comfortable Epistle unto all the faithful that be in prison, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's truth." Wherein he doth as well by the promises of mercy, as also by the examples of divers holy martyrs, comfort, encourage, and strengthen them patiently, for Christ's sake, to suffer the

crated bishop of Rochester, August 30, 1551, from which see he was translated to Chichester, May 23, 1552. "In the next year he was deprived," and George Day, who had been removed Oct. 10, 1551, was restored. In contradiction to the statement that "he always continued firm to the purity of religion," Strype elsewhere says, "He made some compliances under queen Mary; but afterwards fled abroad, and was an exile;" during the time of his absence from England he resided first at Wezel, and afterwards became superintendent of a church of English fugitives at Embden. "He returned under queen Elizabeth, and was placed by her, not in Chichester again, but over the diocese of Hereford," July 15, 1550. He assisted at the consecration of archbishop Parker, and preached on that occasion: he was also one of the disputants at Westminster on the protestant side; he died June 26, 1585.—See vol. i. p. 214. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 58, 111, 251. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 402, 496; pt. ii. pp. 171, 269. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 233, 241. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, p. 41. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 107, 108, 110, 114, 115–117, 119, 121; vol. iii. p. 283. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 129, 230, 231. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 476. ed. Oxon. 1824. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 51, 205, 218, 275. vol. v. p. 94. ed. Oxon. 1845. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 342, 418,

manifold cruel and most tyrannous persecutions of Antichristian tormentors." As the book bears title[m].

There were divers bishoprics vacant this year: as that of Lincoln by the death of Holbeach[n]. The archbishop deputed the spiritualties to John Pope, LL.B[o]. and chancellor of that church, [August 19, 1551.] The church commending unto the archbishop this Pope, and two more; viz. John Prinne, LL.D[p]. subdean of the church, and Christopher Massingberde, LL.B[q]. archdeacon of Stow. So he chose the first: but yet he committed a special trust to Taylor[r], the dean of Lincoln, (whom he knew to be tight to religion), sending a commission fiduciary to him, before Pope entered upon his office, to give the said Pope his oath, "legally and faithfully to perform his office committed to him by the archbishop, and to answer to the said archbishop for all obventions coming to him by virtue of his jurisdiction and office; and that he should not, by malice or wrong, squeeze the subjects of the king, and of that diocese, whether clerks or laics; that he should not knowingly grieve them in their estates or persons: and that he shall abstain from oppressions, extortions, and unlawful exac-

The archbishop appoints a guardian of the spiritualties of Lincoln.

Cranm. Reg. [fol. 121 b, 122.]

553, 776, 805, 806. ed. Oxon. 1829. See Wharton's note upon this place.]

[m] [See Watts' Bibliotheca Brit. (authors) vol. ii. p. 839. u. ed. Edin. 1824.]

[n] [August 2, 1551.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 141.]

[o] [John Pope, LL.B. was collated to the chancellorship of Lincoln Aug. 24, 1543. He resigned this office in 1544, on the 24th Aug. of which year he was installed archdeacon of Bedford; he died Nov. 11, 1558.—Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 151, 170.]

[p] ["John Prynn, or Prinne, LL.D. was installed" subdean of Lincoln "April 17, 1556; he died April 29, 1558."—Id. p. 155.]

[q] [Christopher Massingberd, LL.D. was installed chancellor of the church of Lincoln March 21, 1532; he resigned this office in 1543, and was succeeded by John Pope. On the 24th Aug. 1543 he was installed archdeacon of Stow, and died March 8, 1553.—Id. pp. 151, 173.]

[r] [See above, p. 36. n. [n].]

268 tions; and that he shall renounce the bishop of Rome his usurped jurisdiction and authority, according to the statutes of parliament." And of all this he wrote a letter to the said Pope, signifying that he required such an oath of him to be taken before the dean. The tenor of the archbishop's letter to the dean went on further, "requiring him by his sound counsel, singular prudence, and by the assistance of his sincere judgment, to be present with him in any hard cases, and of great moment; and that he would not be wanting to him in any matters of that sort, being a person of that knowledge in sacred and profane learning, of that prudence, circumspection, and dexterity in managing business. And so finally joined him with Pope to perform all this piously and catholicly, according to the rule of evangelic religion, and the exigency of the laws and statutes of this kingdom." And deputed him his vicegerent. This letter was dated at Croydon, the 20th of August. This commission seemed to be somewhat extraordinary: the occasion whereof might be, because the archbishop did not confide in this chancellor of the church, suspecting his religion, and compliance with the king's proceedings; therefore he thought good to associate him with Taylor the dean, of whom he was well assured.

And of Wigorn.

The church of Worcester became also vacant by the deprivation of Hethe the bishop. The archbishop committed the spiritualties thereof to John Barlow[s], dean of the said church, and Roland Taylor, LL.D[t]. his domestic chaplain. These he constituted his officials to exercise all episcopal jurisdiction. This commission was dated at Lambeth, Jan. 10, 1554, by an error of the scribe for

Cranm. Reg. [fol. 128b, 129.]

[s] [John Barlow, A.M. succeeded Henry Holbeach, afterwards bishop of Rochester and Lincoln, in the deanery of Worcester, and "was installed June 20, 1544, and deprived in February, 1553." —Le Neve's Fasti, p. 300.]

[t] [See above, p. 128. n. [k].]

1551, as appears by a certificate sent from the church to that archbishop, signifying the vacation of it.

Upon the vacancy of the church of Chichester by the deprivation of Day, the archbishop made John Worthial [u], archdeacon of Chichester, and Robert Taylor, LL.B. dean of the deanery of South Malling, his officials. This commission to them, dated November 3, 1551, was to visit, &c. And of Chichester. [Cranm. Reg. fol. 129, b.]

Upon the vacancy of the church of Hereford by the death of Skip, late bishop there, the spiritualties were committed to Hugh Coren [x], LL.D. dean of that church, and Richard Cheney, D.D [y]. archdeacon of Hereford. Their commission [dated April 3, 1552.] was to visit, &c. And of Hereford. [Cranm. Reg. fol. 132.]

Upon the vacancy of the bishopric of Bangor, either by the death of Bulkley [z], the bishop, or his resignation upon And of Bangor. [Cranm. Reg. fol. 136.]

[u] [John Worthial was collated to the archdeaconry of Chichester, Feb. 2, 1530.—Le Neve's Fasti, p. 65.]

[x] [Hugh Coren or Curwin, LL.D. who had the character of being "a complier in all reigns," was chaplain to Henry VIII.; and had the spiritualties of the vacant see of Hereford intrusted to him, when a prebendary of that church, upon the death of Edward Fox, A. D. 1538; he was also one of a commission to discuss certain questions of religion in the year 1540. He "was installed dean of Hereford, June 1, 1541. In 1555 he was made archbishop of Dublin in Ireland; and twelve years after, viz. 1567, was translated, Sept. 26, to the bishopric of Oxford. He died in the latter end of October 1568, at Swinbroke, near Burford in Oxfordshire, and lies buried there."—See vol. i. pp. 79, 156, 174. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. p. 508. ed. Oxon. 1821. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 114, 228.]

[y] [Richard Cheney, S.T.B. was collated to the archdeaconry of Hereford, Feb. 3, 1551, which preferment he resigned in the year 1557: he was consecrated bishop of Gloucester April 19, 1562; he "had the queen's leave to hold the bishopric of Bristol 'in commendam' by her letters patent, dated April 29, 1562, and accordingly he received the administration May 3. following, and held the revenues of them both to the time of his death, which happened April 25, 1579." — Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 48, 101, 119.]

[z] [Arthur Bulkeley, LL.D. was consecrated bishop of Bangor, Feb. 19, 1541. Strype says, (Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 174. ed. Oxon. 1822), "He sat bishop

his blindness, the archbishop made his commissaries, Griffin Leyson[a], his principal chancellor and official; Rowland Merick[b], a canon of St. David's; and Geofrey Glynn[c], LL.D. [March 23, 1552.] The church of Rochester also became this year vacant by the translation of Scory[d] to Chichester. In these vacancies the bishoprics were lamentably pilled by hungry courtiers, of the revenues belonging to them.

[Cranm. Reg. fol. 134.]

Hoper visits his diocese.

This year bishop Hoper was by the council dispatched down, (as was said before), into his diocese[e]; where things were much out of order, and popery had great footing; and therefore it wanted such a stirring man as he was. That he might do the more good, he had the authority of the lords of the council to back him, by a commission granted to him and others. He brought most of the
269 parish-priests and curates from their old superstitions and errors concerning the doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The recantation of one of them of more note, named Phelps, the incumbent of Cirencester, which
No. LXIII. he made publicly and subscribed, may be seen in the Appendix.

Two disputations concerning the sacrament.

This year there happened two learned conferences in Latin, privately managed, about the corporeal presence in the sacrament. The one on the 25th of November, in the house of sir William Cecyl, secretary of state, per-

from the year 1541 to the year 1555, that is, in three princes' reigns. He was blind some time before his death: being suddenly struck with blindness, as though it had been some judgment upon him for his sacrilege;" but Le Neve states his death to have taken place March 14, 1552. "Vacatio sedis episcopalis Bangorien. per mortem naturalem domini Arthuri Bulkeley ultimi episcopi et pastoris ejusdem sedis." Cranm. Reg. fol. 136.—See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 27.]

[a] [See above, p. 134. n. x.]

[b] [See above, pp. 37, 108. n. s.]

[c] [See above, p. 170. n. i.]

[d] [See above, p. 349. n. l, and p. 363.]

[e] [See above, p. 220.]

formed by the said Cecyl; sir John Cheke[f]; Horne, dean of Durham[g]; Whitehead[h], and Grindal[i], on the protestant side: and Feckenham[j] and Young[k] on the popish. But first, before they began, Cecyl under his solemn protestation assured them, that every man should have free liberty to speak his mind, and that none should receive any damage or incur any danger. Cheke began by propounding this question; "Quis esset verus et germanus

[f] [See above, p. 168. n. [e].]

[g] [Robert Horne, S.T.P., succeeded Hugh Whitehead, S.T.P., in the deanery of Durham Nov. 20, 1551: during the restraint of Cuthbert Tunstal, the diocese of Durham was committed to his care; upon Tunstal's deprivation the bishopric was granted to him, but he refused to take it "over Tunstal's head;" yet the latter, when restored in queen Mary's reign, "was his great and chief enemy." On her accession he retired beyond sea to avoid the persecution of the times, and resided at Zurich and Frankfort; where (Frankfort) he lectured in Hebrew. He returned to England on the accession of queen Elizabeth, and took part on the protestant side in the Westminster disputation; he was consecrated bishop of Winchester Feb. 16, 156$\frac{9}{1}$, and died June 1, 1580.—See Lee Neve's Fasti, pp. 287, 351. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 22, 167, 267, 275. vol. iii. pt. i. pref. viii. pp. 231, 404, 409, 543. ed. Oxon. 1822. Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 151. ed. Oxon. 1824. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 207, 219, 405. ed. Oxon. 1845. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 502, 503; vol. iii. pp. 776, 779, 806; ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[h] [David Whitehead, "once chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn," was an exile for religion in the time of queen Mary, and pastor of an English congregation at Frankfort. He returned to England upon the accession of queen Elizabeth and was employed upon the third edition of the Liturgy, and was one of the divines on the protestant side in the conference at Westminster; but was sequestered for nonconforming, A. D. 1564.—See Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 27, 219. ed. Oxon. 1845. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 231, 404. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, pp. 35, 145. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 75, 129. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 756, 776. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[i] [See above, p. 171. n. [o].]

[j] [See above, p. 123. n. [b].]

[k] [See above, p. 170. n. [m].]

sensus verborum Cœnæ, 'Hoc est corpus meum?' Num quem verba sensu grammatico accepta præ se ferebant, an aliud quiddam?'' To whom Feckenham answered. There were present, besides those that disputed, these noble and learned persons; the lord Russel [l], sir Anthony Coke [m], Mr. Hales [n], Mr. Wroth [o], Mr. Throgmorton [p], Mr. Knollys [q], Mr. Harrington. The second disputation

[l] [See above, p. 10. n. w.]

[m] [Sir Anthony Coke, or Cook, a patron at court of religion and learning, was one of Edward VIth's instructors, and was employed in several commissions during this reign; he was sent to the Tower as an adherent of the lady Jane Grey, but was enabled to escape to Strasburgh; he returned home upon the accession of queen Elizabeth; he was father-in-law to Cecil, lord Burleigh, and died June 11, 1576.—See Strype's Life of Cheke, pp. 22, 47, 175. ed. Oxon. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 74, 385; vol. iii. pt. i. pref. vi. pp. 24, 232. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 151; vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 86. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 74; pt. ii. p. 68. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. p. 228. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

[n] [i. e. Christopher Hales, who was an exile for religion in the time of queen Mary. See Strype's Life of Cheke, pp. 70, 77, 95. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 405. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, p. 12. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 151. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[o] [i. e. Sir Thomas Wroth, who was one of the principal gentlemen of the privy chamber, with whom Edward VI. used to exercise and play: he was an exile for religion in the time of queen Mary, and resided at Strasburgh, where he was serviceable to his fellow exiles: he returned home on the accession of queen Elizabeth, and was held by her in high estimation. —See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 387, 388, 389; ii. p. 164; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 226, 232. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 151. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[p] [Chamberlain of the exchequer.—See Strype's Life of Cheke, pp. 70, 77. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[q] [i. e. Sir Francis Knowles, or Knollys, was one of the exiles on account of the religious persecutions of queen Mary's reign, and resident at Frankfort, and Strasburgh; he returned home on queen Elizabeth's accession, and became treasurer of her household and a privy councillor. See Strype's Life of Cheke, pp. 70, 77, 95. ed.

was December 3. following, in Mr. Morison's[r] house: where were present the marquis of Northampton[s], the earl of Rutland[t], the lord Russel, and those above named, and Watson[u] added on the papists' side. Then Cheke

Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 112. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 231, 404. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. p. 151. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 752. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[r] [See above, p. 161. n. [p].]

[s] [See above, p. 140. n. [j].]

[t] [i. e. Henry Manners, second earl of Rutland, who was imprisoned as an adherent of the lady Jane Grey, a knight of the garter, and lord president of the north.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 25. ed. Oxon. 1822; and Annals of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 709. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

[u] [Thomas Watson, S. T. P., was chaplain to Henry VIII. and to bp. Gardiner, and master of Christ's college, Cambridge, in which university he served the office of vice-chancellor in the years 1518, 1519, 1530, and 1531. He was present at the trials of bp. Hoper, and Dr. Taylor, and was one of the disputants at Oxford against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, as also in the commission for burning the bodies of Bucer and Phagius at Cambridge. He received the appointment to the deanery of Durham, Nov. 18, 1553, and "by papal provision, bull dated 9 Cal. Apr. (Mar. 24.) 1556, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, Aug. 15, 1557." He was one of the popish disputants at the Westminster conference, where he conducted himself with so much insolence that he was sent to the Tower. Having been imprisoned for a short time he was summoned before the queen, and deprived of his bishopric June 25, 1559. With John White, bishop of Winchester "he had the presumption to threaten to excommunicate queen Elizabeth." He was "a sour and morose man, and lived twenty-four years after his deprivation, sometime with the bishop of Rochester, and sometime with the bishop of Ely. But afterwards, when certain popish emissaries came into the realm and began to disturb the church, he, (being too conversant with them), was committed to Wisbeach castle a close prisoner," where he died Sept. 27, 1584. — See above p. 327. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. p. 488; vol. ii. pt. i. p. 109; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 288, 290, 488, 510, 572. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 128, 131, 133, 138–140, 206, 210, 211, 213, 214, 220. ed. Oxon. 1824. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 177, 178, 279. ed. Oxon. 1821. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat.

again propounded the question, "Whether the words of the supper are to be understood in a grammatical or in a figurative sense?" To which Watson responded. Both these disputations are too large for this place, but they are set down in one of the manuscript volumes of the Benet library.

Miscellan. C. w

Dr. Redman dies.

In November died Dr. John Redman[x], master of Trinity college in Cambridge, and one of the great lights of that university, for the bringing in solid learning among the students: a prebendary of the church of Westminster;

Foxe's Acts.

and who, in the year 1549, assisted in the compiling the English book of Common Prayer, and preached a sermon upon the learned Bucer's death the day following his funeral. He was a person of extraordinary reputation among all for his great learning and reading, and profound knowledge in divinity: so that the greatest divines gave a mighty deference to his judgment. And therefore, when he lay sick at Westminster, many learned men repaired to him, desiring to know his last judgment of several points, then so much controverted. And he was very ready to give them satisfaction. Among the rest that came, were Richard Wilks[y], master of Christ's college, Cambridge; Alexander Noel[z], afterwards dean of Paul's;

Becon's Reports. [in the third part of his Works, pp. 264 b., 266 b. ed. Lond. 1563.]

vol. ii. pp. 693, 776, 782, 783, 792; vol. iii. pp. 508, 562. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. p. 280. ed. Oxon. 1845. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1428. ed. Lond. 1583. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 141, 351, 392, 393, 432.]

[w] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cii. pp. 253, 259. See also Strype's Life of Cheke, pp. 69–86. ed. Oxon. 1821.]

[x] [See above, p. 39.]

[y] [See above, p. 200. n. c.]

[z] [Alexander Noel, or Nowel, "was born of a knightly family at Read in Lancashire" in the year 1510. At the time of John Redman's death he was master of Westminster school, and succeeded to the second stall of the abbey Dec. 5, 1551, in his room; in the first parliament of queen Mary he was returned for Loo, in Cornwall; but the election was declared void on account of his being a dignitary of the church.

and Young, a man of fame in Cambridge for his disputing against Bucer about justification. In these conferences with these learned men, he called the see of Rome "sentina malorum," "a sink of evils;" he said, "that purgatory, as the schoolmen taught it, was ungodly; and that there was no such kind of purgatory as they fancied. That the offering up the sacrament in masses and trentals for the sins of the dead, was ungodly. That the wicked are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the outward 270
sacrament only. That it ought not to be carried about in

Soon after this he fled to Strasburgh, and resided there and also at Frankfort. He was the first of the exiles that returned after the accession of queen Elizabeth; upon the deprivation of William Chedsey he was collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex January 1, 1559, and was "constituted in 1560" prebend of the sixth stall in Canterbury cathedral, at which time he was chaplain to abp. Grindal, having preached the sermon at his consecration as bishop of London, Dec. 21, 1559. He was elected to the deanery of St. Paul's, Nov. 17, 1560, which he held forty-two years. He was prolocutor in the convocation of 1562, in which the articles of religion were settled; he published a "greater" and "lesser" catechism in Latin, the latter of which was an abridgment of the former. He is also supposed to have written the chief part of the church catechism. Besides founding a free grammar school at Middleton, he endowed thirteen fellowships at Brasenose college, Oxford, into which society he was admitted at thirteen years of age, and studied therein thirteen years, and of which he was also principal from Sept. 6, to Dec. 14, 1595, when he resigned the office. He was confessor to queen Elizabeth, constantly preaching the first and last Lent sermons before her. He died, being ninety years of age, not decayed in sight, Feb. 13, 1601.—See Fuller's Worthies of England, vol. ii. pp. 204, 5. ed. Lond. 1840. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 527; pt. ii. p. 267; vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 232, 404. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Life of abp. Grindal, pp. 49, 56. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Life of abp. Parker, vol. i. pp. 144, 240, 241. ed. Oxon. 1821. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 306, 307, 473. ed. Oxon. 1824. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 506; vol. iii. pp. 578, 583. ed. Oxon. 1829. Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. p. 509; vol. v. p. 256. ed. Oxon. 1845. Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 16, 185, 194, 366, 494.]

procession. That nothing that is seen in the sacrament, or perceived with the outward sense, is to be worshipped. That we receive not Christ's body 'corporaliter,' grossly, like other meats, but so 'spiritualiter,' that nevertheless 'vere,' truly. That there was not any good ground in the old doctors for transubstantiation, as ever he could perceive; nor could he see what could be answered to the objections against it. That priests might by the law of God marry wives. That this proposition, Faith only justifies, so that this faith signify a true lively faith, resting in Christ, and embracing him, is a true, godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine. That our works cannot deserve the kingdom of God. And," he said, "that it troubled him that he had so much strove against justification by faith only." A treatise whereof he composed, which was printed at Antwerp, after his death, in the year 1555. He said also to Young, "that 'consensus ecclesiæ' was but a weak staff to lean to; and exhorted him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which would comfort him, when he should be in such a case as he was then in." One asked him concerning the doctrine of the school-doctors, that bread remained not after consecration. He replied, "there was none of the school-doctors knew what 'consecratio' did mean." And, pausing awhile, said, "It was 'tota actio,' the whole action in ministering the sacrament, as Christ did institute it." After the conference with him was ended, Young, retiring into another chamber, said to Wilks, that Dr. Redman so moved him, that whereas he was before in such opinion of certain things, that he would have burned and lost his life for them, now he doubted of them. "But I see," said he, "a man shall know more and more by process of time, and by reading and hearing others. And Mr. Dr. Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them." Ellis Lomas,

Redman's servant, said, he knew his master had declared to king Henry, that faith only justifieth, but that he thought that doctrine was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works[a]. All this I have related of this divine, that I may in some measure preserve the memory of one of the learnedest men of his time; and lay up the dying words of a papist, signifying so plainly his dislike and disallowance of many of their doctrines.

The sweating sickness breaking out this year in great violence, (whereby the two sons of the duke of Suffolk were taken off), "letters" from the council, dated July 18, were sent "to all the bishops, to persuade the people [un]to prayer, and to see God better served[b]." The sweating sickness.

It being enacted, 1549[c], that the king might, during three years, appoint sixteen spiritual men and sixteen temporal, to examine the old ecclesiastical laws, and to compile a body of ecclesiastical laws, to be in force in the room of the old: this third year, October 6, a commission was issued out to the same number of persons, authorizing them to reform the canon laws; that is to say, to eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common. Whose names, as they occur in an original, are as follow: The archbishop and others appointed to reform the ecclesiastical laws.

Bishops. 271

The archbishop of Canterbury; the bishops of London[d], Winchester[e], Ely[f], Exeter[g], Gloucester[h], Bath[i], Rochester[k].

[a] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1360–1364. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[b] [MSS. Council Book, Privy Council Office, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 346; see also the "letter of Edward VI. to the bishops, on occasion of the sweating sickness;" Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 531. Park. Soc. ed.]

[c] [3°. and 4°. Edward VI. cap. 11. See Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. p. 111.]

[d] [Nicholas Ridley.]

[e] [John Poinet.]

[f] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[g] [Miles Coverdale.]

[h] [John Hoper.]

[i] [William Barlow.]

[k] [John Scory.]

271 *Divines.*

Mr. Taylor of Lincoln; Cox, almoner; Parker of Cambridge, Latimer, Cook, [sir Anthony, I suppose], Peter Martyr, Cheke, Johannes à Lasco.

Civilians.

Mr. Petre, Cecyl, sir Thomas Smith, Taylor of Hadleigh, Dr. May, Mr. Traheron, Dr. Lyel, Mr. Skinner.

Lawyers.

Justice Hales, justice Bromley, Goodrick, Gosnald, Stamford, Carell, Lucas, Brook, recorder of London.

The method they observed.

It was so ordered, that this number should be divided into two distinct classes, or companies; each to consist of two bishops, two divines, two civilians, and two common lawyers. And to each company were assigned their set parts; which when one company had finished, it was transmitted to the other companies, to be by them all well considered and inspected. But out of all the number of two and thirty, eight especially were selected, from each rank two; viz. out of the bishops, the archbishop and the bishop of Ely; out of the divines, Cox and Martyr; out of the civilians, Taylor and May; out of the common-lawyers, Lucas and Goodrick: to whom a new commission was made, November 9, for the first forming of the work, and preparation of the matter[l]. And the archbishop supervised the whole work. This work they plied close this winter: but, lest they should be straitened for time, the parliament gave the king three years longer for accomplishing this affair[m]. So, Feb. 2, "a letter" was sent from the council "[to the lord chancellor] to make [out] a new commission to the archbishop, and to the other bishops and learned men, civilians and lawyers [of the

[l] [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 69.]

[m] [3°. and 4°. Edw. VI. cap. 11. Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. p. 111.]

realm], for the establishment of [the] ecclesiastical laws, according to the act of parliament made in the last session[n]." This was a very noble enterprise, and well worthy the thoughts of our excellent archbishop, who with indefatigable pains had been, both in this and the last king's reign, labouring to bring this matter about; and he did his part, for he brought the work to perfection. But it wanted the king's ratification, which was delayed, partly by business, and partly by enemies.

Bishops Consecrated.

August the 30th, John Scory, Ponet being translated to Winchester, was consecrated bishop of Rochester, at Croydon, by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Nicholas, bishop of London, and John, suffragan of Bedford. Scory. [Cranm. Reg. fol. 333.]

Miles Coverdale was at the same time and place consecrated bishop of Exon, all with their surplices and copes, and Coverdale so habited also. Coverdale. [Cranm. Reg. 334. b.]

[n] [MSS. Council Book. Privy Council Office, 1550–1553. fol. 484.]

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CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

Ann. 1552. The articles of religion framed and published.

Our archbishop, and certain of the bishops and other divines, but whom by name I find not, were this year chiefly busied in composing and preparing a book of articles of religion, which was to contain what should be publicly owned as the sum of the doctrine of the church of England. This the archbishop had long before this bore in his mind, as excellently serviceable for the creating of a concord and quietness among men, and for the putting an end to contentions and disputes in matters of religion. These articles the archbishop was the penner, or at least the great director of, with the assistance, as is very probable, of bishop Ridley. And so he publicly owned afterwards, in his answers to certain interrogatories put to him by queen Mary's commissioners; viz. that the catechism, the book of articles, and the book against Winchester, were his doings[o]. These articles were

Foxe.

[o] ["As for the catechism," (i. e. the short catechism added to the articles of 1552), "the book of articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings." — Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1877. ed. Lond. 1583.—"Weston: Also, you have set forth a catechism in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty which, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism."

"Cranmer: I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it; therefore when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation."—Id. p. 1440. —"A different explanation of this title was given by Philpot, who in the convocation of the preceding October, 'stood up, and spake concerning the catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the catechism, in that it beareth the title of the synod of London last before this, although many of them which were then present

in number forty-two, and were agreed to in the convocation 1552. And in the year 1553 they were published by the king's authority both in Latin and English. After they were finished, he laboured to have the clergy subscribe them: but against their wills he compelled none; though afterwards some charged him falsely to do so: which he utterly denied, as he declared before the said queen's commissioners[p]. But to enter into some par-

were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this house had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the king's majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might well be said to be done in the synod of London, although such as be of this house now had no notice thereof before the promulgation.' Foxe, vol. iii. p. 20. (p. 1410. ed. Lond. 1583.) See also Lamb, Hist. of the XXXIX. Articles, p. 8. It is a question who was the author of this catechism. By the Oxford disputants it was attributed, on the assertion, as they pretended, of Cranmer, to Ridley: but Ridley himself, though he admitted that he noted many things for it and consented to it, denied that he was its author. It has been ascribed also to Ponet, bishop of Winchester, and to Alex. Nowell. Ward, one of the English divines sent to the synod of Dort, believed it to be Nowell's; and Strype, in his later publications, expresses the same opinion. But it must be confessed that his reasons are not convincing.—See Burn. Ref. vol. iii. p. 410. (ed. Oxon. 1829.) Strype, Cranm. p. 294. (ed. Oxon. 1840.) Eccl. Memor. vol. ii. p. 368. (pt. ii. p. 24. ed. Oxon. 1829.) Annals, vol. i. p. 353. (pt. i. pp. 525–527. ed. Oxon. 1840.) Preface to Cranmer's Catechism, Oxford, 1829."—Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 65. n. [u].—"It may be added, that the idea that bishop Ponet was the author of this catechism seems to be the most correct. It is strengthened by the following passage in a letter, obtained from Zurich by the Parker Society, written by sir John Cheke to Bullinger, dated June 7, 1553: 'Nuper etiam J. Wintoniensis Episcopi [Ponet] Catechismum auctoritate sua scholis commendavit, et articulos synodi Londinensis promulgavit, quos tu si cum Tridentina compares, intelliges spiritus spiritui quid præstet.' "—Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 422. n. [2]. Park. Soc. ed.]

[p] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1877. ed. Lond. 1583.]

ticulars concerning so eminent a matter ecclesiastical as this was.

The archbishop's diligence in them.

In the year 1551, the king and his privy-council ordered the archbishop to frame a book of articles of religion for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this church, that, being finished, they might be set forth by public authority. The archbishop, in obedience hereunto, drew up a set of articles, which were delivered to certain other bishops to be inspected and subscribed, I suppose, by them. Before them they lay until this year 1552. Then, May 2, "a letter" was sent from the council to our archbishop, to send the articles that were "delivered the last year to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority, according to the minutes[q]." The archbishop accordingly sent the articles, and his answer, unto the lords of the council. In September I find the articles were again in his hands. Then he set the book in a better order, and put titles upon each of the articles, and some additions, for the better perfecting of the work, and supply of that which lacked. And so transmitted the book again from Croydon, September 19, to sir William Cecyl and sir John Cheke, the one the king's principal secretary, and the other his tutor, being the two great patrons of the reformation at the court: desiring them together to take these articles into their serious considerations; for he well knew them to be both wise and good men, and very well seen in divine learning. And he referred it to their wisdoms, whether they thought best to move the king's majesty therein before his coming to court; as though he conceived the king might make some demur in so weighty an affair, till he should consult

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[q] [MSS. Council Book, Privy Council Office, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 543.]

with the metropolitan, in order to the coming to a resolution; or that there were some great persons about the king, that might cast some scruples and objections in his mind concerning it, which he by his presence might prevent, or be ready at hand to resolve. Cecyl and Cheke thought it more convenient the archbishop should offer them to the king himself. So, coming to court soon after, he delivered the book to the king, and moved him for their publishing and due observation. And so, leaving them before the king and council, they were then again delivered unto certain of the king's chaplains, who made some alterations. For I find that, October 21, "a letter" was directed "to Mr. Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain articles," (which must be these articles of religion), "exhibited to the king's majesty, to be subscribed by all such as shall be admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realm; and to make report of their opinions touching the same [r]." Council Book.

The time of the year declined now towards the latter end of November; and the archbishop being retired down from Croydon to his house at Ford near Canterbury, the privy-council [s], November 20, dispatched, by a messenger, the articles unto him to be reviewed, and for his last hand, that they might be presented before the convocation, and allowed there; and so be published by the royal authority. The archbishop received the book and letter from the council, November 23. And, making some notes upon it, enclosed them in a letter to the lords, and sent them, together with the book the next day; beseeching them to prevail with the king, that all bishops should have authority to cause their respective clergy to subscribe it: and "then he trusted," (as he wrote), "that such a concord

[r] [MSS. Council Book, Privy Council Office, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 624.]

[s] [Id. fol. 645.]

and quietness in religion would soon follow, as otherwise would not be in many years. And thereby God would be glorified, and the truth advanced, and their lordships rewarded by him, as the setters forth of his true word and gospel." This pious letter may be read in the Appendix[t].

No. LXIV.

The archbishop retires to Ford.

The king went a progress this summer; and the archbishop retired to Croydon: where I find him in July, August, and September. And thence, October 11, he went to Ford, to spend some time in his diocese. Now he was absent from the court, and the king abroad at that distance that he could not frequently wait upon him, and be present at the council, his enemies were at work to bring him into trouble, as we shall see by and bye.

[t] [See Appendix, Nos. lxv, lxvi, lxvii.]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PERSONS NOMINATED FOR IRISH BISHOPRICS.

Consulted with for fit persons to fill the Irish sees.

THERE were certain bishoprics in Ireland about this time vacant; one whereof was that of Armagh: and it was thought convenient to have them filled by divines out of England. In the month of August the archbishop was consulted with for this; that so, by the influence of very 274
wise and learned men, and good preachers, the gospel might be the better propagated in that dark region. But because it was foreseen to be difficult to procure any Englishmen, so endowed, to go over thither, therefore secretary Cecyl, being then with the king in his progress, sent a letter to the archbishop at Croydon, to nominate some worthy persons for those preferments, and whom he thought would be willing to undertake them. He returned him the names of four; viz. Mr. Whitehead of Hadley[r], Mr. Turner of Canterbury, sir Thomas Rosse[s], and sir Robert

[r] [See above, p. 355. n. [h].]

[s] [Sir Thomas Rosse, or Rose, was arrested A.D. 1533, by the sergeant-at-arms, at the instigation of Walter and John Clerke, by whom he was charged with having been "privy of the burning of the rood of Dover court;" he was "set at liberty by archbishop Cranmer's means; but yet so, that he was bounden not to come within twenty miles of Hadleigh. After this he came to London, and there preached the Gospel half a year, till Hadleigh men hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadleigh again, and indeed by means of sir John Rainford, knight, obtained at the archbishop's house to have him thither. Howbeit, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadleigh, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years; till at length the adversaries procured an inhibition from the bishop of Norwich, to put him to silence." He endured much persecution in queen Mary's reign, but escaped. —See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 2083–2086. ed. Lond. 1583. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 329, 401. pt. ii. p. 147. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[No. LXV.]

Wisdom[t]. He said, "he knew many others in England that would be meet persons for those places, but very few that would gladly be persuaded to go thither:" for it seems the English were never very fond of living in Ireland. But he added concerning these four which he had named, "that he thought they, being ordinarily called, for conscience-sake would not refuse to bestow the talent committed unto them, wheresoever it should please the king's majesty to appoint them." He recommended likewise a fifth person for this promotion, one Mr. * Whitacre[u], a wise and well-learned man, (as he characters him), who was chaplain to the bishop of Winchester [Poinet]. But he doubted whether he would be persuaded to take it upon him.

Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the archbishopric of Armagh. Mr. Whitehead.

It may not be amiss to make some inquiry who and what those four before-mentioned persons were.

Mr. Whitehead was an exile in queen Mary's reign, and pastor of the English congregation at Frankfort. And at the conference in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's government, he was one of the nine disputants on the protestant side, and one of the appointed eight to revise the

[t] [Robert Wisdom was parson of St. Catherine's, Lothbury; he was imprisoned upon the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, and fled to Frankfort in the time of queen Mary. He "was collated" to the archdeaconry of Ely, "Jan. 1, 1560," and subscribed, as a member of convocation, the articles of 1562; "he died in 1568." —See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 567, 570. ed. Oxon. 1822. Strype's Annals of Reformat. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 489, 491. ed. Oxon. 1824. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 74.]

* I suppose this might be a slip of the archbishop's pen or memory, writing "Whitacre" for "Goodacre," who afterwards was placed in that Irish see, and had been Poinet's chaplain.

[u] [Hugh Goodacre (Whitacre) was vicar of Shalfleet, (Isle of Wight), before he succeeded to the archbishopric of Armagh.—See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 523.]

Service Book. The writer of the "Troubles at Frankfort" mentions three, viz. Coverdale, Turner, and this Whitehead; of whom he saith, "that they were the most ancient preachers of the Gospel, and the most ancient fathers of this our country; and that from their pens, as well as their mouths, most of queen Elizabeth's divines and bishops first received the light of the Gospel[x]." Why Cranmer should style him Whitehead of Hadley, I do not apprehend; seeing Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, was now parson of Hadley, who not long after was there burnt: and one Yeomans[y] was Taylor's curate there, who also was afterwards burnt at Norwich. But I suppose this was some other Hadley.

I find two about this time bearing the name of Turner; both eminent men, and preachers: the one was named William Turner[z], a doctor in physic, and greatly befriended by sir John Cheke and sir William Cecyl. This man, a native of Northumberland, was the first Englishman that compiled an herbal; which was the groundwork of that which Gerarde[a] laid the last hand unto. He was a retainer Mr. Turner.

[x] ["And it maie here also be noted, that the moste auncientest fathers of this oure owne countrie, as maister Couerdale, maister D. Turner, maister Whithead, and many others some dead some yet liuinge (from whose mouthes and pennes the vrgers of theis receiued first the light off the Gospell) could neuer be brought to yelde or consent vnto such thinges as are now forced with so greate extremitie."—A Brief discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort, p. ccxv. ed. (reprint) 1846.]

[y] [For "the history and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, Dr. Taylor's curate at Hadley," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 2045, 6. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[z] [See above, p.270 . n. a.]

[a] ["John Gerarde, an English botanist and surgeon, born at Nantwich, in Cheshire, in 1545, and died in 1607. He was the author of 'Catalogus arborum, fructicum, et herbarum,' and the 'Herbal or general history of plants,' a work which contributed to diffuse a taste for botany; he also became master of the Apothecaries company."]

to the duke of Somerset in Edward VIth's time, and was physician in ordinary to his family: and the year before this, viz. 1551, I find him dean of Wells. The other was Richard Turner, a Staffordshire man, in former time curate of Chartham in Kent, and commonly called Turner of Canterbury, living in the family of Mr. Morice, the archbishop's secretary, (of whom afterwards), who held the impropriation of that parsonage, and had presented
275 this man to the vicarage. For his free and bold preaching against popish errors, and asserting the king's supremacy, and for the extraordinary success of his ministry in bringing multitudes of people in those parts out of ignorance and superstition, he was put to much trouble and danger. He was first complained of to the king; and being brought up, the archbishop, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, were commanded to examine him upon certain articles. But, by the secret favour of the archbishop, and his own prudent answers, he was then discharged. Soon after, upon some false reports told of him, king Henry was so offended, that he sent for the archbishop, willing him to have him whipt out of the country. But the archbishop pacified the king, and sent him home the second time. Afterwards, a third time, his old enemies, the popish clergy, got him convented before the privy-council, and committed for doctrines preached by him before he came into Kent. The archbishop being then down in his diocese, Turner was sent back to him with an order to recant; to whom, when his fast friend and patron, Mr. Morice, had applied himself in his behalf, the archbishop himself, being now under some cloud, dared not to interpose, because, as he then said, it had been put into the king's head that he was the great favourer, and maintainer of all the heretics in the kingdom. Morice, then, that he might prevent this recantation, if possible,

which would have been such a reflection to the doctrine he before had preached, addressed his letters to sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and sir William Butts, his physician, relating at large Turner's case. And by their means the king became better informed of the man, and, in fine, commanded him to be retained as a faithful subject. This story is at large related by Foxe[b]. And this I judge to be that Turner, whom the archbishop nominated for Ireland, having lived long in his diocese, and so well known to him; and whom he had, I suppose, removed to Canterbury, to a prebend, or some other preferment there. Here he did this remarkable and bold piece of service, that when, about three years past, the rebels were up in Kent, he then preached twice in the camp near Canterbury: for which the rebels were going to hang him. But God preserved him[c]. In

[b] [For "a letter of apology of M. Morice, sent to sir William Butts, and sir Anthony Denny, defending the cause of M. Richard Turner, preacher against the papists," see Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1868–1870. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[c] [The following passage relating to Richard Turner is found in a letter of archbishop Cranmer to sir William Cecil; "After my very hearty recommendations: now at the last, against his will, Turner is come up unto the court. He preached twice in the camp that was by Canterbury; for the which the rebels would have hanged him; and he seemed then more glad to go to hanging, than he doth now to go to Armachane; he alleged so many excuses, but the chief is this, that he shall preach to the walls and stalls, for the people understand no English. I bear him in hand, Yes; and yet I doubt whether they speak English in the diocese of Armachane. But if they do not, then I say, that if he will take the pain to learn the Irish tongue, which, with diligence he may do in a year or two, then both his person and doctrine shall be more acceptable not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland. I commit him to your cure, praying you to help him to have as ready a dispatch as may be, for he hath but a little money."—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 439. Park. Soc. ed. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 355. See also the Appendix to this volume, No. lxvi.]

Bale's Cent. queen Mary's time he fled to Basil; where he expounded upon St. James, the Hebrews, and the Ephesians, to the exiles there; when James Pilkington expounded Ecclesiastes, and both Epistles of Peter, and the Galatians; and Bentham the Acts of the Apostles[d].

Thomas Rosse, or Rose. Thomas Rosse, or Rose[e], was also as memorable a man; very eminent both for his preachings and sufferings. He was a west-country man, but by providence was removed into Suffolk, and at Hadley had preached against purgatory and worshipping images, about the time that Bilney and Latimer did the like in Cambridge, (which was five and twenty or thirty years past); whereby he had brought many to the knowledge of the truth in that town. About the year 1532, when certain persons, out of their zeal against idolatry, had stolen by night the rood out of the church at Dover Court in Essex, for which, being found
276 guilty of felony, they were hanged, Rose seemed to have been privy hereunto; for with the rood they conveyed away the slippers, the coat, and the tapers belonging to

[d] ["Sunt adhuc, præter eos, quos in hac nona centuria tetigi, præclari concionatores, theologi ac bonarum artium studiosi, numero plures: qui —— maluerunt in solitudinem fugere, quam cum pseudoprophetis, Samariæ aut Babyloniæ deliciis frui. Ex horum numero, in nostro collegio sunt: Jacobus Pilkintonus, eruditus ac pius theologus, qui utramque D. Petri epistolam elegantер exposuit, et nunc in Salominis Ecclesiastice fideliter laborat. Ricardus Turnerus, quem Cantuariensem vocant. Thomas Bentham."—Bale. Script. illust. catal. p. 741. ed. Basil. 1557. "Jacobum Pilkintonum, Lancastriensem, Ricardum Turnerum, quem de Cantuaria vocant, Straffordiensem, atque Thomam Benthamum, Eboracensem, viros venerabiles ac Dei spiritu affatim illustratos, libens his adderem. Quorum Jacobus Salomonis Ecclesiasten, utramque D. Petri epistolam, ac Paulum ad Galatas: Ricardus, epistolam Jacobi, Paulumque ad Hebræos et Ephesios: atque Thomas, Apostolorum acta, nobis qui adhuc Basiliæ sumus piissime ac doctissime exposuerunt."—Id. pt. ii. p. 113.]

[e] [See above, p. 369. n. s.]

it; which coat Rose burnt. Whether for this, or some other thing, he was complained of to the council, and brought before them, and by the bishop of Lincoln[f] was committed to prison: where he lay for some days and nights with both his legs in an high pair of stocks, his body lying along on the ground. Thence he was removed to Lambeth, in the year that Cranmer was consecrated, (which was 1533), who set him at liberty. Afterward he was admitted by Crumwel to be his chaplain, that thereby he might get a license to preach. After various tossings from place to place, for safety of his life, he fled into Flanders and Germany, and came to Zurich, and remained with Bullinger; and to Basle, where he was entertained by Grinæus. After some time he returned back into England, but was glad to fly beyond sea again. Three years after, in his voyage back to his own country again, he was taken prisoner by some French, and carried into Dieppe, where he was spoiled of all he had. His ransom was soon after paid by a well-disposed person, who also brought him over into England. Then the earl of Sussex[g] received him, and his wife and child, privately into his house. But when this was known, the earl sent him a secret letter to be gone: and so he lurked in London till the death of King Henry VIII. King Edward gave him a living of West Ham, near London, in Essex. Being deprived upon queen Mary's coming to

[f] [John Longland.]

[g] [i. e. Henry Ratcliffe, second earl of Sussex, who was lord lieutenant of Norfolk, and supported queen Mary's claims in that county, in behalf of whose title he raised forces, and was of great service to her in obtaining the crown; he was sent to Spain as ambassador to conclude the marriage between Mary and Philip: he died, according to Strype, Feb. 17, 1556, according to Burnet, in March, 1557. —See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 464. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 134, 196, 512. ed. Oxon. 1822. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. p. 503. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

the crown, he was sometime preacher to a congregation in London; but was taken at one of their meetings in Bow-church-yard. Which, I suppose, was in the year 1555. For then he was in the Tower: and thence, in the month of May, by the council's letters, he was delivered to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or to proceed against him according to law[h]. Much imprisonment and many examinations he underwent, both from the bishops of Winchester[i] and Norwich[j]; but escaped at last, by a great providence, beyond sea, where he tarried till the death of queen Mary. And after these his harassings up and down in the world, he was at last, in queen Elizabeth's happy reign, quietly settled at Luton in Bedfordshire, where he was preacher, and lived to a very great age.

Robert Wisdom.

The fourth was Robert Wisdom[k], a man eminent, as the rest, both for his exemplary conversation and for his preaching, together with his sufferings attending thereon. In Henry VIIIth's reign he was a person of fame among the professors of the Gospel in the south parts of the nation: whence, after many painful labours and persecutions he fled into the north; as did divers other preachers of the pure religion in those times. There in

[h] ["At Hampton Court, the 7. of May, an°. 1555.—A letter to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the body of Thomas Rosse there to the sheriff of Norfolk to be by him ordered as he is appointed.—A letter to the bishop of Norwich to receive the said Rosse at the sheriff's hands and to travail to reduce him from his heresies to the truth; otherwise to proceed against him according to the order of the laws."—MSS. Council Book. Privy Council Office. A.D. 1553–1557. fol. 239. Original.]

[i] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[j] [John Hopton, who was consecrated Oct. 25, or 28, 1554. He died in 1558.—See Le Neve's Fasti, p. 212.]

[k] [See above, p. 370. n. [t].]

Staffordshire he was one of those that were entertained by John Old[l], a pious professor, and harbourer of good men: and Thomas Becon[m], was another, who was taken up with Bradford[n] in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and committed to the Tower. Of this Old the said Becon, in a treatise of his, printed in Edward VIth's reign, gives this character: That "he was to him and Wisdom, as Jason was to Paul and Silas: he received us joyfully into his house, and liberally, for the Lord's sake, ministered [all good things] to our necessities. And as he began, so did he continue, a right hearty friend, and dearly loving brother, so long as we remained in the country[o]. [p]While Wisdom was here, "he was ever virtuously occupied, and suffered no hour to pass [away] without (some) good fruit:" employing himself now in writing, as he had before in preaching. Besides other books formerly writ by him, he penned here "very godly and fruitful expositions upon certain psalms of David, of the which [also] he translated some into English metre [very learnedly]." There is one of them, and I think no more,

The Jewel of Joy.

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[l] [John Old, D. D., "a teacher of youth, as well as a teacher of the gospel," was the translator, at the desire of bishop Latimer, of Erasmus' Paraphrase upon all the canonical epistles, and was concerned in the royal visitation of 1547; he became vicar of Cubbington, Warwickshire, and was also appointed to a prebend in the church of Hereford," A.D. 1552. In the time of queen Mary he was an exile for his religion.—See above, p. 14; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 47, pt. ii. p. 273. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[m] [For a biog. notice of Thomas Becon, S. T. P., chaplain to abp. Cranmer, see "Early Writings of Thomas Becon," pp. vii. et sqq. Park. Soc. ed.]

[n] [See above, p. 300. n. [a].]

[o] [See Becon's Jewel of joy, Works, (Catechism, &c.) p. 422. Park. Soc. ed.]

[p] They were both forced to recant openly at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1544, together with one Shingleton. And hereupon, I suppose, they conveyed themselves into the north parts for security.

still remaining in our ordinary singing psalms; namely, the hundred [and] twenty-fifth, which in the title is said to be composed by R. W. There is also a hymn of his preserved, and set usually at the end of our English singing psalms, in our Bibles, beginning, "Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word." He writ here "also many godly and learned sermons upon the Epistles and Gospels, [that are] read [in the temples] on Sundays." He "translated a postil of Antonius Corvinus," a Lutheran divine, "and divers other learned men's works." And some of his adversaries having laid certain errors to his charge very unjustly, he writ a confutation thereof; a book, it seems, replenished "with all kind of godly learning." These, and several other things, he writ while he was here, but they were not published. After his abode in this place some time, he was by letters called away again among his former friends and acquaintance[q]. And what became of him afterwards, I find not; until here, in Edward VIth's reign, he was nominated by our archbishop to be made archbishop of Armagh. But in queen Mary's reign he fled to Frankfort, where he remained one of the members of the English congregation there. And when an unhappy breach was made there among them, some being for the use of the Geneva discipline and form, and others for the continuance of that form of prayers that had been used in England in king Edward's days; and the faction grew to that head, that the former separated themselves from the rest, and departed to Geneva: this Wisdom did, in a sermon preached at Frankfort, vindicate the English book, and somewhat sharply blamed them that went away, calling them mad-heads. As one Thomas Cole wrote

[q] [Becon's Jewel of Joy, Works, (Catechism, &c.), pp. 422, 3. Park. Soc. ed.]

from thence to a friend, with this censure on him: "That he so called them, he would not say, unwisely, [alluding to his name Wisdom], but he might well say, uncharitably."

I have thought good to give this account of these men, that we may perceive hence the good judgment of our archbishop in propounding them for those Irish preferments; so fit and well qualified for them, as in other respects of prudence and learning, so especially for their tried zeal and boldness in preaching the gospel, and their constancy in suffering for it; which were virtues that there would be great occasion for in Ireland.

The character the archbishop gave of the two former.

Of all these four, our archbishop judged Mr. Whitehead the fittest; giving this character of him, That he was endued with "good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and politic wisdom." And the next to him in fitness he judged Turner: of whom he gives this relation: "That he was merry and witty withal, 'Nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum.' And, in the lively preaching of him and his word, declared such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation."

[No. LXV.]

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Turner designed for Armagh.

In fine, Turner was the man concluded upon by the king for the archbishopric of Armagh, Whitehead either being not overcome to accept it, or otherwise designed. And the archbishop had order from court to send to Canterbury for him to come up, which accordingly he did. And now, about the middle of September, much against his will, as not liking his designed preferment, Turner waited upon the archbishop, who, urging to him the king's will and pleasure, and his ordinary call unto this place, and such like arguments, after a great unwillingness, prevailed with him to accept it. But the archbishop told the secretary, that Turner seemed more

[No. LXVI.] glad to go to hanging, (which the rebels three years before were just going to do with him, for his preaching against them in their camp), than he was now to go to Armagh. He urged to the archbishop, "That if he went thither, he should have no auditors, but must preach to the walls and stalls; for the people understood no English." The archbishop, on the other hand, endeavoured to answer all his objections. He told him, "They did understand English in Ireland; though whether they did in the diocese of Armagh, he did indeed doubt. But, to remedy that, he advised him to learn the Irish tongue: which with diligence," he told him, "he might do in a year or two: and that there would this advantage arise thereby, that both his person and doctrine would be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland." And so, by a letter to secretary Cecyl, recommended him to his care; entreating, "that he might have as ready a dispatch as might be, because he had but little money[r]."

But declines it. This letter of the archbishop is dated Sept. 19th, 1552. So that it must be a mistake in the late excellent historian, when he writes, that Bale and Goodacre were sent over into Ireland to be bishops in the month of August[s]: which cannot agree with this letter of Cranmer, which makes Turner to be in nomination only for that see a month after. And by certain memorials of king Edward's own hand, which I have, it appears, that as Turner at last got himself off from accepting that bishopric, so by the date thereof it is evident, it was vacant in October following: for the king, under that month, put the providing for that place, which Turner refused, among his matters to be remembered. The archbishop's letters concerning this Irish affair are in the Appendix.

Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 205.

No. LXV, LXVI.

[r] [See above, p. 373. n. [c].]

[s] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 422. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

So that at last this charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, the last man, as it seems, nominated by the archbishop; whom he termed "a wise and learned man." He and Bale, as they came together out of bishop Poinet's family unto their preferments, so they were consecrated together by Browne, archbishop of Dublin, February 2; assisted by Thomas, bishop of Kildare, and Eugenius, bishop of Down and Connor, which makes me think they were not come over long before. Goodacre died about a quarter of a year after at Dublin, and there buried, not without suspicion of poison, by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices, as Bale writes [t]. He left many writings of great value behind him, as the said Bale, his dear friend, relates; but none, as ever I heard of, published. As he was a sober and virtuous man, so he was particularly famed for his preaching. He was at first, I suppose, chaplain to the lady Elizabeth; at least to her he had been long known. And for him, about the year 1548, or 1549, she procured a license to preach from the protector; as appears by a letter she wrote from Enfield to Mr. Cecyl, who then attended on him, of which Goodacre himself was the bearer; wherein she gave this testimony of him; "That he had been of long time known unto her

Goodacre made archbishop of Armagh.

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Vocation of John Bale. Balæi Centur. [u]

[t] ["In the mean time came sorrowful news unto me that M. Hugh Goodacre, the archbishop of Armach, that godly preacher, and virtuous learned man, was poisoned at Dublin, by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God's verity and rebuking their common vices. And letters by and by were directed unto me, by my special friends from thence, to beware of the like in my diocese of Ossory, which made me peradventure more circumspect than I would have been."—The vocation of John Bale, &c., fol. 22. ed. Rom. 1553.]

[u] "Beatæ memoriæ concionatorem in Hibernia vigilantissimum, ac theologica eloquentia non immerito commendatum." [Bale. illust. vir. catal. pt. ii. p. 231. ed. Basil 1557.]

to be as well of honest conversation, and sober living, as of sufficient learning and judgment in the Scriptures, to preach the word of God. The advancement whereof," as she said, "she so desired, that she wished there were many such to set forth God's glory. She desired him therefore, that as heretofore, at her request, he had obtained license to preach for divers other honest men, so he would recommend this man's case unto my lord, and therewith procure for him the like license as to the other had been granted."

Letters from the council to Ireland, recommending the Irish bishops.

And lastly, that Goodacre, and his colleague Bale might find the better countenance and authority, when they should exercise their functions in that country, the privy-council wrote two letters to the lord deputy and council of Ireland; the one, dated October 27[v], "in commendation of Bale, elect bishop of Ossory;" and the other, dated November 4, "in commendation of Goodacre, elect bishop of Armachan[w]."

Council Book.

[v] [MSS. Council Book. Privy Council Office, A.D. 1550—1553. fol. 630.]

[w] [Id. fol. 635.]

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ARCHBISHOP CHARGED WITH COVETOUSNESS.

To divert the king after the loss of his uncle, whom he dearly loved, Northumberland[x] took him in progress in the summer of this year. While he was in this progress, some about his person, that they might the better make way for their sacrilegious designs, and to make the king the more inclinable to lay hands on the episcopal demeans, or at least to clip and pare them, buzzed about the court rumours, how rich the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops were; and withal, how niggardly and unsuitably they lived to their great incomes, laying up, and scraping together to enrich themselves and their posterities; whereby hospitality was neglected, which was especially required of them. Hereupon sir William Cecyl the secretary, who was now with the king, and took notice of these discourses, and saw well the malicious tendency thereof, (and moreover thought them perhaps in some measure to be true), laboured to hinder the ill consequence: for he was ever a very great favourer, as of the reformed clergy, so of their estate and honours. This put him upon writing a private letter from court to the archbishop, desiring him favourably to take a piece of good counsel at his hands, as he intended it innocently and out of a good mind, acquainting him with the reports at the court of his riches, and of his covetousness; reminding him withal of that passage of St. Paul, "They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare;" meaning probably thereby, the danger that he and the rest of his brethren might expose their revenues to thereby. The archbishop

A rumour given out of the archbishop's covetousness and wealth.

Which Cecyl sends him word of.

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[x] [See above, p. 206. n. o.]

The archbishop's answer for himself and the other bishops.

seemed somewhat nettled, and, perceiving the ill designs, dispatched an answer hereunto, giving a true account of his own condition, and of the other bishops, as to temporal things, and letting him understand, how much the world was mistaken in him and the rest: "That for himself he feared not that saying of St. Paul half so much as he did stark beggary. That he took not half so much care for his living, when he was a scholar of Cambridge, as he did at that present: for although he had now much more revenue, yet," he said, "he had much more to do withal. That he had more care now to live as an archbishop, than he had at that time to live like a scholar. That he had not now so much as he had within ten years past by an hundred and fifty pounds of certain rent, besides casualties. That he paid double for every thing he bought: and that if a good auditor had this account, he should find no great surplusage to grow rich upon." And then, as for the rest of the bishops, he told him, "that they were all beggars, but only one single[y] man of them: and yet he dared well say, that he was not very rich. And that if he knew any bishop that were covetous, he would surely admonish him. Intreating the secretary, that, if he could inform him of any such, he would signify him, and himself would advertise him, thinking he could do it better than the other." Who seemed to have hinted his mind to the archbishop, that he intended to do it. This letter will be found among the rest in the Appendix.

No. LXVII.

No doubt the archbishop was thus large and earnest on this subject to supply the secretary with arguments to confute that malicious talk at court concerning the bishops, and to prevent the mischiefs hatching against them.

This very slander raised upon

Nor indeed was this the first time this archbishop was thus slandered. For some of his enemies, divers years

[y] He probably was Holgate, archbishop of York.

before, had charged him to his loving master, king Henry VIII., with covetousness and ill housekeeping: and the chief of these, that raised this report, was sir Thomas Seymour. But the king made him to convince himself, by sending him to Lambeth about dinner time upon some pretended message: where his own eyes saw how the archbishop lived in far other sort than he had told the king, keeping great and noble hospitality. So that, when he returned, he acknowledged to his majesty, that he never saw so honourable a hall set in this realm, besides his majesty's, in all his life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. And the king then gave this testimony of him, "Ah, good man! all that he hath he spendeth in housekeeping [z]." Foxe.

him to king Henry.

For this reason probably it was, as well as upon the account of his good service, and also of the exchanges he was forced to make, that the said king gave him a promise of a grant of some lands, and by a general clause in his will signified as much; which was, "That certain persons should be considered." Accordingly I find in the fore-mentioned manuscript-book of sales of king's lands, that Thomas archbishop of Canterbury did, in the first year of king Edward VI., partly by purchase, and partly by exchange of other lands, procure divers lands of the king. He obtained the rectory of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale, in the county of Lancaster, lately belonging to the monastery or abbey of Whalley in the same county; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lancaster, Kent, Surrey, London, Bangor. And this partly in consideration of king Henry VIII's promise, and in performance of his will, and partly in exchange for the manor and park of Mayfield in the county of Sussex;

King Henry promised him lands.

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This promise performed by king Edward.

[z] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1864, 5. ed. Lond. 1583.]

and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Kent, Buckingham, and York. This purchase he made, I suppose, not for himself, but for his see. About the same time he also bought of the king, for the sum of five hundred and eighty pounds, eight shillings, and four pence, the manor of Sleaford in the county of Lincoln, and of Middleton-Cheny in the county of Northampton, and divers other lands and tenements in the said counties. He made another purchase of the king the same year, that is, the first of his reign, for four hundred twenty-nine pounds, fourteen shillings, and two pence, and "for the fulfilling the last will of the late king, and in consideration of services," as it is expressed in the said book of sales. This purchase was the priory of Arthington, in the county of York, and divers other lands and tenements in York, Nottingham, and Kent. An extract of which three purchases, exactly taken out of the said book, with the value of the lands, and the rent reserved, and the time of the issues, and the test of the patent, I have thought fit to insert in the Appendix, which probably may not be unacceptable to curious persons.

His purchases.

Number LXVIII.

Which purchases when we consider, we might be ready to make a stand, to resolve ourselves how the archbishop could represent his condition so mean as he did in the letter before-mentioned, as though he feared he should die a beggar. But it will unriddle this, if we think how the archbishopric had been fleeced by king Henry VIII., in ten years before: insomuch that the rents were less by an hundred and fifty pounds per annum, than they were before; besides the loss of fines, and other accidental benefits, as it is mentioned by the archbishop in his letter. Add those extraordinary expences he was at in the maintenance of divines and scholars, strangers, that were exiles for religion, and the salaries, and pensions, and gratuities,

The archbishopric fleeced by king Henry.

sent to learned men abroad, besides his great and liberal housekeeping, and constant table, and large retinue.

But, to make appear more particularly in this place how king Henry pared his revenue, I will give one instance of what was passed away at one clap by exchange; which was indeed so considerable, that it was commonly called, "The great exchange." This way of exchanging lands was much used in those times; wherein the princes commonly made good bargains for themselves, and ill ones for the bishoprics. This exchange, made by Cranmer with the king, was on the first day of December, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, being the very year of the suppression of the greater abbeys and religious convents. They were the ancient demeans belonging to the archbishopric, consisting of many noble manors, whereof some had palaces annexed to them. I shall name only those that lay in the county of Kent, as I find them dispersed in Philipott's book of Kent.

Lands past away to the crown by exchange.

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Villare Cantian.

I. The manor and palace of Maidstone; which palace, Leland saith, was once a castle[a].

II. The manor and palace of Charing.

III. Wingham.

IV. Wingham-Barton, in the parish of Alresford. But in this Philipott is mistaken; for this was let to sir Edward Bainton for ninety-nine years, by means of the king's own solicitation to the archbishop.

V. Wrotham.

VI. Saltwood; that had in times past a magnificent castle and park, and many manors held of it by knights' service, which made it called an Honour.

VII. Tenham.

[a] ["The castle standeth abowt the myddes of the town, being well maintained by the archbishop of Cant." — Leland's Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 101. ed. Oxon. 1710–12.]

VIII. Bexley.

IX. Aldington. Where was a seat for the archbishop, a park, and a chase for deer, called Aldington-Frith. Besides Clive or Cliff; and Malingden, a manor appendant thereunto: which king Henry took away from this see and bishop, without any satisfaction, as far as I can find. Also Pinner, Hayes, Harrow, Mortlake, &c. were part of this great exchange. In lieu of these demeans past over to the crown by way of exchange, the king conveyed several manors to the archbishop, all which had appertained to the lately dissolved religious houses. Namely, these among others:

Lands made over to the archbishop.

I. Pising; a parcel of the abbey of St. Radigunds.

II. Brandred; another manor belonging to the said abbey.

III. The college of Bredgar.

IV. Reculver; another abbey suppressed.

V. Dudmanscomb; belonging to the priory of St. Martin's in Dover[a].

The archbishop parted also with Knoll and Otford to the king.

One author, viz. Kilburn[b], that hath wrote of Kent, makes Cranmer also to have made over to the king the sumptuous palace of Otford, built by archbishop Warham, which cost him thirty-three thousand pounds, (a vast sum in those days), as Lambard[c] tells us. Philipott, another writer of that county, saith that this was incorporated into the revenue of the crown by the builder himself, archbishop Warham, about the twelfth year of that king's reign; together with the magnificent seat of Knoll, near Sevenoaks; exchanging both with the king for other lands,

[a] [See Philipott's Villare Cantianum, pp. 40, 44, 65, 100, 119, 228, 278, 298, 299, 336, 363, 373, 374. ed. Lond. 1659.]

[b] [See Kilburn's Topography, or Survey of Kent, p. 208. ed. Lond. 1659.]

[c] [See Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 377. ed. Lond. 1576.]

to extinguish the passions of such as looked with regret and desire upon the patrimony of the church[d]. But it appears, by a writing of Cranmer's own secretary, that this archbishop parted with both Otford and Knoll at once to the king, after he had possessed them some years; and not Warham, as Philipott mistakes[e]. MSS. C.C.C.C.

The world is apt to blame Cranmer for parting with these revenues of the see. But surely it was a true apology that the author before named[f] made for the archbishop's great exchange; namely, "Because he, finding that the spreading demeans of the church were in danger to be torn off by the talons of avarice and rapine, to mortify the growing appetites of sacrilegious cormorants, exchanged them with the crown." Which may be enough to stop any clamours against this most reverend prelate for this his doing: especially considering what I shall add upon this argument hereafter, from his own secretary. What moved him to make these exchanges. 283

His care and concern for the welfare of the English church made him ever most earnestly to love the king, and to have a very tender regard for the safety of his person. Who in the summer of this year, as was hinted before[g], went a progress, accompanied by the duke of Northumberland; brought about probably by him to get more into the king's affections, and to have his own designs the better to take effect, and with the less opposition and control: and possibly, that the king might be the further off from the archbishop to consult withal. His cares and fears for the king.

[d] [See Philipott's Villare Cantianum, pp. 263, 319.]

[e] [MSS. C.C.C.C. No. cxxix. — The indenture for effecting the exchange bears date Nov. 30, 29 Hen. VIII. i. e. A.D. 1537. Hasted's Hist. of Kent, vol. i. p. 322. ed. Cant. 1742–99.—A full account of the archbishop's houses at Maidstone, Otford, and Knoll, will be found in the same author, vol. i. pp. 323, 338, and vol. iii. p. 624.]

[f] [i. e. Philipott.]

[g] [See above, p. 383.]

But he had now a more especial concern upon him for his majesty at this time, as though his mind had prophetically presaged some evil to befall the king in that progress; (and indeed it was the last progress that ever he made). And so methinks do these expressions of the archbishop sound, in a letter, dated in July, to Cecyl, then attending the court; "beseeching Almighty God to preserve the king's majesty, with all his council and family, and send him well to return from his progress[g]." And in a letter the next month, "he thanked Cecyl for his news; but especially," said he, "for that ye advertise me that the king's majesty is in good health: wherein I beseech God long to continue his highness[h]." And when, in the latter end of the following month, the gests, (that is, the stages of his majesty's progress), were altered, which looked like some ill design, the archbishop entreated Cecyl to send him the new resolved-upon gests from that time to the end, that he might from time to time know where his majesty was; adding his prayer again for him, "that God would preserve and prosper him[i]."

[g] [See Appendix, No. lxvii. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 437, 8. Park. Soc. ed.]

[h] [See Appendix, No. cvi. in the third volume of this edition, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 438.]

[i] [See Appendix, No. lxv. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 438.]

CHAPTER XXX.

HIS CARE FOR THE VACANCIES.—FALLS SICK.

His care for filling the vacancies of the church.

While the king was thus abroad, and the archbishop absent, unworthy or disaffected men were in a fairer probability of getting promotions in the church, while he was not at hand for to nominate fit men to the king, and to advise him in the bestowing the vacant dignities and benefices. The archbishop knew very well how much learning and sobriety contributed towards the bringing the nation out of popery, and that nothing tended so effectually to continue it as the contrary. This matter the archbishop seemed to have discoursed at large with secretary Cecyl at parting; who therefore, by a letter sent to the said archbishop, then at his house at Ford, desired him to send him up a catalogue of learned men, and such as he 284
esteemed fit for places of preferment in the church and university: that so, as any place fell in the king's gift, the said secretary might be ready at the least warning to recommend fitting and worthy men to supply such vacancies, and to prevent any motion that might be made by any courtiers or simonists for ignorant persons, or corrupt in religion. In answer to which letter, the archbishop writ him word, that he would send him his mind in that matter with as much expedition as he could[j]. And undoubtedly we should have seen the good fruits of this afterwards in the church, had not the untimely death of that admirable prince, that followed not long after, prevented this good design.

Laboured under an ague this autumn.

This year the archbishop laboured under two fits of sickness at Croydon. The latter was caused by a severe

[j] [See Appendix, No. cviii. in the third volume of this edition, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 441.]

ague; of which his physicians doubted whether it were a quotidian, or a double-tertian; and, seizing him in the declining of the year, was in danger to stick by him all the winter. But, by the care of his physicians, in the latter end of August, it had left him two days, which made him hope he was quit thereof; yet his water kept an high colour. That second day he wrote to Cecyl, and "desired him to acquaint Cheke how it was with him. And now the most danger was," as he said, "that if it came again that night, it was like to turn to a quartan, a most stubborn ague, and likelier to continue and wear him out[k]." A disease, indeed, that carried off his successor, cardinal Pole, and was, as Godwin observed[l], a disease deadly and mortal unto elder folk.

The great mortality of agues about this time.

The archbishop's friends had reason to fear his distemper, if we think of the severity of agues in that age; greater, as it seems, than in this. Roger Ascham complaineth to his friend John Sturmius, anno 1562; "that, for four years past, he was afflicted with continual agues: that no sooner had one left him, but another presently followed; and that the state of his health was so impaired and broke by them, that an hectic fever seized his whole body: and the physicians promised him some ease, but no solid remedy[m]." And I find, six or seven years before that, mention made of hot burning fevers, whereof died many old

Stow's Chron.

[k] [See Appendix, No. lxv. and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 438.]

[l] [Godwin de Præsulibus, vol. i. p. 151. ed. Cantab. 1743.]

[m] ["Hos quatuor proximos superiores annos, ita continentibus febribus correptus sum, ut una vix me unquam reliquerit, quin etiam altera statim sit consecuta: atque sic rationes salutis meæ omnes, istis nexis et jugatis febribus, sunt fractæ et convulsæ, ut jam corpus meum omne febris illa hectica occupaverit: cui, medicorum filii, allevamentum aliquando, remedium solidum nunquam pollicentur."—Roger. Aschami Epist. p. 79. ed. Lond. 1790.]

persons; and that there died in the year 1556, seven aldermen within the space of ten months. And the next year, about harvest time, the quartan agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently than they had done the year before; and they were chiefly mortal to old people, and especially priests: so that a great number of parishes became destitute of curates, and none to be gotten; and much corn was spoiled for lack of harvest-men[n]. Such was the nature of this disease in these days.

That which most concerned him in his sickness.

But the severity or danger of the archbishop's distemper did not so much trouble him, as certain inconveniences that attended it; viz. that it put him off from those pious and holy designs that he was in hand with, for God's glory, and the good of the church. For so he expressed his mind to his friend the secretary; "However the matter chance, the most grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in such matters as I have in hand, according to my will and desire: this 'terrenum domicilium' is such an obstacle to 285
all good purposes[o]." So strongly bent was the heart of this excellent prelate to the serving of God and his church.

[n] ["In the last year began the hot burning fevers whereof died many old persons, so that in London there died seven aldermen in the space of ten months, whose names were Henry Herdion, who deceased the 22 of December, 1555; sir Richard Dobs, late mayor; sir William Laxton, late mayor; sir Henry Hoblethorn, late mayor; sir John Champneis, blind, late mayor; sir John Ayleffe, late sheriff, and sir John Gresham, late mayor, who deceased the 23. of October, anno 1556.—This year (i. e. 1558) in harvest time, the quartain agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently, than they had done the last year passed, wherethrough died many old people, and specially priests, so that a great number of parishes were unserved, and no curates to be gotten, and much corn was lost in the field for lack of workmen and labourers."—Stow's Chronicle, pp. 628, 634. ed. Lond. 1631.]

[o] [See Appendix, No. lxv. and Works of Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 438. Park. Soc. ed.]

But out of this sickness he escaped; for God had reserved him for another kind of death to glorify him by.

The secretary sends the archbishop the copy of the emperor's pacification.

A little before this sickness befel him, something fell out which gave him great joy. Cecyl knew how welcome good news out of Germany would be to him, and therefore in July sent him a copy of the pacification [p]; that is, the emperor's declaration of peace throughout the empire, after long and bloody wars; which consisted of such articles as were favourable unto the protestants, after much persecution of them: "as, that a diet of the empire should shortly be summoned, to deliberate about composing the differences of religion; and that the dissensions about religion should be composed by placid, and pious, and easy methods. And that in the mean time all should live in peace together, and none should be molested for religion; with divers other matters [q]." And in another letter, soon after, the said Cecyl advised him of a peace concluded between the emperor and Maurice, elector of Saxony, a warlike prince, and who headed the protestant army: which being news of peace among Christians, was highly acceptable to the good father. But he wanted much to know upon what terms, out of the concern he had that it might go well with the protestant interest: and therefore, Cecyl having not mentioned them, the archbishop earnestly, in a letter to him, desired to know whether the peace were according to the articles, meaning those of the pacification, or otherwise [r]. Which when he understood, (for upon the same articles that peace between

Vid. Sleid. lib. 24.

[p] [i. e. of Passau, the date of which was July 31, A. D. 1552, "upon which a definite arrangement was based for the future peace of Germany in matters of religion, A. D. 1557." Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 437. n. 3.]

[q] [Sleidan, de statu relig. et reipub. lib. xxiv. pp. 562 et sqq. ed. Francof. 1568.]

[r] [See Appendix, No. cvi. in the 3rd vol. of this edition, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 439.]

the emperor and duke Maurice stood), it created a great tranquillity to his pious mind. Thus were his thoughts employed about the matters of Germany, and the cause of religion there, which he rejoiced not a little to see in so fair a way to a good conclusion.

CHAPTER XXXI.

HIS KINDNESS FOR GERMANY.

His kindness for Germany.

To this country he had a particular kindness; not only because he had been formerly there in quality of ambassador from his master king Henry, and had contracted a great friendship with many eminent learned men there, and a near relation to some of them by marrying Osiander's niece at Nuremburg; but chiefly, and above all, because here the light of the gospel began first to break forth and display itself, to the spiritual comfort and benefit of other nations. He had many exhibitioners in those parts, to whom he allowed annual salaries: insomuch that some of his officers grumbled at it, as though his housekeeping were abridged by it. For when once in king Henry's reign, one, in discourse with an officer of his grace, had said, "He wondered his lordship kept no better an house;"
286 (though he kept a very good one): he answered, "It was no wonder, for my lord," said he, "hath so many exhibitions in Germany, that all is too little to scrape and get to send thither."

His correspondence with Germany,

He held at least a monthly correspondence to and from learned Germans: and there was one in Canterbury, appointed by him on purpose to receive and convey the letters, which his enemies once, in his troubles, made use of as an article against him. And Gardiner, a prebend of Canterbury, and preferred by the archbishop, of this very thing treacherously, in a secret letter, informed his grand enemy and competitor Gardiner, the bishop of Winton.

and with Herman, archbishop of Cologne.

Among the rest of his correspondents in Germany, Herman, the memorable and ever-famous archbishop and elector of Cologne, was one; who, by the counsel and di-

rection of Bucer and Melancthon, did vigorously labour a reformation of corrupt religion within his province and territories. But, finding the opposition against him so great, and lying under the excommunication of the pope for what he had done; and, being deprived thereupon by the emperor of his lands and function, he resigned his ecclesiastical honour, and betook himself to a retired life: which was done about the year 1547. But no question, in this private capacity, he was not idle in doing what service he could for the good of that cause which he had so generously and publicly espoused, and for which he had suffered so much. I find that, in this year 1552, our archbishop had sent a message to secretary Cecyl, who accompanied the king in this summer's progress, desiring him to be mindful of the bishop of Cologne's letters. And in another letter, dated July 21, he thanked the secretary for the good remembrance he had thereof[s]. What the contents of these letters of the archbishop of Cologne were, it appeareth not: but I am very apt to think the purport of them was, that Cranmer would solicit some certain business in the English court, relating to the affairs of religion in Germany, and for the obtaining some favour from the king in that cause. But the king being now abroad, and the archbishop at a distance from him, he procured the secretary, who was ever cordial to the state of religion, to solicit that archbishop's business for him: sending him withal that archbishop's letters for his better instruction.

And this, whatever it was, seems to have been the last good office that archbishop Herman did to the cause of religion; for he died, according to Sleidan[t], in the month

[s] [See Appendix, No. lxvii, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 437.]

[t] [See Sleidan, de statu relig. et reipub. (A. D. 1552) lib. xxiv. p. 572. ed. Francof. 1568.]

of August; and our archbishop's letter, wherein that elector's letters are mentioned, was writ but the month before.

The suitableness of both these archbishop's dispositions.

And if one may judge of men's commencing friendship and love according to the suitableness of their tempers and dispositions, our archbishop of Canterbury, and the archbishop of Cologne, must have been very intimate friends. It was said of this man, that he often wished, "That either he might be instrumental to the propagating the evangelical doctrine and reformation of the churches under his jurisdiction, or to live a private life." And when his friends had often told him what envy he would draw upon himself by the changing of religion, he would answer, like a true Christian philosopher, "That nothing could happen to him unexpectedly, and that he had long
287 since fortified his mind against every event." These two passages spake the very spirit and soul of Cranmer; which they may see that are minded to read what Foxe saith of him, as to his undauntedness and constancy in the maintaining of the truth, against the many temptations and dangers that he met with during these three reigns successively [u].

[u] ["'To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that say against it:' if he be void, I say, of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but shall seem an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither shall he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for bread or meat, affection or favor, he do at any time, or in any point, swerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy constancy of this said archbishop, never, for the most part, shrunk from no manner of storm, but was so many ways tried, that neither favor of his prince, nor fear of the indignation of the same, nor any other worldly respect could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel. Notwithstanding his constant defence of God's truth was ever joined with such meekness toward the king, that he never took occasion of offence against him."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1865. ed. Lond. 1583.]

And lastly, as our archbishop devoted himself wholly to the reforming of his church; so admirable was the diligence, pains, and study this archbishop took in contriving the reformation of his. He procured a book to be writ concerning it, called "Instauratio Ecclesiarum," which contained the form and way to be used for the redressing the errors and corruptions of his church. It was composed by those great German divines, Bucer and Melancthon; which book was put into English, and published here, as a good pattern, in the year 1547. This book he intended to issue forth through his jurisdiction, by his authority to be observed. But first he thought fit well and seriously to examine it: and spent five hours in the morning, for five days, to deliberate and consult thereupon: calling to him, to advise withal in this great affair, his coadjutor count Stolberg, Husman, Jenep, Bucer, and Melancthon. He caused the whole work to be read before him; and, as many places occurred wherein he seemed less satisfied, he caused the matter to be disputed and argued, and then spake his own mind accurately. He would patiently hear the opinions of others for the information of his own judgment; and so ordered things to be either changed or illustrated. And so dexterously would he decide many controversies arising, that Melancthon thought that those great points of religion had been long weighed and considered by him, and that he rightly understood the whole doctrine of the church. He had always lying by him the Bible of Luther's version; and, as testimonies chanced to be alleged thence, he commanded that they should be turned to, that he might consider that which is the fountain of all truth: insomuch that the said Melancthon could not but admire and talk of his learning, prudence, piety, and dexterity, to such as he con-

Their diligence in reforming.

Mel. Epist. printed at Leyden, 1647. pag. 34.

versed with; and particularly to John Cæsar, to whom in a letter he gave a particular account of this affair. And it is to be noted by the way, that the said book, according to which the reformation was to be modelled, contained only, as Melancthon in his letter suggested, a necessary instruction for all children, and the sum of the Christian doctrine: and the appointments for the colleges and ecclesiastical hierarchy were very moderate; the form of the ecclesiastical polity being to remain as it was, and so were the colleges, with their dignities, wealth, degrees, ornaments thereunto belonging; only great superstitions should be taken away. Which the wise Melancthon aforesaid did so approve of, that he professed he had often propounded it in diets of the German nation, as the best way to peace[x]. And this I add, that it might

"Nec aliam video, nisi hanc unam, ut retineant episcopi et collegia suæ ἀξιώματα,

[x] ["Clarissim. et doctissimo viro Joanni Cæsareo, S. D. Ut post prælium, ita post conventuum exitus, hæc civilia certamina melius narrari possunt. Cum igitur finem conventus adhuc expectemus, nondum de eo satis plane scribere possum. Sed narrabo historiam, quæ præcessit, quam scio tibi jucundam lectu fore, mihi certe spectanti fuit jucundissima. Priusquam princeps publicavit librum Instaurationis* ecclesiarum, legere et penitus cognoscere eum ipse voluit. Pertinebat hæc diligentia ad ejus officium, et laude digna est. Sed multo magis miratus sum ejus in auscultando attentionem et assiduitatem, et in expendendis ac emendandis locis obscurioribus et horridioribus prudentiam et in disputando eruditionem. Tribuit quinque diebus matutinas horas quinas huic auscultationi, adhibitis coadjutore, comite Stolbergio, Husmanno, Jenipio, Buchelo, et me. Attentissime audivit legi integrum opus. Quoties occurrit locus in quo aliquid desideravit, re disputata, accurate dixit quid sibi videretur, et auditis aliorum sententiis, vel mutari, vel illustrari eam partem jussit, quædam ipse suo judicio recte emendavit. Multas controversias dogmatum ita dextre dijudicavit, ut animadverterem res tantas ei diu cogitatas esse, et integram ecclesiæ doctrinam recte ab eo intelligi. Scio paucos hac judicii dexteritate præditos esse, quæ

* [Hermannus archiepiscopus Coloniensis, comes à Wied.]

be observed how archbishop Cranmer went by the same measures in the reformation of the church of England; maintaining the hierarchy, and the revenues, dignities, et suas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam." Ubi supra.

quidem et ingenii vim significat, et curam atque intentionem animi quam nemo adhibet, nisi qui vere Deum colere, et invocare cupit. Erat situs liber cælestis doctrinæ ad manum, juxta Lutheri versionem, recens editum Witebergæ. Ibi sæpe testimonia citata ipse requirebat, ut fontes consideraret. Hæc sæpe commoravi aliis, et hodie recitavi, duobus gravissimis comitibus Manderschid, et Novæaquilano, cum D. Bucerum et me ad quandam deliberationem vocassent. Cum igitur judicem principem pia voluntate, et bono consilio hanc instaurationem ecclesiarum moliri, et ipsius virtutem laudandam esse sentio, et Deum orandum, ut pia consilia adjuvet. Cumque te idem judicare et optare arbitrer, hanc tibi narrationem gratam fore speravi. Nunc de conventu pauca adjiciam. Brevissimæ deliberationes fuissent, nisi rem extrahere Gropperus studeret. Comites, ordo equestris, legati civitatum censuerunt recipiendam esse formam ecclesiarum restaurandarum. Sed legati collegii Coloniensis refragantur. Etsi enim doctrinæ genus non improbant, tamen expectari collegii consensum volunt. Nectunt moras, negant rem tantam subito constituendam esse. Adsunt viri optimi, senex frater principis, Stolbergius, Glichensis, sed habent, ut solet fieri, mandata certa. Suntque adjuncti duo Gropperus et Hieronymus. Sed *πρωταγωνιστὴς* est Gropperus. Is hactenus variis artificiis pugnavit, ut impediatur ecclesiarum emendatio. Liber profecto tantum necessariam omnibus pueris *κατήχησιν* continet et summam Christianæ doctrinæ. De collegiis et *ἱεραρχίᾳ* ecclesiastica, ut vocant, moderatissimæ sunt sententiæ, ut maneat forma politiæ ecclesiasticæ, maneant collegia et *ἀξιώματα ἱερατικὰ*, opes, gradus, ornamenta; sed superstitiones graves tollantur. Sæpe in conventibus Germanicæ nationis hanc pacis viam proposui. Nec aliam video, nisi hanc unam, ut retineant episcopi et collegia sua *ἀξιώματα*, et suas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam. Quod cogitari æquius potest? Si hanc moderationem Gropperus non probat, sed prius nos interfici cupit, nec ecclesiæ nec patriæ bene consulit. Sed Deo hæc commendo. Habes historiam conventus inchoatam tantum. Nam ante finem plura nunc quidem scribere non poteram. Deum æternum patrem liberatoris nostri Jesu Christi oro, ut te diu servet incolumem, meque tibi ut parenti commendo. Bene vale, die Jacobi 24. Bonnæ, anno 1543."—Melancthon. Epist. pp. 34–37. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1647.]

and customs of it, against many in those times that were for the utter abolishing them, as relics of popery. Such
288 a correspondence there was between our archbishop and the wisest, moderatest, and most learned divines of Germany. But let us look nearer home.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TROUBLES OF BISHOP TONSTAL.

The troubles of bishop Tonstal.

As the last year we heard of the deprivation of two popish bishops, so this year another underwent the like censure; I mean Tonstal, bishop of Durham: whose business I shall the rather relate, because our archbishop had some concern in it. September 21, "A commission was issued out to the lord chief justice and his colleagues, to examine and determine the cause of Tonstal, bishop of Durham, and eight writings touching the same; which he is willed to consider, and to proceed to the hearing and ordering of the matter, as soon as he may get the rest of his colleagues to him[y]." It was not long after, viz. about the midst of October, that this bishop by these commissioners, (whose names, besides the chief justice, do not occur), was deprived, and his estate confiscated. "October ult. sir John Mason was ordered by the council to deliver, to the use of Dr. Tonstal," (so he is now styled), "remaining prisoner in the Tower, such money as should serve for his necessities, until such time as further order shall be taken touching the goods and money, lately appertaining [un]to him[z]. December 6, "it was agreed" by the council, that Dr. Tonstal, late bishop of Durham, should [henceforth] have the liberty of the Tower, [until the king's majesty's further pleasure shall be therein known][a]:" where he continued till the time of queen Mary.

MS. of an old Council Book.

The cause of this bishop's punishment.

But we will look back to learn for what cause this severe punishment was inflicted upon this reverend grave

[y] [MSS. Council Book. Privy Council Office. A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 608.]

[z] [MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 631.]

[a] [MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 656.]

bishop; and the rather, because the bishop of Sarum could not find, as he writes, what the particulars were[d]. In the year 1550, a conspiracy was hatching in the north, to which the bishop was privy at least, if not an abettor: and he wrote to one Menvile in those parts relating to the same. This Menvile[e] himself related unto the council, and produced the bishop's letter; which was afterwards, by the duke of Somerset, withdrawn and concealed, as it seems out of kindness to Tonstal. But upon the duke's troubles, when his cabinet was searched, this letter was found: upon which they proceeded against Tonstal. This is the sum of what is found in the Council Book: viz. "May 20, 1551, the bishop of Durham is commanded to keep his house[f]. Aug. 2, he had license to walk in the fields[g]. December 20. "Whereas the bishop of Durham, about July [in anno] 1550, was charged by Vivian Menvile to have consented [and been agreeable] to a conspiracy in the north, for the making a rebellion;" and whereas, "for want of a letter written by the said bishop to the said Menvile, (whereupon depended a great trial of this matter), the" final "determination" of the matter could not be proceeded unto, "and the bishop" (was) "only commanded to keep his house; the same letter hath of late been "found in a casket of the duke of Somerset's after his last apprehension." The said bishop was [now] sent for, and this day "appeared before the council,"
289 and was charged with the letter, "which he could not deny but to be [of] his own handwriting:" and, having little to say for himself, he was then sent to the Tower,

[d] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 401. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[e] [See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 21, 22. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[f] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 297.]

[g] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 356.]

to abide there till he should be delivered by process of law[h]." Agreeable to this is that king Edward writes in his Journal: "December 20, the bishop of Durham was, for concealment of treason written to him, and not disclosed [at all till the party did open him committed] to the Tower[i].

A bill in parliament to attaint Tonstal.

In the latter end of the year 1551, a parliament sitting, it was thought convenient to bring in a bill into the house of Lords, attainting him for misprision of treason. But archbishop Cranmer spake freely against it, not satisfied, it seems, with the charge laid against him. But it passed, and the archbishop protested. But when it was carried down to the Commons, they would not proceed upon it, not satisfied with the bare depositions of evidences, but required that the accusers might be brought face to face: and so it went no further[j]. But when the parliament would not do Tonstal's business, a commission was issued out to do it, as is above spoken.

The care of the diocese committed to the dean.

In the mean time, that the bishopric might not want a due care taken of it, during the bishop's restraint, Feb. 18, $155\frac{1}{2}$, a letter was sent from the council "to the prebendaries of Durham, to conform themselves to such orders in religion and divine service, standing with the king's proceedings, as their dean, Mr. Horne[k], shall set forth, whom the lords required them to receive and use well, as being sent to them for the weal of the country by his majesty[l]."

[h] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 464. Original. Harl. MSS. 352, Plut. lix. I. fol. 224 b., 225. British Museum. Copy.]

[i] [Cotton MSS. Nero C. x. fol. 46. b. British Museum. Original and holograph. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 63. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[j] [See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 401, 2. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[k] [See above, p. 355. n. g.]

[l] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1552–1553. fol. 492.]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE NEW COMMON PRAYER.—THE ARCHBISHOP IN KENT.

The new Common Prayer began to be used.

THE book of Common Prayer having the last year been carefully revised and corrected by the archbishop and others, the parliament in April this year enacted, that it should begin to be used every where at All Saints day next. And accordingly the book was printed against the time, and began to be read in St. Paul's church, and the like throughout the whole city. But because the posture of kneeling was excepted against by some, and the words used by the priest to the communicant, at the reception of the bread, gave scruple, as though the adoration of the host were intended: therefore, to take off this, and to declare the contrary to be the doctrine of this church, October 27, a letter was sent from the council to the lord chancellor, to cause to be joined to the book of Common Prayer, lately set forth, a declaration, signed by the king, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the communion[m]. Which in all probability was done by the motion of the archbishop, who, in his late book, had taken such pains to confute the adoration; and now thought it necessary, that some public declaration should be made in the church-service against it. So now, the first of November being come, Dr. Ridley, the bishop of London, was the first that celebrated the new service in St. Paul's church; which he did in the forenoon: and then, in his rochet

Stow's Chron.

[m] ["At Westminster the 27. day of October, an°. 1552.—A letter to the lord chancellor to cause to be joined unto the book of Common Prayer lately set forth a certain declaration signed by the king's majesty, and sent unto his lordship touching the kneeling at the receiving of the communion. MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 630. Harl. MSS. 352. Plut. lix. I. fol. 257, b.]

only, without cope or vestment, preached in the choir: and in the afternoon he preached at Paul's Cross, the lord mayor 290
and aldermen, and citizens, present. His sermon tended to the setting forth this new edition of the Common Prayer. He continued preaching till almost five o'clock; so that the mayor and the rest went home by torchlight. By this book of Common Prayer, all copes and vestments were forbidden throughout England. The prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the bishops their crosses, &c. as by act of parliament is more at large set forth[n].

Provision also was made for the king's French dominions, This book

[n] ["The first of November being the feast of All Saints, the new Service Book, called 'of Common Prayer,' began in Paul's church, and the like through the whole city, the bishop of London, Dr. Ridley, executing the service in Paul's church in the forenoon in his rochet only; without cope or vestment preached in the quire: and at afternoon he preached at Paul's Cross, the lord mayor, aldermen, and crafts, in their best liveries being present: which sermon tending to the setting forth the said late made book of Common Prayer, continued till almost five of the clock at night, so that the mayor, aldermen, and companies, entered not into Paul's church as had been accustomed, but departed home by torchlight. By this book of Common Prayers, all copes and vestments were forbidden through England, and prebends of Paul's left off their hoods, the bishops left their crosses, &c. as by an act of parliament more at large is set out."—Stow's Chronicle, p. 608. ed. Lond. 1631. The act of parliament here evidently referred to is 5°. and 6°. Edw. VI. cap. i. A. D. 1551, 2, intituled, "An act for the uniformity of Common Prayer and administration of the sacrament," but in which there is no reference to the leaving off of vestments, &c.—Statutes at Large, vol. iv. p. 130. In the commencement, however, of "the order where morning and evening prayer shall be used and said," in the 1552 ed. of the book of Common Prayer, the following direction is found: "And here is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope: but being archbishop, or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet: and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."—Liturgies of Edw. VI. p. 217. Park. Soc. ed.]

put into French for the king's French subjects.

that this book, with the amendments, should be used there. And the bishop of Ely[o], lord chancellor, (a great forwarder of good reformation), procured a learned Frenchman, who was a doctor of divinity, carefully to correct the former French book by this English new one, in all the alterations, additions, and omissions thereof. For the first Common Prayer Book also was in French, for the use of the king's French subjects: being translated by commandment of sir Hugh Paulet, governor of Calais: and that translation overseen by the lord chancellor and others at his appointment. The benefit of this last book was such, that one of the French congregation in London sought, by the means of à Lasco's interest with secretary Cecyl, for a license under the king's letters patents, to translate this Common Prayer, and the administration of sacraments, and to print it, for the use of the French islands of Jersey and Guernsey. But Cecyl, after a letter received from à Lasco in August to that effect, not willing to do this of his own head, and reckoning it a proper matter to be considered by the archbishop, who were to be intrusted with the translating of such a book, desired him, being now at Ford, to give him his advice and judgment herein, both as to the work and as to the benefit. To whom the archbishop gave this answer; "That the commodity that might arise by printing of the book was meet to come to them who had already taken the pains in translating the same." Informing the secretary who they were; namely, those formerly and now of late employed by sir Hugh Paulet, and the lord chancellor[p]. But I find this book was not presently finished, being not printed till the year 1553, for the use of Jersey and Guernsey.

[o] [Thomas Goodrich.]

[p] [See Appendix, No. cvi. in the 3rd vol. of this edition, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 439. Park. Soc. ed.]

Notwithstanding this cleansing of the church from superstition and idolatry, and bringing in the knowledge of the gospel, by the archbishop's constant pains and study, the people generally, even the professors themselves, were bad enough as to their morals; and religion had yet got but little hold of them. A clear sight of the behaviour of these times may be seen by what Thomas Becon, a chaplain of Cranmer's, writ in his preface to a book put forth in those days: "What a number of false Christians live [there] at this present day, unto the exceeding dishonour of the Christian profession, which 'with their mouth confess that they know God, but with their deeds they utterly deny him, and are abominable, disobedient to the word of God, and utterly estranged from all good works?' What a swarm of gross gospellers have we also among us, which can prattle of the gospel very finely, talk much of the justification of faith, crack very stoutly of the free remission of all their sins by Christ's blood, avance themselves to be of the number of those, which are predestinate unto eternal glory, &c.; but how far do their life differ from all true Christianity? They are puffed up with all kind of pride: they swell with all kind of envy, malice, hatred, and enmity against their neighbour; they bren with unquenchable lusts of carnal concupiscence; they wallow and tumble in all kind of beastly pleasures; their greedy covetous affects are insatiable; the enlarging of their lordships, the increasing of their substance, the scraping together of their worldly possessions infinite, and knoweth no end. In fine, all their endeavours tend unto this end, to shew themselves very ethnics, and utterly estranged from God in their conversation, although in words they otherwise pretend. As for their alms-deeds, their praying, their watching, their fasting, and such other godly exercises of the Spirit, they are utterly banished from

The age still vicious.

Jewel of Joy.

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these rude and gross gospellers. All their religion consisteth in words and disputations; in Christian acts and godly deeds nothing at all[q]." These evil manners of the professors themselves looked with so sad a face, that it made the best men assuredly expect a change, and woful times to follow.

A new sect in Kent.

Council-Book.

September 27, "a letter" was sent from the council "to the archbishop to examine a sect newly sprung up in Kent. Whereof there was now a book of examinations sent him: and to commune with a man and a woman," (the informers), "bearers of the letter, who could inform him somewhat of the matter. And to take such order in the same according to the commission, that these errors might not be suffered thus to overspread the king's faithful subjects[r]." What this sect was, appeareth not. The anabaptists were taken notice of, and a commission issued out against them, some years before. These were sectaries more new, and whereof the council very lately was informed. It may be they were of the family of Love, or David George's sect, who made himself sometimes Christ, and sometimes the Holy Ghost. For a little before these times, divers sects sprang up under the profession of the gospel, in High and Low Germany; some whereof dispersed themselves into England. Which sects began to do so much hurt to the reformation among us, that the author before mentioned laments it in these words: "What wicked and ungodly opinions are there sown now-a-days of the anabaptists, Davidians, libertines, and such other pestilent sects, in the hearts of the people, unto the great disquietness of Christ's church, moving rather unto sedition,

[q] [See Becon's Works, (Catechism, &c.) pp. 415, 416. Park. Soc. ed.]

[r] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 611.]

than unto pure religion; unto heresy, than unto things godly[s]!"

The examination of this new sect was one of the businesses the archbishop was employed in while he was in his retirement at his house near Canterbury. Another was, the sitting upon a commission to him, and other gentlemen of Kent, for inquiry after such as had embezzled the plate and goods belonging to chantries, &c. given by the parliament to the king, and converting them to their own uses. But this being somewhat an odious work, he was not very forward to enter upon, especially because he thought, whatsoever he and the other commissioners should recover, would be but swallowed up by the duke of Northumberland and his friends, and the king be little the better. But, because he did not make more haste, he was charged by his enemies at court as a neglecter of the king's business. Which cost him a letter in excuse of himself to the said duke: signifying, that he omitted this business awhile till the gentlemen and justices of peace of Kent, who were then mostly at London, were come home.[t] The archbishop's business in Kent. 292

December 2, "a letter" was sent from the council "to A letter for installing

[s] [See Becon's Works, (Catechism, &c.) p. 415. Park. Soc. ed.]

[t] [See Appendix, No. cvii. in the 3rd vol. of this edition, and Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 440. Park. Soc. ed.—"And as touching his stoutness in his prince's cause, the contrary resistance of the duke of Northumberland against him proved right well his good mind that way, which chanced by reason that he would not consent to the dissolving of the chantries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his royal estate, than to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage; which his stoutness, joined with such simplicity, surely was thought to divers of the council, a thing incredible, specially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realm, as few or none would or durst gainstand him."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1862, 3. ed. Lond. 1583.]

bishop Hoper.

the archbishop, to grant out a mandatum, 'ad installandum,' for the bishop of Glocester and Worcester, without paying any fees for the same; because he paid fees for another mandatum, which served [him] to no purpose[u].

Council-Book.

The vicar of Beden.

February 20, an order was sent to the archbishop from the council to examine "the vicar of Beden in the county of Berks, according to the information enclosed, and to advertise the lords of his proceedings therein[v]. What this vicar's crime was, I know not; but I observe about these times the priests and curates were very busy men, and would take liberty, sometimes to speak against the king's proceedings, or his archbishop, with bitterness enough, and sometimes to vent fond opinions, so that oftentimes they were fetched up to the council-board; and, after an appearance or two, referred to the archbishop to examine and punish, as being matters relating to religion, and so proper for his cognizance.

Council-Book.

Sampson and Knox.

About the latter end of this year, Thomas Sampson was preferred to the deanery of Chichester, having been parson of Alhallowes, Bread-street, London[w]. February the 2d, a letter was sent from the privy-council to the archbishop, to bestow the said living upon Mr. Knox, who was one of the king's chaplains, and in good esteem in the court for his gift of preaching[x].

The council favour Knox.

Collect. vol. ii. p. 42.

This Knox was the man whose name was so dashed in the king's journal, where the names of the king's six chaplains were inserted, that bishop Burnet could not read it[y]. The council bare a great favour to him, as appears

[u] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 652.]

[v] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 494.]

[w] [See above, p. 129. n. [1].]

[x] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 676.]

[y] [Burnet gives the following names as Edward VIth's chaplains, from the Journal of that prince, — "Bill, Harle, Perne, Grindall, Bradford;" and says, "the other name dashed." This name has hitherto been supposed

by those several letters they wrote in his behalf. One was mentioned before, sent to the archbishop for a living in London; but in that Knox succeeded not, the archbishop preferring Laurence Saunders, (afterwards a martyr), thereunto. Knox being sent this year into the north one of the king's itinerary preachers, a warrant, dated October 27, was granted from the council to four gentlemen, to pay to him, his majesty's preacher in the north, (so he is styled), forty pounds, as his majesty's reward[z]. And again, December 9, a letter was sent from the council to the lord Wharton, (who was lord warden in the northern borders), in commendation of Mr. Knox[a]. And the next year, viz. [June 2,] 1553, being returned out of the north, and being then in Buckinghamshire, that he might find the more acceptance and respect there, the council wrote a letter to the great men in those parts, viz. the lord Russel, lord Windsor, to the justices of the peace, and the rest of the gentlemen within that county, in favour of the said Knox the preacher[b]. Council-Book.

A bishop consecrated. 293

June 26, John Taylor, S. T. P., dean of Lincoln, a learned and pious man, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln at Croyden chapel, by the archbishop, assisted by Nicolas, bishop of London[c], and John, bishop of Rochester[d]. John Taylor. [Cranm. Reg. fol. 335, b.]

to be that of J. Knox; but after a most careful examination of the original MS. the editor has been enabled, with the kind assistance of sir F. Madden, to discover that the erased name is that of Eastwicke, and not J. Knox.—The name of Bradford has been also erased in the MS., but not so much as to render it indistinct, or illegible.—See Cotton MSS. Nero. x. fol. 46, b. and Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 63. ed. Oxon.]

[z] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 630.]

[a] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 658.]

[b] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 726.]

[c] [Nicholas Ridley.]

[d] [John Scory.]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A CATECHISM. THE ARCHBISHOP OPPOSETH THE EXCLUSION OF THE LADY MARY.

Ann. 1553. Great use made of the archbishop at council.

We are now come to the last year of good king Edward's reign; when the archbishop was as commonly at the council as he used to be before. For the counsellors made great use of him, and did not use to conclude any thing in matters relating to the church without him. And if he came not, they often sent for him: and once the last year, in October [7.], when he had fixed his day of going into Kent, they stayed him for some days, that they might confer with him[e] about some certain matter; I suppose, relating to the Articles of Religion, that were then under their hands. To look no further than the latter end of the last year; he was at council at Westminster in February, and this year in March and April. And the court being at Greenwich, where the king lay sick, and died, the archbishop was there at council in June, but not after the eighth day. The reason he came no more we may well conjecture to be, because he did no ways like the methods that were now taking by Northumberland to bring the crown into his own family, and disinherit the king's sisters. For soon after, viz. June 11, the lord chief justice Montague, and some other judges, with the king's attorney and solicitor, were sent for to the council to consult about drawing up the instrument.

The Articles of Religion enjoined by the king's authority

On one of these council-days he procured the king's letters in behalf of the book of Articles, which he had taken such pains about the two last years, both in composing and in bringing to effect. The king had before

[e] [MSS. Council Book, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 616.]

given order to the archbishop, by his letters, to put forth these Articles[f]. And now they were put forth, he procured the king's letters also to his own officers, for to see the clergy of his diocese to subscribe thereunto. So the king's letters were directed to the official of the court of Canterbury, and the dean of the deanery of the arches, and to their surrogates, deputies, &c., setting forth, "That whereas he had given order unto Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, in letters sealed with his signet, for the honour of God, and to take away dissension of opinion, and confirm consent of true religion, that he should expound, publish, denounce, and signify some articles and other things, breathing the right faith of Christ, for the clergy and people within his jurisdiction; the king therefore enjoined them, the archbishop's officers, that they 294
should cause all rectors, vicars, priests, stipendiaries, schoolmasters, and all that had any ecclesiastical employment, to appear in person before the archbishop in his hall at Lambeth, there further to obey and do, on the king's part, according as it shall be signified, and to receive according to reason, and the office owing to the king's royal dignity." And in obedience hereunto, the official, John Gibbon, LL.D., commissary of the deanery of the blessed Virgin of the arches, signified by an instrument, dated June 2, to the archbishop, that he had cited the clergy. I do not find the success of this; only

Cranm. Reg. [fol. 65, b.]

[f] [The following is the "Mandate in king Edward's name, to the officers of the archbishop of Canterbury; requiring them to see that the Articles of Religion should be subscribed:—Mandatum pro publicatione nonnullorum Articulorum, veram Christi fidem concernentium.—Edwardus Sextus, Dei gratia, Angliæ, et Franciæ, et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum caput, dilectis sibi, officiali curiæ Cantuar' et decano decanatus de arcubus Londin' ac eorum surrogatis, deputatis aut locum tenentibus, uni vel pluribus, salutem. Quoniam

that the city clergy made their appearance before the archbishop at Lambeth: and that he did his endeavour,

nuper, per literas nostras regias, signeto nostro obsignatas, reverendissimo in Christo patri, consiliario nostro fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, dederimus in mandatis, quatenus ipse, ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam illustrandam, nostrumque et ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ, (cujus caput supremum post Christum, esse dignoscimur), honorem, et ad tollendam opinionis dissensionem, et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, nonnullos articulos, et alia rectam Christi fidem spirantia, clero et populo nostris ubilibet infra suam jurisdictionem degentibus, pro parte nostra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret, et significaret; prout in literis nostris, (quarum tenores, pro hic insertis habere volumus), latius continetur, et describitur: vobis igitur, et eorem cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districte præcipiendo nostra sublimi regia auctoritate mandamus; quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis peremptorie, omnes et singulos rectores, vicarios, presbyteros, stipendiarios, curatos, plebanos, ministros, ludimagistros cujuslibet scholæ grammatices, aut aliter vel alias grammaticam aperte vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, verbi Dei prædicatores vel prælectores, necnon quoscunque alios quamcunque aliam functionem ecclesiasticam, (quocunque nomine aut appellatione censetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur), obtinentes et habentes, œconomos quoque cujuslibet parochiæ infra decanatum de arcubus prædictum existentes aut degentes; quod ipsi omnes, et eorum quilibet, per se compareant vel compareat personaliter, coram dicto reverendissimo patre Cantuar' archiepiscopo, in aula ædium suarum apud Lambehithe, die Veneris vicesimo tertio die præsentis mensis Junii, inter horas septimam et nonam, ante meridiem ejusdem diei, his quæ tunc iis ex parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturi, facturique ulterius et recepturi, quod consonans fuerit rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram regiam dignitatem officio; mandantes, quatenus dictis die, loco, et horis, eundem reverendissimum, de executione hujus regii nostri mandati, una cum nominibus et cognominibus omnium et singulorum per vos monitorum, rite, recte, et auctentice reddatis certiorem, una cum præsentibus uti decet. Teste Thoma Cant' archiepiscopo prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, anno regni nostri septimo. —— Certificatorium factum super executione Mandati prædicti.—Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino, domino Thomæ, permissione divina, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ pri-

by persuasion and argument, to bring them to subscribe: which, no question, very few refused. But this matter afterwards served queen Mary's commissioners for one of their interrogatories to be put to the archbishop, as though he had compelled many against their wills to subscribe. Which he denied, saying, he compelled none; but exhorted such to subscribe as were willing first to do it, before they did it[g].

In the month of May, the king by his letters patents commanded a Latin catechism to be taught by school-masters to their scholars[h]. It was entitled, "Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens." The king in his letters, dated May 20, said, "it was made by

The catechism for schools.

mati et metropolitano; auctoritate illustrissimi in Christo principis, et domini nostri domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, regis, fidei defensoris, ac in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis, sufficienti auctoritate fulcito, Johannes Gibbon civilium legum professor, vestræ celsitudinis observantissimus, pariter eidem addictissimus, decanatus vestr' beatæ Mariæ virginis de arcubus London' commissarius, omnem quæ decet reverentiam et obedientiam tanto reverendissimo patri debitam cum honore. Mandatum illustrissimi et potentissimi domini nostri regis, præsentibus anexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter et auctoritate omnes et singulos rectores, presbiteros, &c.—Dat' vicesimo secundo die mensis Junii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio."—Cranm. Reg. fol. 65 b, 66. see also Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 79; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. pt. ii. B. iv. No. 7. pp. 273, 4. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[g] ["8. *Inter.* Item, That he compelled many, against their wills, to subscribe to the same articles.

"*Answ.* He exhorted, he said, such as were willing to subscribe: but against their wills he compelled none."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1877. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[h] ["In May this year the king by his letters patents authorized all schoolmasters to teach a new and fuller catechism, compiled by Alexander Nowell."—Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 449. ed. Oxon. 1829; Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 506. ed. Lond. 1840, 41.]

a certain pious and learned man, and presented to him; and that he committed the diligent examination of it to certain bishops and other learned men, whose judgment was of great authority with him[i]." The same bishops and learned men, I suppose, that were framing and preparing the Articles of Religion the last year. The author of this catechism is not certainly known: some conjecture him to be Ponet[k], the bishop of Winchester. The learned Dr. Ward[l], one of the English divines sent to the synod of Dort, having this catechism in his library, (now in the possession of a friend of mine), wrote therein these words: "A^ro N^llo autore, siquid ego divinare possum:" meaning probably Alexander Nowel[m], who was now, if I mistake not, schoolmaster of Westminster, and afterwards dean of St. Paul's. But whosoever was the author, the archbishop we may conclude to be the furtherer and recommender of it unto the king: it being that prelate's great design by catechisms, and articles of religion, and plain expositions of the fundamentals, to

[i] [See Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 79.]

[k] [See above, p. 131. n. [o].]

[l] [i. e. Samuel Ward, D.D., was originally a fellow of Emmanuel college, Cambridge; in 1609, he was appointed to the mastership of Sidney Sussex college, and installed archdeacon of Taunton, April 29, 1615. He succeeded John Davenant, master of Queen's college in this university, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, (consecrated June 11, 1621, and died April 20, 1641,) as lady Margaret's professor of divinity, in 1621. He was chosen by James I. to attend the synod at Dort, (a town of the Netherlands, in South Holland, on an island formed by the Meuse,) A. D. 1618, with "George Carleton, D.D., then bishop of Llandaff, and afterward bishop Chichester; Joseph Hall, D.D., then dean of Worcester, and afterward bishop of Exeter and Norwich; John Davenant, D.D., then Margaret professor, and master of Queen's college in Cambridge, afterward bishop of Salisbury." —See Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 46, 261, 410, 429, 439; Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. v. pp. 461, 2. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

[m] [See above, p. 358. n. [z].]

instil right principles into the minds of the youth and common people, for the more effectual rooting out popery, that had been so long entertained by the industrious nurselling up the nation in ignorance.

A catechism set forth by the synod.

There was a catechism that came forth about this time, (whether it were this or another, I cannot say), allowed by the synod, or convocation. In the beginning of queen Mary the popish divines made a great stir about this catechism, and thought they had a great advantage against it, because it was put forth as from the synod, whereas that synod knew nothing of it. Whereupon Weston[n], the prolocutor in queen Mary's first convocation, brought a bill into the house, declaring that catechism, being pestiferous and full of heresies, to be foisted upon the last synod fraudulently, and therefore that the present synod dis- 295
owned it. To which he set his own hand, and propounded that all the house should do the like: which all but six consented to. One whereof was Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, who stood up and told them, in justification of those that published the said catechism, that the synod, under king Edward, had granted to certain persons, to be appointed by the king, to make ecclesiastical laws. And whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they or the most part of them did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, might well be said to be done by the synod of London; although such as were of the house then had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And therefore in this point he thought the setters forth of the catechism had nothing slandered the house, since they had that synodal authority unto them committed. And moreover he desired the prolocutor would be a means unto the lords, that some of those that were learned, and the pub-

[n] [See above, p. 364. n. o.]

lishers of this book, might be brought into the house, to shew their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr. Ridley, and Rogers, and two or three more, might be licensed to be present at this disputation, and be associated with them. But this would not be allowed[o].

Foxe.

The archbishop opposeth the new settlement of the crown.

The last thing we hear of concerning our archbishop in this king's reign was, his denial to comply with the new settlement of the crown, devised and carried on by the domineering duke of Northumberland[p], for the succession of Jane, daughter to Grey, duke of Suffolk, whom he had married to one of his sons. This he did both oppose, and, when he could not hinder, refused to have any hand in it. First, he did his endeavour to stop this act of the king. He took the boldness to argue much with the king about it once, when the marquis of Northampton[q], and the lord Darcy[r], lord chamberlain, were present. And moreover he signified his desire to speak with the king alone, that so he might be more free and large with him. But that would not be suffered: but if it had, he thought he should have brought off the king from his purpose, as he said afterward. But, for what he had said to the king, the

[o] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1410, 1411. ed. Lond. 1583, and Examinations, &c. of John Philpot, pp. 179, 80. Park. Soc. ed.]

[p] [See above, p. 206. n. °.]

[q] [See above, p. 140. n. j.]

[r] [i. e. Sir Thomas, afterwards lord Darcy, was lord chamberlain, and a member of Edward VIth's privy council; he was concerned in the trial of the lord protector Somerset, and signed the limitation of the crown in favour of the lady Jane Grey, as well as the letter to the princess Mary, to acquaint her that the lady Jane was queen; nevertheless, though he had been one of her counsellors, he signed the letter to the duke of Northumberland to lay down his arms against queen Mary.—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 367, 369, 471. pt. ii. pp. 48, 63, 85, 122. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 281. ed. Oxon. 1829. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 461. pt. ii. pp. 160, 227. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

duke of Northumberland soon after told him at the council-table, "that it became him not to speak to the king as he had done, when he went about to dissuade him from his will." To the council the archbishop urged the entailing of the crown by king Henry upon his two daughters, and used many grave and pithy reasons to them for the lady Mary's legitimation, when they argued against it. But the council replied, "that it was the opinion of the judges, and the king's learned counsel in the law, that that entailing could not be prejudicial unto the king; and that he, being in possession of the crown, might dispose of it as he would." This seemed strange unto the archbishop: yet, considering it was the judgment of the lawyers, and he himself unlearned in the law, he thought it not seemly to oppose this matter further. But he refused to sign, till the king himself required him to set his hand to his will, and saying, "that he hoped he alone would not stand out, and be more repugnant to his will than all the rest of the council were." Which words made a great impression upon the archbishop's tender 296
heart, and grieved him very sore, out of the dear love he had to that king; and so he subscribed. And, when he did it, he did it unfeignedly. All this he wrote unto queen Mary [s].

Denieth before the council to subscribe to the exclusion of the lady Mary. Foxii MSS.

To which I will add what I meet with in one of my manuscripts. "When the council and the chief judges had set their hands to the king's will, last of all they sent for the archbishop, [who had all this while stood off], requiring him also to subscribe the same will, as they had done. Who answered, that he might not without perjury: for so much as he was before sworn to my lady

[s] [See Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 442–444. Park. Soc. ed.; see also Foxe's Acts and Monuments, pp. 1870, 1871. ed. Lond. 1583.]

Mary by king Henry's will. To whom the council answered, that they had consciences as well as he; and were also as well sworn to the king's will as he was. The archbishop answered, I am not judge over any man's conscience, but mine own only. For as I will not condemn their fact, no more will I stay my fact upon your conscience, seeing that every man shall answer to God for his own deeds, and not for other men's. And so he refused to subscribe, till he had spoken with the king herein." And being with the king, he "told the archbishop, that the judges had informed him, that he might lawfully bequeath his crown to lady Jane, and his subjects receive her as queen, notwithstanding their former oath to king Henry's will. Then the [said] archbishop desired the king, that he might first speak with the judges: which the king gently granted. Then he spake with so many of the [judges] as were at that time at the court, and with the king's attorney also: who all agreed in one, that he might lawfully subscribe to the king's will by the laws of the realm. Whereupon he returning to the king, by his commandment granted" (at last) "to set his hand[t]."

Sets his hand.

The archbishop ungratefully dealt with.

From the whole relation of this affair we may note, as the honesty, so the stoutness and courage of the archbishop, in the management of himself in this cause against Northumberland, who hated him, and had of a long time sought his ruin: and the ingratitude of queen Mary, or at least the implacableness of Cranmer's enemies; that the queen soon yielded her pardon to so many of the former king's council, that were so deep and so forward in this business, but would not grant it him; (who could not obtain it till after much and long suit): and that it should

[t] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 91. British Museum. Original.]

be put into two acts of her parliament[u], (to make him infamous for a traitor to posterity), that he and the duke of Northumberland were the devisers of this succession, to deprive queen Mary of her right: which was so palpably false and untrue on the archbishop's part. But this was, no question, Winchester's[v] doing; through whose hands, being now lord chancellor, all these acts of parliament passed, and the wording of them.

The council subscribe and swear to the limited succession.

Finally, I have only one thing more to add concerning this matter: which is, that, besides the instrument of succession, drawn up by the king's council learned in the law, signed by himself and thirty-three counsellors, and dated June 21, according to the "History of the Reformation[x]," there was another writing, which was also signed by twenty-four of the council. And to this I find our archbishop's name. Herein they promised by their oaths and honours, (being commanded so to do by the king), to observe all and every article contained in a writing of the king's own hand, touching the said succession, and after copied out and delivered to certain judges and learned men to be written in order. This writing thus signed, with the other writing of the king, being his devise for the succession, may be seen in the Appendix, as I drew them out of an original.

Vol. ii. p. 223.

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[No. LXVIII.]

[u] ["One of these acts probably is 1 Mary, St. ii. c. 16, 'for confirming the attainder of the late duke of Northumberland and others,' the preamble to which names Cranmer among those, who 'have committed many detestable and abominable treasons to the most fearful peril and danger of the destruction of your most royal person, and to the utter loss, and disherison, and destruction of this your realm of England.' Statutes of the Realm, vol. iv. p. 217."–Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 362.]

[v] [Stephen Gardiner.]

[x] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 458. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE KING DIES.

The king dies.

THE good king made his most Christian departure July the 6th, to the ineffable loss of religion and the kingdom; being in all likelihood, by his early beginnings, to prove an incomparable prince to the English nation. It was more than whispered that he died by poison: and, however secretly this was managed, it was very remarkable, that this rumour ran not only after his death, but, even a month or two before it, reports spread that he was dead. For which, as being rash speeches against the king, they studiously took up many people, and punished them[y]. Before his father king Henry had him, his only son lawfully begotten, it was twenty-eight years from his first entrance upon his kingdom. And this heir made amends for the nation's so long expectation of a prince: "his singular excellency in all kind of princely towardliness," (to use the words of one who lived in those times), "was such, that no place, no time, no cause, no book, no person, either in public audience, or else in private company, made any mention of him, but thought himself even of very conscience bound to powder the same with manifold praises of his incomparable virtues and gifts of grace[z]." And again; "How happy are we Englishmen of such a king, in whose childhood appeareth as perfect grace, virtue, godly zeal, desire of literature, gravity, prudence, justice, and magnanimity, as hath heretofore been found in kings of most mature age, of full discretion, of ancient

Cooper's Chron.

His character.

Nic. Udal's Pref. to Erasm. Paraphrase.

[y] [Cooper's Chronicle, pt. iii. fol. 357 b. ed. Lond. 1560.]

[z] [Erasmus' Paraphrase Englished, vol. i. fol. ii. b. ed. Lond. 1548.]

reign [a], and of passing high estimation [b]." And again; "That God hath of singular favour and mercy towards this realm of England sent your grace to reign over us, the thing itself, by the whole process, doth declare [c]."

The archbishop, his godfather, took exceeding complacency in a prince of such hopes, and would often congratulate sir John Cheke his schoolmaster having such a scholar, even with tears. His instructors would sometimes give account to the archbishop of his proficiency in his studies, a thing that they knew would be acceptable to him. Thus did Dr. Cox, his tutor, in a letter acquaint the archbishop "of the prince's towardliness, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities: and that both the archbishop, and all the realm, ought to take him for a singular gift sent of God. That he read Cato, Vives' Satellitium, Esop's Fables, and made Latin, besides things of the Bible; and that he conned pleasantly and perfectly [d]." The archbishop out of his dear

The archbishop delights in this prince's proficiency.

[a] ["Of ancient fame." Strype.

[b] [Erasmus' Paraphrase Englished, vol. i. fol. ii. a.]

[c] [Id. fol. ii. a.]

[d] ["The report of the prince's schoolmaster, (Dr. Cox) in commendation of his (Edward VIth's) towardness to the archbishop.—Right honourable and my singular good lord; after my most hearty commendations, the opportunity of this messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter, but only to signify unto your grace, that my lord's grace, your godson, is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you, and I, and all this realm, ought to think him and take him for a singular gift sent of God, an imp worthy of such a father; for whom we are bound 'sine intermissione' to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four books of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without book. And of his own courage now, in the latter book he will needs have at one time fourteen verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, Æsop's Fables, and Latin making, whereof he hath

298 love to him, and to encourage him, would sometimes himself write in Latin to him: and one of his letters to him is yet extant in Foxe.[e]

King Edward's writings.

His great parts might be seen by his letters, journals, memorials, discourses, and writings; which were many: divers lost, but of those that are yet extant, these are the most:

Foxe.

A letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather, from Ampthil, in Latin, being then but about seven years old[f].

Foxe.

Another in Latin to the archbishop from Hert-

sent your grace a little taste: 'Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet.'"—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1395. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[e] [The following is the letter referred to:—

"Non magis poterit ipse me [mea] servare salus, fili in Christo charissime, quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita, absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi, quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe, et præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœlestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura: quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, princeps illustrissime, et Spartam, quam nactus es, hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate nonnihil affici, tum etiam quod credam, te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; tum etiam præterea, ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1395. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[f] ["An epistle of young prince Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather.—

"Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime præsul, et carissime susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumen. Precor autem ut vivas diu, et promoveas verbum Dei.

"Vale. Antilæ decimo octavo Junii. [1544.]

"Tuus in Christo filius,

"Edwardus Princeps."

Id. ibid.]

ford, which was an answer to one from the archbishop [g].

A letter in French to his sister, the lady Elizabeth, writ December 18, 1546. Mr. Petyt's MSS.

A letter to his uncle, the duke of Somerset, after his success against the Scots, 1547. Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

To queen Katherine Parr, after her marriage with the lord admiral his uncle. Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Another letter to her. Ibid.

A letter to the earl of Hertford [h], his cousin, in Latin [i]. Ibid.

[g] ["Another epistle of young prince Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather.—

"Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ, quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam et exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divus Paulus dicit, 'Pietas ad omnia utilis est.' Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiæ, 13 Januarii.

"Tui studiosissimus,

"Edouardus Princeps."

Id. ibid.]

[h] [Edward Seymour.]

[i] ["Natura movet me ut recorder tui, avuncule carissime, etsi negotia tua impediunt te ne videas me, ideo do literas ad te, quæ literæ ferent testimonium recordationis meæ, quam habeo de te. Quod si haberem ullum melius monumentum benevolentiæ meæ erga te, quam literæ sunt, illud ad te mitterem. Puto autem te accepturum literas meas bene, non pro bonitate literarum, sed pro benevolentia scriptoris. Et tu non eris adeo lætus in accipiendis literis a me, ut ego gaudebo, si intellexero te in bonam partem accepisse illas, quod puto te facturum. Optime valeas in Christo Jesu.

"E. Princeps.

"Hunsdoniæ, octavo Novembris."

See Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 116, 117. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

Full. Ch. Hist.

A letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick [k], concerning the duke of Somerset's arraignment [l].

[k] [Barnaby Fitzpatrick, a favorite of Edward VI., had been his whipping boy, and was brought up with him from a child; he became one of the chief gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, and "was afterwards made by queen Elizabeth baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland, which was his native country."—See Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 374, 461, 462. ed. Oxon. 1829; Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 507. pt. ii. p. 164. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[l] ["To our well-beloved servant Barnaby Fitzpatrick, one of the gentlemen of our chamber.

"Edward.

"Little hath been done since you went but the duke of Somerset's arraignment for felonious treason, and the musters of the new-erected gendarmery. The duke, the first of this moneth, was brought to Westminster Hall, where sate as judge or high steward my lord treasurer*, twenty-six lords of the parliament went on his triall. Indictments were read, which were severall, some for treason, some for trayterous felony. The lawyers read how sir Thomas Palmer had confessed that the duke once minded and made him privy to raise the north; after to call the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earle of Pembroke to a feast, and so to have slain them. And to doe this thing, (as it was to be thought), had levied men a hundred at his house at London, which was scanned to be treason, because unlawfull assemblies for such purposes was treason by an act made the last sessions. Also how the duke of Somerset minded to stay the horses of the gendarmery, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the lords in a banquet. Sir Miles Partridge also confessed the raising of London; Hamman his man having a watch at Greenwich of twenty weaponed men, to resist if he had been arrested; and this confessed both Partridge and Palmer. He answered, that when he levied men at his house he meant no such thing, but onely to defend himself. The rest [he] very barely answered. After debating the matter from nine of the clock till three, the lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterward more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of felony, which he seemed to have confessed. He, hearing the judgment, fell down on his knees, and thanked them for his open triall. After, he asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, &c., whom he confessed

* [Paulet, marquis of Winchester.]

Another to B. Fitz-Patrick, consisting of instructions to him when he went into France [m]. Full. Ch. Hist.

he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well.

" From Westminster, the 20th of December, anno Domini 1551."
—See Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 84, 85. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

[m] ["And it will not be amiss to insert the king's private instructions unto him how he should behave himself in the French court, partly for the rarity, partly for the certainty thereof, having it transcribed out of the original of the king's own hand, as followeth:

1. " 'First, he shall goe in the lord admiral's company, and at the same lord's departing he shall have a letter to the French king, which the lord admirall shall deliver, and present him to the French king; and if it shall chance that the French king will give him any pension, entertainment, or reward at his being there for the time he tarrieth there, he shall receive it, and thank his majesty for it, and shall serve when he shall be appointed. Nevertheless, when he is out of the court he shall be most conversant with Mr. Pickering.

2. " 'And at his setting forth shall carry with him four servants; and if the wages amount to any great summe, (more than I give him), that the French king giveth him, to live there after that proportion, advertising me of the same.

3. " 'Also all this winter he shall study the tongue, and see the manner of the court, and advertise me of the occurrences he shall hear; and if he be desirous to see any place notable or town, he may goe thither, asking leave of the king; and shall behave himself honestly, more following the company of gentlemen than pressing into the company of the ladies there; and his chief pastime shall be hunting and riding.

4. " 'Also his apparell, he shall wear it so fine as shall be comely, and not much superfluous; and the next sommer, when either the king goeth or sendeth any man of name into the warres to be his lieutenant, or to lead an army, he shall desire to goe thither; and either himself or else shall will Mr. Pickering, to declare to the French king how he thinketh not himself to have fully satisfied nor recompensed neither his majesties good entertainment nor mine expectation who had sent him over, if he should return, having so delicately and idlely almost spent the time, without he did at this time of service be desirous to goe himself into the warres, by the which thing he might at this time doe his majesty service, and also learn to doe me service hereafter; yea, and his majesty to if the case so required. And therefore, seeing this nobleman shall now goe, that his request is to have leave to goe with him.

Full. Ch. Hist.

Another to Fitz-Patrick, giving him an account of his progress, in August, 1552 [n].

5. "'Having said this to the French king, he shall depart into the warres, waiting on this nobleman that shall be sent, and there he shall mark the divers fortifications of places, and advantages that the enemy may take, and the ordering and conduct of the armies; as also the fashion of the skirmishes, battles, and assaults, and the plats of the chief towns where any enterprises of weight have been done, he shall cause to be set out in black and white, or otherwise, as he may and shall send them hither to me, with advertisement of such things as have passed.

6. "'Furthermore, he shall at all times when he taketh money advertise me of it, and I shall send him. And so the next year being well spent, upon further advertisement, and taking leave of the French king, he shall return.

7. "'And if there arise or grow any doubt in any matter hereafter, in the which he shall need advise, he shall advertise by the post, and shall have answer thereof.'"—Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 88–90.]

[n] ["Edward.

"The cause why we have not hitherto written unto you have partly been the lack of a convenient messenger, partly because we meant to have some thing worthy writing ere we would write any thing. And therefore, being now almost in the midst of our journey, which we have undertaken this sommer, we have thought good to advertise; now since our last letters, dated at Greenwich, we departed from thence towards a thing farre contrary to that wherein, as we perceive by your diligent advertisement, you and all the countrey, you are in, are occupied; for whereas you all have been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in painfull journeys, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaults; we have been occupied in killing of wilde beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of faire countreys, and rather have sought how to fortifie our own than to spoil another man's. And being thus determined, came to Guilford, from thence to Petworth, and so to Condray, a goodly house of sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvellously, yea rather excessively banquetted. From thence we went to Halvenaker, a pretty house besides Chichester. From thence we went to Warblington, a faire house of sir Richard Cotton's; and so to Waltham, a faire great old house, in times past the bishop of Winchester's, and now my lord treasurer's house. In all these places we had both good hunting and good cheer. From thence we went to Portsmouth town, and there viewed not onely the town itselfe and the haven, but also divers bulwarks,

Orders concerning the habits and apparel of his subjects, according to their degrees and qualities. Mr. Petyt's MSS.

Mention is also made in the History of the Reformation of letters in Latin to king Henry his father [o], at eight years old, and to queen Katherine Parr [p].

as Chatertons, Waselford, with other; in viewing of which we finde the bulwarks chargeable, massey, well rampared, but ill fashioned, ill flanked, and set in unmeet places; the town weak in comparison of that it ought to be, too huge great, for within the walls are faire and large closes, and much vacant room; the haven notable great, and standing by nature easie to be fortified; and for the more strength thereof we have devised two strong castles on either side of the haven, at the mouth thereof; for at the mouth the haven is not past ten score over, but in the middle almost a mile over, and in length for a mile and a half able to beare the greatest ship in Christendome. From thence we went to Tichfield, the earl of Southampton's house *, and so to Southampton town. The citizens had bestowed for our coming great cost in painting, repairing, and rampairing of their walls. The town is handsome, and, for the bignesse of it, as fair houses as be at London. The citizens made great cheer, and many of them kept costly tables. From Southampton we came to Bewly, a little village in the middle of the New Forrest; and so to Christchurch, another little town in the same Forrest, where we now be. And having advertised you of all this, we thinke it not good to trouble you any farther with news of this countrey, but onely that at this time the most part of England, (thanks be to God), is clear of any dangerous or infectious sicknesse. We have received all your letters, of the twenty-sixth of May, of the nineteenth of June, and the first of August. Thus fare you well.

"From Christchurch, the 22 of August."—Id. p. 91–93.]

[o] [The following is the letter of the prince Edward to the king his father:—

"Literæ meæ semper habent unum argumentum, rex nobilissime, atque pater illustrissime, id est, in omnibus epistolis ago tibi gratias pro beneficentia tua erga me maxima. Si enim sæpius

* ["Henry Wriothesley, the young earl of Southampton. His father, Thomas Wriothesley, who at the beginning of this reign had been lord chancellor, and lost his place from the powerful enmity of the duke of Somerset, died 30th July, in 1550, as some think from disappointment. See Burnet, ii. 9, 33, 289; Strype's Mem. ii. 275. The young earl was the king's godson and ward. Strype, ib."]

Cotton Lib. and Hist. Ref.

His journal, writ all with his own hand, from the beginning of his reign 1547, until the 28th of November 1552[q].

multo ad te literas exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirum nullus qui non est tam magnus rex ac nobilis princeps, ac tu es, cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem pietas tua in me, multo gratior est mihi, quod facis mihi, quæ nullo modo compensare possim, sed tamen adnitar, et faciam quod in me est, ut placeam majestati tuæ, atque precabor Deum, ut diu te servet incolumem. Vale rex nobilissime atque pater illustrissime.

" Majestati tuæ obsequentissimus filius,

" Edouardus princeps.

" Hatfeldiæ, vicesimo septimo Septembris."—Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 114, 115.]

[p] [The following is the letter to queen Katherine Parr:—

" Quod non ad te jam diu scripserim, regina illustrissima, atque mater carissima, in causa fuit, non negligentia, sed studium.

" Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omnino scriberem, sed ut accuratius scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam et gavisuram, quod non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate et pietate, quod est signum insignis et diuturni tui amoris erga me. Atque hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarasti, et præcipue hac strena, quam proxime ad me misisti, in qua regiæ majestatis, et tua effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras imagines absentium contemplari, quos lubentissime videre cupio præsentes, ac quibus maxime tum natura, tum officio devinctus sum. Quamobrem majores tibi gratias ago, ob hanc strenam quam si misisses ad me preciosas vestes, et aurum cælatum, aut quidvis aliud eximium. Deus tuam celsitudinem, quam me brevi visurum spero, servet incolumen.

" Filius celsitudini tuæ obsequentissimus,

" Edouardus princeps.

" Hartfordiæ, decimo Januarii." —Id. pp. 115, 116.

" He was so forward in his learning, that, before he was eight years old, he wrote Latin letters to his father, who was a prince of that stern severity, that one can hardly think those about his son durst cheat him by making letters for him. He used also at that age to write both to his godfather the archbishop of Canterbury, and to his uncle, who was first made viscount Beauchamp, as descended from that family, and soon after earl of Hartford. It seems queen Catherine Parr understood Latin, for he wrote to her also in the same language." — Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 3. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[q] [Cotton MSS. Nero. C. x. British Museum. Original and

A collection of passages of Scripture against idolatry, in French, dedicated to the protector [r]. Trinity Col. Libr.

holograph; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 3–100. ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[r] ["A collection of passages of Scripture against idolatry, in French, dedicated to the protector.

"'Le fervent zele que je vous apercoy avoir en la reformation de idolatrie, tres-cher et bien aimé oncle, m'a incité comme par maniere de passe temps, en lisant la sainct escriture, de nôter plusieurs lieux en icelle qui defendent de n'adorer ny faire aucuns images. Non seulement de dieux estranges, mais ausi de ne former chose pensant la faire semblable à la majesté de Dieu le creature si tresbahy. Veu qui lui mesme et son St. Esprit, par la bouche de ses prophetes, l'a si souvent defendu, que tant de gens ont osé et osent commetre idolatrie en faisant et adorant les images. Mais je croy que cestoit pourtant qu'ils n'avoient ou n'entendoient pas ses paroles. Car comme il dit il ne peut estre veu en choses qui soient materielles. Mais veut estre veu par ses ouvres, ni plus ne moins que quand on voit quelque excellente piece d'ouvrage sans voir ouvrier qui l'a fait, on peut imaginer son excellence: ainsi regardant et considerant l'excellence du firmament et les choses tant parfaites et merveilleuses, qui y sont comprises, nous pouvons imaginer quelle è le Createur qui les a formées seulement par sa parole, et en telle maniere nostre oeil spirituel pouroit beaucoup mieux voir quelle chose c'est que de Dieu, que nostre oeil corporell ne le pourroit voir en chose que creature humane ait fait et formée. Pourtant, cher oncle, apres avoir noté en ma Bible en Anglois plusieurs sentences qui contradisent à tout idolatrie à celle fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l'escriture Francoise, je me suis amusé à le translater en la dite langue Francoise: puis les ay fait rescire en se petit livret, lequell de tresbon cueur je vous offre: priant Dieu le Createur de vous donner grace de continuer en vostre labeur spirituel au salut de vostre ame et à l'honneur et gloire d'iceluy.'

"Then follow seventy-two passages out of the Old Testament, against worshipping strange gods or images, with little paraphrases of his own. He concludes:

"'Il y a autres places en la sainte escriture, tant apocryphes que autres, desquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le present, qui toutesfois sont correspondentes à celles dont est fait mention par cy devant. Mais pour tant que quasi tous les prophetes et autres saints, desquels la sainte escriture parle, deffendent de ne commetre idolatrie, je desire et exhorte toute la congregation des Chrestiens qu'un chascun d'eux vueille delaisser cest abominable vice.'"—Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 101, 2.]

Cott. Libr. A discourse about the reformation of many abuses both ecclesiastical and temporal [s].

Cott. Libr. A reformation of the order of the garter; translated out of English into Latin by king Edward [t]. These four last are published in the History of the Reformation, volume ii. among the Collections.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. A book, written in French by him at twelve years of age, against the pope, entitled, "A l'encontre les abus du Monde."

Ibid. A memorial, February 1551.

Ibid. Another memorial, dated October 13, 1552.

Ibid. Another memorial.

Foxe. His prayer a little before his death [u].

[s] [Cotton MSS. Nero. C. x. fol. 107–111; British Museum. Original and holograph. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 102–109.]

[t] [Cotton MSS. Nero. C. x. fol. 93–101. British Museum. Original and holograph; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 109–115.]

[u] ["As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July, the year above said, about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer which followeth: 'Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance! O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy son Jesus Christ's sake!' Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, 'Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off.' Then D. Owen said, 'We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not.' He then, after his fashion smilingly, said, 'I was praying to God.' The last words of his pangs were these: 'I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit!'"—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1395. ed. Lond. 1583; Fuller's Ch. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 119, 120. ed. Oxon. 1845.]

I shall rehearse none of these writings, but only one of the memorials; because it bordereth so near upon our present history, and shews so much this young prince's care of religion, and for the good estate of the church, animated, admonished, counselled, and directed in these matters by the archbishop.

For Religion. October 13, 1552. 299

The king's memorial for religion.

I. A catechism to be set forth, for to be taught in all grammar-schools.

II. An uniformity of doctrine, to which all preachers should set their hands.

III. Commissions to be granted to those bishops that be grave, learned, wise, sober, and of good religion, for the executing of discipline.

IV. To find fault with the slightfulness of the pastors, and to deliver them articles of visitation, willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their office, and to keep more preachers.

V. The abrogating of the old canon-law, and establishment of a new.

VI. The dividing of the bishopric of Durham into two, and placing of men in them.

VII. The placing of Harley into the bishopric of Hereford.

VIII. The making of more homilies.

IX. The making of more injunctions.

X. The placing of one in a bishopric in Ireland, which Turner of Canterbury hath refused.

Some of these things were already done, and some in hand. Hereby we may see what further steps in the reformation would have been made, had the good king lived. So that, in this king's reign, religion made a good progress, and superstition and idolatry was in a good

manner purged out of the church. Which was the more to be wondered at, considering the minority of the king, the grievous factions at court, and the too common practice then of scoffing and buffooning religion, and the more conscientious professors of it. For of this sort of men, ruffians and dissolute livers, there were many followed the court, and were favourites to the leading men there; I mean, the two dukes: and proved after base time-servers and flatterers in the reign of queen Mary.

The archbishop frequent at council.

During this reign archbishop Cranmer was a very active man, and great deference seemed to be given to his judgment, by the king and council, in the matters that were then transacting; especially as concerning the reformation of religion. For I find him very frequently at the council-board, and often sent for thither, or sent unto when absent. And here I will not think much to set down all the particular days when, and places where, he was present in person with the privy-counsellors; from the year 1550 beginning, unto the middle of the year 1553, near the time of the king's death; as it was extracted carefully out of a Council Book, that commenceth at the above-said year.

His presence in council in the year 1550.

Anno 1550. April 19, he was present at the council then at Greenwich. This month "one Putto, who, for his lewd preaching," had been put to silence, (that is, against the steps made in the reformation), ["by order of the council"] and "did now nevertheless, of his own head, preach as lewdly as he had done before," was referred to the archbishop, and the bishop of Ely, to be cor-
300 rected, April 28. The archbishop present at council, May, 2, 4, 7, 11, (on this day the duke of Somerset was called again to council), and 15. At the Star-chamber, May 16. At Westminster, May 29, June 5. At Greenwich, June 8, 11, 13, 20, 22. At Westminster, June 28, 29, 30, and

July 1: about which time the archbishop seemed to depart into his diocese, and there to remain that summer. October 11, there was an order of council for a letter to be writ to him, in answer to his of complaint against the vicar of Dartford, to imprison him for his disobedience unto him; and in prison to endure, until the said archbishop should come to court. October 18, was another order of council for three letters to be writ: the one to the archbishop of Canterbury, another to the bishop of Ely, and another to the bishop of Lincoln. "Because," (as the words run), "the parliament draweth near: before which time [it is by the king's] majesty thought expedient to have some matters there to be consulted. Their lordships were" required immediately to "repair to the court, where they shall understand his majesty's further pleasure. And November 11 his grace was sent for[t]." At Westminster, November 16, 17, 18, [19, 22,] 26. December 4, when the archbishop and bishop of Ely answered the bishop of Chichester, then before the council, as to the texts by him produced in behalf of altars. December 5, 9, 11, 13: on which day a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the bishop of Winchester to Lambeth before the archbishop. January 13, he was present at the council at Greenwich, when Hoper was ordered to be committed to the archbishop's custody. Present again at council at Greenwich, February 8. At Westminster the 15, 18: then, "upon the report of the archbishop" made of "one Young, a learned man,

[t] [This passage has been corrected from the MSS. Council Book. Strype says, "And that day his grace was sent for. November 11, he was present at the council." So far from this being the fact, the first proceeding of the council, Nov. 11, 1550, was to this effect: "This day the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for;" there is no allusion whatever to his having been sent for October 18, 1550.—See fol. 145, 161.]

(I suppose he of Cambridge, that was Bucer's antagonist, viz. that he) "had preached seditiously," (against the king's proceedings in religion), "it was determined that the archbishop, and the bishop of Ely, should examine him, "and thereupon order him, as they should think good." He was present at council, still at Westminster, March 4, 8, (when he was appointed to receive a sum of money in respect of his charges and pains in his process against the late bishop of Winchester, now deprived), 9, 11, 12, 22, 24.

In the year 1551. Anno 1551. March 26, 31. At Greenwich, April the 8, 9, 11, 26, [28.] May 4, 10. June 4, 14, (when a letter was given to the archbishop to send to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the bringing White, warden of New College in Winchester, and delivering him to the archbishop, to remain with him till he might reclaim him), [u] 21, 22. At Richmond, August 9. At Hampton Court, October 1: when a licence was granted to Wolf, under the king's privilege, to print the archbishop's book. At Westminster, October 17, 19, 22, 28. November 2, 5, 9, 10, 15, 17, 21, 26. December 11, 12, (14, a letter was sent from the council to the archbishop to send them a book touching religion, sent out of Ireland), 17, 18, 19. January 24, 31. February 8, 16, 22, 29. March 22.

In the year 1552. Anno 1552. He was present at the council now sitting at Westminster, March 29. April 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19, 24. From which time, till the month of October, he was not at
301 the council, and yet seems to have been at home. October 7, the council sent to him to stay his going into Kent till Tuesday, because the lords would confer with him; that

[u] [Strype is in error as to Cranmer's appearance at the council on the 14th and 15th June, 1551. No further mention of him is made in the MSS. Council Book of the 14th June, than that the letter above referred to was directed to be sent to him.—See fol. 327.]

is, till October 11, when he was again present at council. The archbishop now retired into his diocese, and was at his house at Ford, whither several messages and letters were sent to him from the council: as, November 20, they sent him the Articles of Religion, (framed chiefly by him, and reviewed by the king's chaplains), for his last review, in order to the putting them into due execution. November 24, another sent him, "according to the minute," of some business unknown. December 2, another letter to him for the installing of Hoper, without paying any fees. And another, February 2, in favour of Mr. Knox, to be by him collated to the living of Alhallows. This month he returned, and was at the council at Westminster, likewise February 21, 22, 25, 27, 28.

Anno 1553. March 25. April 1, 7. At Greenwich, June 2, 3, [5,] 6, 8. And that was the last time mentioned in the Council Book ending at June 17. Nor cared he to come afterwards, the business then in transaction not plcasing him[v]. An. 1553.

A Bishop Consecrated.

May 26. John Harley, S. T. P. was consecrated, (and was the last that was consecrated in this king's reign), bishop of Hereford, upon the death of Skip, by the archbishop, at Croyden chapel; Nicolas[w], bishop of London, and Robert[x], bishop of Carlisle, assisting. This Harley was John Harley. [Cranm. Regist. fol. 335, b.]

[v] [MSS. Council Book, Privy-council office, A. D. 1550–1553. fol. 3, 21, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32, 34, 42, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 56, 61, 64, 65, 66, 142, 145, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 169, 179, 181, 184, 185, 197, 198, 218, 222, 225, 226, 237, 240, 241, 242, 249, 250, 253, 258, 267, 269, 280, 281, 286, 289, 314, 327, 332, 333, 359, 401, 414, 416, 418, 424, 429, 431, 433, 434, 439, 441, 443, 450, 458, 459, 461, 462, 463, 477, 481, 487, 492, 495, 505, 519, 523, 527, 528, 530, 531, 532, 534, 535, 537, 616, 618, 645, 647, 652, 676, 683, 684, 685, 696, 698, 701, 725, 726.]

[w] [Nicholas Ridley.]

[x] [Robert Aldrich.]

one of the king's six chaplains, Bill, Bradford, Grindal, Pern, and Knox[y], being the other five, that were appointed to be itineraries, to preach sound doctrine in all the remotest parts of the kingdom, for the instruction of the ignorant in right religion to God, and obedience to the king.

[y] [See above, p. 412. n. y.]

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

APPENDIX

TO THE

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

OF THE

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

[NUMBER XXXIV*.

INJUNCTIONS GIVEN BY THE MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE, EDWARD THE SIXTH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, AND IN EARTH UNDER CHRIST, OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND OF IRELAND, THE SUPREME HEAD: TO ALL AND SINGULAR HIS LOVING SUBJECTS, AS WELL OF THE CLERGY AS OF THE LAITY.

Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 3. et sqq. Sparrow's Collection of Records, pp. 1. et sqq.

The king's most royal majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the duke of Somerset, lord protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and residue of his most honourable council, intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth; doth minister unto his loving subjects these godly Injunctions herc-

after following; whereof part were given unto them heretofore, by the authority of his most dear beloved father, king Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his majesty: all which Injunctions his highness willeth and commandeth his said loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man, in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same Injunctions hereafter expressed.

I. The first is, That all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of other, all and singular laws and statutes, made as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome, his pretensed and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the church of England and Ireland. And furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons, having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the laws of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore no manner of obedience or subjection, within his realms and dominions, is due unto him. And that the king's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men, within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any enticements to the pilgrimage of any saint or image: but reproving the same, they shall teach, that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other.

Item, That they, the persons above rehearsed, shall make or cause to be made in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God: and in the same exhort their hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by men's fantasies, besides Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, or relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such-like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish most his honour and glory.

Item, That such images as they know in any of their cures to be or to have been abused with pilgrimage or offering of any thing made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censed unto, they, (and none other private persons), shall, for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down, or cause to be taken down, and destroy the same; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be

set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still: admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent: which images if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

Item, That every holy day throughout the year, when they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the gospel, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, in the pulpit, the Pater Noster, the Credo, and the Ten Commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God and in conscience to do.

Item, That they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry: exhorting and counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations as otherwise, persuading the said fathers and mothers, masters and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee that the youth be in no manner or wise brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward, for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest means to live by, they be driven to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, and some to theft and murder; which, after brought to calamity and

misery, do blame their parents, friends, and governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth, where if they had been well brought up in learning some good occupation or craft, they would, (being rulers of their own household), have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

Also, That the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide that the sacraments be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special license given by the king's majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert curate, that can by his ability teach the rude and unlearned of their pure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; which will also execute these injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf, and accordingly may and will profit their cure, no less with good example of living than with the declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they nor their curates do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

Also, That they shall provide within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English. And within one twelve months next after the said visitation, the Paraphrasis of Erasmus, also in English, upon the gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they

have the cure of, whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same. The charges of which books shall be rateably borne between the parson and approprietary, and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by the parson or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man, authorised and licensed thereto, from the reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English; but shall rather comfort and exhort every person to read the same, as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all Christian persons are bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved: whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in his majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

Also, The said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or alehouses. And after their dinner or supper, they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at dice, cards, or tables, playing, or any other unlawful game; but at all times, as they shall have leisure, they shall hear and read somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise; and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty, with endeavour to profit the commonweal; having always in mind that they ought to excel all other in purity of life, and should be an example to the people to live well and Christianly.

Item, That they shall in confessions every Lent examine every person that cometh to confession to them,

whether they can recite the Articles of their faith, the "Pater Noster," and the Ten Commandments in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and admonish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board, without a perfect knowledge and will to observe the same; and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Also, That they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto, by the king's majesty, the lord protector's grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York in his province, or the bishop of the diocese: and such as shall be so licensed, they shall gladly receive to declare the word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

Also, If they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now openly before the same recant and reprove the same; shewing them, as the truth is, that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error and abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

Also, If they do or shall know any man, within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the king's majesty's Injunctions, or a fautor of

the bishop of Rome's pretensed power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirpated, and taken away utterly, they shall detect and present the same to the king or his council, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

Also, That the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish for their time, and so every man succeeding them likewise; and therein shall write every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried. And for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide of their common charges one sure coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish church or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up: which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials made the whole week before; and that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as afore. And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said church 3*s.* 4*d.*, to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish.

Furthermore, Because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and at these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same; all parsons, vicars, pensioners, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, which may dispend yearly £20. or above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall dis-

tribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens, or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend in benefices and other promotions of the church an hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar: and for so many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching as otherwise, in the execution of their offices, or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the commonweal with their counsel and wisdom.

Also, That the proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of that their benefices, till they be fully repaired; and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

Also, That the said parsons, vicars, and clerks, shall, once every quarter of the year, read these Injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately before all their parishioners, to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

Also, Forasmuch as by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redub and requite one wrong with another, or be his own judge; but shall truly pay the same, as he hath been accustomed, to their parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution. And such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof at their ordinaries and other superiors' hands, who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Also, That no person shall from henceforth alter or change the order or manner of any fasting day that is commanded, or of common-prayer or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the king's authority.

Also, That every parson, vicar, curate, chantry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament both in Latin and in English, with the Paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus, and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and other ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitations, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons how they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.

Also, In the time of high mass, within every church, he that saith or singeth the same, shall read, or cause to be read, the epistle and gospel of that mass in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And every Sunday and holy day they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in

English in the said place at matins immediately after the lessons: and at evensong, after "Magnificat," one chapter of the Old Testament. And to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the king's majesty's pleasure is, that when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them shall be omitted and left out, with the responds: and at evensong-time the responds, with all the memories, shall be left off for that purpose.

Also, Because those persons which be sick and in peril of death be oftentimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil, who is then most busy, and especally with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and stedfast belief that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God of his most bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in him: therefore that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and stedfast hope, surely conceived of all their parishioners, being in any danger, they shall learn and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they may at all times, when necessity shall require, promptly comfort their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

Also, To avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen among the king's majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and challenging of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church at any time, use any procession

about the church or church-yard, or other place, but immediately before high mass, the priests, with other of the quire, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly, the Litany, which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, and none other procession or Litany to be had or used but the said Litany in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the king's grace shall hereafter appoint; and in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint. And in the time of the Litany, of the mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells shall be utterly forborne at that time, except one bell in convenient time to be rung or knolled before the sermon.

Also, Like as the people be commonly occupied the work day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the holy day at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God. And whereas in our time God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured than honoured upon the holy day, because of idleness, drunkenness, quarrelling, and brawling, which are most used in such days, people nevertheless persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day if they hear mass and service, though they understand nothing to their edifying: therefore all the king's faithful and loving subjects shall from henceforth celebrate and keep their holy day according to God's holy will and pleasure, that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught, in private and public prayers, in knowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same, in reconciling their selves charitably to

their neighbours, where displeasure hath been, in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ, in visiting of the poor and sick, in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet notwithstanding all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent. And if for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

Also, Forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ; curates shall in no wise admit to the receiving thereof any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them; and nevertheless their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to hear the same.

Also, That every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary being priest, shall preach by himself personally twice every year at the least, either in the place where he is intituled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

Also, That they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, by the king commanded to be observed, and as yet not abrogated. And on the other side, that whosoever doth super-

stitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril and danger of his soul's health: as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things, or bearing about him holy bread or St. John's Gospel, or making of crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion, or keeping of private holy days, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such other do: or ringing of holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or to drive away devils, or to put away dreams and fantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained, instituted, and made, to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ. And if he use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

Also, That they shall take away, utterly extinct, and destroy, all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition: so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within their churches or houses. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like, within their several houses. And that the church-wardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every church, shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's word.

Also, They shall provide and have, within three months after this visitation, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys; whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the church-wardens, or any

other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from year to year. Which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblation and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently from time to time, and specially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours, to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them, whereas heretofore they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought at this time to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation; and that also, whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him, that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life: the which alms and devotion of the people the keepers of the keys shall at times convenient take out of the chest, and distribute the same in the presence of their whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours: and if they be provided for, then to the reparation of highways next adjoining. And also the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church, (except by the king's majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed), shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use, and also the rents and lands, the profit of cattle, and money given or bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use, saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparation of the church, if great

need require, and whereas the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

And forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the church, and upon the holy days ought to apply themselves to the common administration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in childbed, except in time of dangerous sickness, and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the church-yard; and if the woman be sick, or the corpse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly, in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.

Also, To avoid the detestable sin of simony, because buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God; therefore all such persons as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotion. And such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow them for their own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment for that time, and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertain to the king's majesty.

Also, Because, through lack of preachers in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continue in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates shall read in the churches every Sunday one of the homilies, which are and shall be set forth for the same purpose by the king's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do in the preface of the same.

Also, Whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them, having small learning, have of long time favoured fancies rather than God's truth; yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the king's majesty willeth and chargeth

all his loving subjects, that from henceforth they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and administration sake, and especially such as labour in the setting forth of God's holy word.

Also, That all manner of persons which understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Primer, but upon that which was lately set forth in English by the authority of king Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory; and that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer. And all those which have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin Primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority. And that all graces to be said at dinner and supper shall be always said in the English tongue. And that none other grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the king's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.

Item, That all chantry-priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises.

Item, When any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted.

The form of bidding the Common Prayers.

You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church, and especially for this church of England and Ireland; wherein, first, I commend to your devout prayers the king's most excellent majesty, supreme head, immediately under God, of the spirituality and temporality of the same church; and for queen Katharine, dowager; and also for my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, the king's sisters.

Secondly, You shall pray for the lord protector's grace,

with all the rest of the king's majesty's council; for all the lords of this realm, and for the clergy and commons of the same; beseeching Almighty God to give every of them, in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise as may be of God's glory, the king's honour, and the weal of this realm.

Thirdly, Ye shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, that they with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.

All which singular Injunctions the king's majesty ministereth unto his clergy and their successors, and to all his loving subjects; straitly charging and commanding them to observe and keep the same, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of fruits or benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other coercion, as to ordinaries, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whom his majesty hath appointed for the due execution of the same, shall be seen convenient; charging and commanding them to see these Injunctions observed and kept of all persons, being under their jurisdiction, as they will answer to his majesty for the contrary: and his majesty's pleasure is, that every justice of peace, being required, shall assist the ordinaries, and every of them, for the due execution of the said Injunctions.]

NUMBER XXXV.

THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER: RELATING TO THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION[a].

Foxii MSS. AFTER my duty remembered to your grace. Your let-

[a] [Harl. MSS. 417. Plut. lxiv. F. fol. 79–88. British Museum. Original and holograph.]

ters of the third came to my hands the of the same. And, upon the reading, and advised consideration of the matter in them, have thought requisite to answer unto them; and at length to open my mind frankly in some points of them: tempering my words so, as I shall not be seen to have forgotten your place and condition, 74 nor such familiarity, as hath been between your grace and me: the remembrance of which familiarity maketh me speak as freely, as on the other side your estate bridleth me to be more moderate in speech, than some matter I shall hereafter speak of, would else suffer and permit.

It grieveth me much to read, written from your grace in the beginning of your letters, how the king, our late sovereign, was seduced, and that he knew by whom he was compassed in that I call the "King's Majesty's Book," which is not his book because I call it so, but because it was indeed so acknowledged by the whole parliament, and acknowledged so by your grace then, and all his life; which, as you afterwards write, ye commanded to be published and read in your diocese, as his book: against which, by your grace's speech, ye commanded Joseph he should not preach. All which I think your grace would not have done, if ye had not thought the book to have contained truth. And in the truth can be no seducing to it, as the king's book containeth, but from it. Which if it had been so, I ought to think your grace would not for all the princes christened, being so high a bishop as ye be, have yielded unto. For "obedire oportet Deo, magis quam hominibus." And therefore after your grace hath four years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine under our late sovereign lord, now so suddenly after his death to write to me that his highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech: which if your grace should bring into open contention, as I know your

grace of your wisdom will not; but in that case will I, as an old servant of my late sovereign

Much wanting.

itself so many calamities besides, whereof I have more leisure to think on than your grace, as my chance is now, which I reckon in this respect very good; after so many years service, and in such trouble without danger passed over, to arrive in this haven of quietness without loss of any notable tackle, as the mariners say, which is a great matter as the winds hath blown; and if the present estate in this world were to be considered, I have many times alleged for confirmation of the opinion of some in religion. And the protestants take it for a great argument to establish their proceedings, that the emperor was ever letted when he went about to enterprize any thing against them, as Bucer declareth at great length in a letter written to the world. And when Sledanus was here in England, he told me the like at Windsor: and then "tanquam prædixit" of the effect of certain eclipse: adding, that I should see "magnas mutationes." And so I have seen, and have heard marvellous changes since that; but otherwise than Sledanus took it, and to destroy their fancies, if that were to be regarded. But for myself, I have seen my sovereign lord, with whom I consented in opinion, make the honourable conquest of Bolen, and honourably in his life maintain it. And after an honourable peace made, leave this world over soon to us: but that was due by him to be paid to nature, discharged it honourably; buried honourably with sorrow and lamentation of his servants and subjects; and myself, his poor servant, with a little fleabiting of this world, conveyed to an easy estate, without diminution of my reputation.

And therefore when I hear fondly alleged, or read more fondly written, the favour to that is by Bale, Joye, and Joseph, or such like, newly called "The Word of God," to be embraced for preservation of the worldly estate, I see the clear contrary in experience, and conclude with myself that it prove thnought before man; and take it before God to be abomination. Which causeth me to spend some of my leisure to write so long a letter to your grace, who hath less leisure: wishing that our leisure, great or little, may be spent otherwise than to trouble this realm in the time of our sovereign lord's minority, with any novelty in matters of religion: being so many other matters, which, for that I was so late a counsellor, cannot out of my memory: requiring the whole endeavour of such as have charge, and silence in the people, who should serve and obey, without quarreling among themselves for matters in religion. Specially considering it is agreed our late sovereign is received to God's mercy. And though some would say, he had [his errors] and saw not perfectly God's truth: yet for us, it were better to go to heaven with one eye after him, than to travail here for another eye with danger to lose both. There was good humanity in him that said, "Malim errare cum Platone, quam cum aliis vera sentire." Which affection were to the world plausible touching our sovereign Lord that made us; but we Christian men may not teach so, but esteem God above all, and his true divinity. In which case nevertheless, when the divinity pretended is so rejected of many, and utterly reproved: so doubted of many other, as it is suspected and confessed among us, it is not necessary. For our sovereign lord is gone from us to heaven, in his way.

It is a marvellous matter what a certain loss of it is aforehand to enterprize to search, which [it is] among a

very few hath the name of divinity, and of all the rest is so named[b] as I will not rehearse. And this I write not, because your grace intendeth any such thing so far: for I may not, nor will not so think of you. But this I take to be true, that the way of error is let in at a little gap. The vehemence of novelty will flow further than your grace would admit. And when men hear of new gear, every man maketh his request; some new hose, some new robes, some new caps, some new shirts. Like as in religion we have seen attempted, where the people thought they might prevail; which caused the commotion in Germany "in bello civili rusticorum," and hath made the same stir there now "in bello civili nobilium." It was a notable act of our late sovereign lord, to reform and then moderate religion, as he did: which he did not without all trouble. And how safe we be in religion, when all quietness is acquired you wisdom can consider. Our late sovereign lord was wont to say, which I never forget, speaking of himself man had not looked to the pacification. He saw men desirous to set forth their own fancies, which he thought to have excluded by his pacification.

If your grace would say to me now, that I wasted much speech in vain, and declared thereby I had too much leisure to write so much in this matter, as though I feared that needeth not to be feared: for your grace hath commanded our late sovereign lord's book[c] to be
76 read, and mindeth nothing now but only homilies, wherein your grace would I should write; which to do were neither great pain nor hardness to me; and I might as soon write an homily as these letters. As for the facility of the matter of writing, or writing by

[b] Heresy.

[c] The Erudition of a Christian Man.

not traverse. But then I consider what controversy may arise in writing. As for example, (for seeing I have leisure to write, I will forget what leisure your grace hath to read), if I should make an homily "de vita perfecta," I would note two parts, one of life, another of perfectness. For the ground of the one, I would take St. John, "misit Deus Filium suum, ut vivamus per eum;" and for the other, "estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester," &c. In declaration of life, I would take occasion to speak of faith, the gift of entry to life, and of charity, the very gift of life; which who hath not remaineth in death. And therefore St. James said, "fides sine operibus mortua est." Not expounding that so, as though faith without charity were no faith, as we say a dead man is no man. For I would wish the people in any wise to beware of that fashion of teaching, and such a sophistical understanding of St. James: and, for detection thereof, declare, that death containeth not always a denial of the thing dead not to be, but only where the name of the thing noted now dead contained before in it a signification of life. As the word "man" signifieth a body living; and then it is truly said, that a dead man is no man, no more than a painted man. But faith signifieth not always a life in it: for devils have faith without life. And when we speak of dead faith, it is like as when ye speak of a body indeed without life, but apt and meet to receive life. As spawn is a body without life, and dead, but meet to receive life with convenient circumstance. And then we say not, that a body dead is no body; and therefore may we not say, that a dead faith is no faith; after which understanding, we should make St. James to treat, whether no faith might justify a man, or no: which were a cold matter. And yet so must we say, if we will expound this saying, that a dead faith is no faith.

And in this point I would, in my homily "de vita," be very earnest to shew, that in charity is life, whereunto faith is the entry: which faith without charity is not no faith, but dead. And therefore God, that giveth all life, giveth with faith charity: whereof I would make the more words in the homily, because the handling of St. James in the other sophistical interpretation is an entry to unwholesome doctrine. And if your grace would say, What of this? or to what purpose should it be written to you, that mindeth no such matter? surely for nothing but because I have plenty of leisure, and write as though I talked with you; and not all in vain, for that I have heretofore heard of other, whom I have heard much glory in that exposition, to say St. James meaneth that dead faith is no faith, even as a dead man is no man. Which, by my fay, is overfar out of the way: and yet mine homily might in such an homiler, and company of homilies, encounter with one of the trade I have spoken of, and bring forth matter of contention and altercation, without all fruit or edification. And thus much for example of trouble in homilies, which these five years have rested without any business, and the people well done their duties, I trust, to God in heaven, and know well, to their sovereign lord in earth; and our sovereign lord,
77 that governed them without these homilies, gone to heaven, whither, I trust, we and the people shall go after, although we trouble them with no homilies. Which shall hardly be so accumulate "ex diversis tractatibus," with diverse fashion of writing, divers phrase of speeches, diverse conceits in teachings, diverse ends per case intended, as some will construe.

The rest is wanting.

NUMBER XXXVI.

GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINTON, TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, CONCERNING THE BOOK OF HOMILIES AND ERASMUS' PARAPHRASE ENGLISHED.

"After my most humble commendations to your good grace, with hearty thanks that it hath pleased you to be content to hear from me; wherein now I have liberty to write at large to you, I cannot find the like gentleness in my body to spend so much time as I would: and therefore I shall now desire your grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter in brief sentences. Cotton Library. Vespas. D. 18. [fol. 139–145. British Museum. Copy.]

The Injunctions in this last visitation contain a commandment to see taught, and learned, two books. One of Homilies, that must be taught; another of Erasmus' Paraphrases, that the priests must learn.

These books strive one against another directly. The book of the Homilies teacheth faith to exclude charity in the office of justification. Erasmus' Paraphrases teacheth faith to have charity joined with him in justification.

The book of Homilies teacheth how men may swear. The Paraphrasis teacheth the contrary very extremely. The book of Homilies teacheth how subjects owe tribute to their prince, and obedience, very well. The book of Paraphrases in a place upon St. Paul [doth] violently, and against all truth, after it hath spoken of duty to heathen princes, knitteth the matter up untruly, that between the Christian men at Rome, to whom he writeth, which is a lesson for all, there should be no debt, or right, but mutual charity[d], which is a marvellous matter. The book

[d] But these are not the words of Erasmus, but St. Paul, Rom. xiii. 8.

of Homilies in another place openeth the gospel one way. The Paraphrases openeth it clearly contrary. The matter is not great, but because there is contrariety.

Now to consider each of the foresaid books. The book of Homilies in the sermon of Salvation teacheth the clean contrary to the doctrine established by the act of parliament[e]; even as contrary as "includeth" is contrary to "excludeth." For these be the words of the doctrine established by parliament; where in a certain place faith doth not exclude. The doctrine of the parliament speaketh how they be joined in justification. The Homily speaketh the virtues to be present in the man justified, and how faith excludeth them in the office of justification; which can never be proved, and is in the mean time contrary to the act.

78 The book of Homilies hath in the homily of Salvation, how remission of sin is taken, accepted, and allowed of God for your perfect justification. The doctrine of the parliament teacheth justification, for the fulness and perfection thereof, to have more parts than remission of sin, as in the same appeareth. And although that remission of sin be a justification, yet it is not a full and perfect.

The book of Homilies numbereth the hallowing of bread, palms, and candles, among papistical superstitions and abuses. The doctrine of the parliament willeth them to be reverendly used; and so do the Injunctions now set forth; which made me think the printer might thrust in an homily of his own devise.

The book of Homilies hath words of St. Chrysostom alleged untruly, not after such a sort as might escape by oversight, but of purpose; as, calling that faith which Chrysostom calleth hope; and in place of

[e] In the book of "The Erudition," &c.

one sentence putteth another, which should better serve the purpose of the maker of the homily. Now if one would reason with me, that Chrysostom meant this, I would deny it him, as I may. But I may affirm, that Chrysostom saith not, it is but a defamation of the truth: and under such a prince's name as your sovereign lord is, whose tongue, in this so pure innocency, hath not been defiled with any untruth; I assure you, I thought there was not so great haste in homilies, but they might have tarried the printing, either for that only cause. Truth is able to maintain itself, and needeth no help of untrue allegation. It serveth only for enemies to take advantage. All which [i. e. enemies] used to be curious to know what they may reprove.

And now all the eyes and ears of the world be turned towards us. And as they shall have cause to talk honourably of your valiantness in the wars, so [shall] they talk otherwise of that that is done in your absence, if any thing be amiss.

Now I shall shew your grace what author Erasmus is, to be, by name and special commandment, had in credit in this realm. If he be to be believed, the doctrine of only faith justifieth, is a very poison. And he writeth by express terms, and calleth this another poison, to deny punishment in purgatory after this life. And another poison, to deny the invocation of saints, and worshipping of them. And this he calleth a poison, to say, we need no satisfactory works, for that were to mistrust Christ. Erasmus in another place conferring the state of the church in the beginning and now, he concludeth, that if St. Paul were alive at this day, he would not improve [i. e. disallow] the present state of the church, but cry out of men's faults. This is Erasmus' judgment in his latter days.

His work, the Paraphrases, which should be authorized in the realm, which he wrote above twenty-six years ago, when his pen was wanton, [as] the matter is so hauled, as being abroad in this realm, were able to minister occasion to evil men to subvert, with religion, the policy and order of the realm.

These be the general words, the uttering whereof to your grace in the place you occupy were a great fault, unless I would shew ye good ground and true why to say so. And therefore I am glad I do rather write to you, than to have come and speak with you, because my words in number might fly away; whereas written words remain to be read again.

79 First, as concerning the policy and state of the realm, wheresoever Erasmus might take an occasion to speak his pleasure of princes, he payeth home, as roundly as bishops have been of late touched in pleas. And such places of Scripture as we have used to allege for the state of princes, he wresteth and windeth them so, as if the people read him and believed him, they would after small regard that allegation of them. And if Erasmus did truly, and that the Scripture bound him so to say, it were more tolerable, (for truth must have place), but when it is done in some place untruly, and in some place wantonly, to check that estate, it can be no good doctrine amongst people that should obey. And this book of Paraphrases is not like the other expositions of Scripture, where the author speaketh in his own person. For Erasmus taketh upon him the evangelist's person, and Christ's person, and enterpriseth to fit up Christ's tale and his words. As for example, where the Gospel rehearseth Christ's speech, when he said, "Give to the emperor that is the emperor's;" (by which speech we gather, and truly gather, that Christ confessed the emperor to have a duty); Eras-

mus writeth it with an "if," after this sort, "If there be any thing due to them." Which condition Christ put not to it, but spake plainly, "Give to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." And I write the very words of the Paraphrases, as they be in English, for I have the book with me: and so shall no man say, that I misreport the book. The words be these. "Render therefore unto Cæsar, if any things appertain unto Cæsar. But first of all, render unto God the things that appertain unto God. Meaning that it is no hurt to godliness, if a man being dedicate to God do give tribute to a profane prince, although he ought it not." These be the words in the book ordered to be set forth. Wherein what needeth Erasmus to bring in doubt the duty, when God putteth no doubt at all. It were too long to write to your grace every fault. This one I put for example, where Erasmus doth corrupt Christ's words, with a condition which Christ spake not.

The other places of railings would encumber your grace overmuch. But as I write, your grace shall find true, that whatsoever might be spoken to defame princes' government, is not left unspoken. Bishops be more gently handled. Erasmus maketh them very kings of the gospel, and calleth the true kings of the world "profane kings." Bishops have the sword, he saith, of God given, that is to say, the gospel. "Profane princes," as he calleth them, "have a sword permitted unto them, and by Homer," he saith, "be called, pastors of the people." This matter is within the compass of the Paraphrases, if it be not left out; with a commendation also of Thomas Becket of Canterbury, in excommunicating the king of the realm, that then was, by implication, for the manor of Oxford, which the king, as he rehearseth, then withheld. It may

be the translator would have left this out; but Erasmus' pen in those days (was) very light.

Moreover when, Erasmus teacheth, that between Christian men is no debt, or right, but charity, it is a marvellous matter to the dissolution of laws and duties. And therein Erasmus doth violate God's Scripture, and saith not true.

80 Thus far is the doctrine pernicious for common policy, [wherein] nevertheless if he had said truth, let the truth prevail; but the truth is not so.

As touching religion in this work of Paraphrases, it is so wantonly, (I beseech your grace note my words), and therewith untruly handled, as if we should use to read it, there should ensue a marvellous confusion. Some specialties I will note, but not all.

The sacrament of the altar is so wantonly talked of by him, that as the world is now, the reading of him were the whole subversion. Erasmus in his latter days, hath for the sacrament of the altar spoken as reverently, and said as much for confirmation of it, as may be, and crieth out of them that would take him otherwise. But this is in the end, when age had tempered him.

In this Paraphrases, which he wrote in his wanton age, the words and terms were able to subvert, if it were possible, as Christ saith, the elect.

If the Paraphrases go abroad, people shall be learned to call the sacrament of the altar holy bread, and a symbol. At which new name many will marvel. And they be wanton words spoken of Erasmus without necessity.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrases, whosoever had done away his wife for advoutry might marry again. By the Paraphrases all men may marry, bishops and priests. Wherein Erasmus took his pleasure to understand St. Paul,

as though he should describe of what quality priests' wives should be; wherein he forgat himself. For St. Paul knew, that if a bishop or priest were once married, his wife must pass with all her faults; and it should be too late to tell what she should be. For otherwise than she is, she will not be, neither for St. Paul nor St. Peter. And if bishops had that privilege, that they might change while they found such one, as Erasmus saith St. Paul would have them, their estate would be wonderfully envied. But St. Paul did not speak there of bishops' wives. And so therein he doth violence to the Scriptures undoubtedly. Wherefore I write somewhat merrily to shew the absurdity of the thing.

By the Paraphrases the keeping of a concubine is called but a light fault. And that were good for Lancashire. And Erasmus bringeth it so prettily, that a ruler of a country, if he be himself the servant of avarice or ambition, should not brook with his brother, because being overcome by weakness of flesh he useth a concubine. Even thus it is Englished in the book that should go forth. And when to have a concubine, it is called a light fault, methinketh if the maid can read, it may serve well, lightly to persuade her. And yet if the man doth it, overcome by the weakness of his flesh, as the book termeth it, is made matter. Wherein Erasmus speaketh over lightly, to call it a light fault. And the translator in English wanted speech, when he turned it thus: "That a man overcome with the weakness of his flesh should desire a concubine." I am bold with his grace, to join here Erasmus' lightness with the discretion of the translator. If to keep a concubine shall be by authority called a light fault, the multitude of them may make the fault heavy.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrases, every man must come to the high prick of virtue, or to be extremely

nought. Which differeth far from the teaching of the Homilies, and from the truth also.

81 The Paraphrases teacheth thus truly; "more glorious it is to die for the gospel's sake. Which death, though it shall be violent and sore, yet it shall not come before the day. Whensoever it cometh it shall not come without the providence of God. And by this it cometh to pass, that if ye endeavour to avoid it, ye cannot." This is the doctrine, which if it were taken for true, might engender like obstinacy in many, as it hath of late in some. Erasmus teacheth here further than he hath warrant by Scripture.

The Paraphrases in another place doth clearly violate the text, and untruly handle it, in a matter of tithes, which your grace is desirous, as appeareth by the Injunctions, to have truly paid. Wherein if Erasmus had said truth, let truth prevail; but when he handleth it untruly it is pity it should be suffered.

Thus have I here reckoned your grace some special faults, that be Erasmus' own faults, with a great number that I have not spoken of.

And further your grace shall understand, that he which hath taken the labours to translate Erasmus into English, hath offended sometime, as appeareth plainly, by ignorance, and sometime of purpose, to put in, leave out, and change, as he thought best. Wherewith I will not encumber your grace, but assure you it is so. And therein I will grant to your grace, that for every lie, that I make unto your grace, set one hundred pounds fine on my head, and let me live here like a beggar, until my revenues pay. My words remain in writing, and be against me matter of record. And so I yield to have me charged, as the bishop of London was with offering the farm of his bishopric. Which matter I do remember, when I wrote this."

I remit the reader for the rest of this letter to Winchester's ninth letter in Foxe's Acts[a]: this former part of the letter, which is now exposed to view, having been by him omitted.

[NUMBER XXXVI*.

QUESTIONS PUT CONCERNING SOME ABUSES OF THE MASS, WITH THE ANSWERS THAT WERE MADE BY MANY BISHOPS AND DIVINES TO THEM.

1. WHETHER the sacrament of the altar was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himself?

Stillingfleet MSS. Lambeth Libr. 1108. fol. 6. Original. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. App. B. 1. No. 25. pp. 192–210. ed. Oxon. 1829.

The sacrament of the altar was not instituted to be received of one man for another, but to be received by every man for himself.

2. Whether the receiving of the said sacrament of one man doth avail and profit any other?

The receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same.

3. What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass?

The oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass is not so called, because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people, (for that was done but once by himself upon the cross); but it is so called, because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross.

4. Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution?

The mass, by Christ's institution, consisteth in those things which be set forth in the evangelists: Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. x. and xi.

[a] [See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 42–46. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

5. What time the accustomed order began first in the church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament?

I think the use, that the priest alone did receive the sacrament without the people, began not within six or seven hundred years after Christ.

6. Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm?

I think it more agreeable to the Scripture and primitive church, that the first usage should be restored again, that the people should receive the sacrament with the priest.

7. Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue, that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed.

I think it not convenient that satisfactory masses should continue.

8. Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass, to the understanding of the people being present?

I think it very convenient, that the gospel, concerning the death of Christ and our redemption, should be taught to the people in the mass.

9. Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?

I think it convenient to use the vulgar tongue in the mass, except in certain secret mysteries, whereof I doubt.

10. When the reservation of the sacrament and the hanging up of the same first began?

The reservation of the sacrament began, I think, six or seven hundred years after Christ: the hanging up, I think, began of late time.

SOME QUESTIONS WITH ANSWERS MADE TO THEM BY THE BISHOPS OF WORCESTER, CHICHESTER, AND HEREFORD.

Stillingfleet MSS. Lambeth Libr.

Quest. What or wherein John's fasting, giving alms, being baptized, or receiving the sacrament of thanks in England, doth

profit and avail Thomas dwelling in Italy, and not knowing what John in England doth ? 1108. fol. 40. Original.

Ans. The distance of place doth not let nor hinder the spiritual communion which is between one and another; so that John and Thomas, wheresoever they be, far and sundry, or near together, being both lively members of Christ, receive either of other's goodness some commodity; although to limit what or wherein, is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the knowledge of God. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. App. B. i. No. 25. pp. 210–212. ed. Oxon. 1829.

Quest. Whether the said acts in John do profit them that be in heaven, and wherein ?

Ans. "Gaudium est in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente," &c.

Quest. Whether it lieth in the said John to defraud any member of Christ's body of the benefit of his fasting, alms-deeds, baptism, or receiving of the sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one person more than to another ? Worcester. Chichester. Hereford.

Ans. Charity defraudeth no man of any such benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any man, otherwise than by desire and prayer; but the better the man is, the more available his prayer is to them for whom he especially prayeth.

Quest. What thing is the presentation of the body and blood of Christ in the mass, which you call the oblation and sacrifice of Christ ? and wherein standeth it, in act, gesture, or words ? and in what act, gesture, or words ?

Ans. The presentation, &c. standeth in such words, prayers, supplications, and actions, as the priest useth at the mass, having the body and blood of Christ there present in the sacrament.

Quest. Is there any rite or prayer not expressed in the Scripture which Christ used, or commanded at the first institution of

the mass, which we be now bound to use; and what the same be?

Ans. That Christ used rites and prayers at the institution and distribution of the sacrament, the Scripture declareth: but what rites and prayers they were, we know not; but I think that we ought to use such rites and prayers as the catholic church hath, and doth uniformly observe.

Quest. Whether in the primitive church there were any priests that lived by saying of mass, matins, and even-song, and praying for souls only? And whether any such state of priesthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

Ans. There were priests in the primitive church which preached not, but exercised themselves in prayer for the quick and the dead, and other spiritual ministrations in the church, and accustomably used common prayers both morning and evening; and such state of priesthood is not against the Scripture.

Quest. For what cause it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole mass in English?

Ans. This question is answered by Dionyse and Basil "De Spiritu Sancto;" and also an uniformity of all churches in that thing is to be kept.

FURTHER QUESTIONS IN REPLY TO THE ABOVE ANSWERS.

Stillingfleet MSS. Lambeth Libr. 1108. fol. 44. Original. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. pt. ii. App.

If you cannot tell what or wherein the acts of John can profit Thomas, being so far distant from him, that he can never hear of him; why do you then affirm that to be true, which you cannot tell how, nor wherein it can be true?

Whether our prayers for all the souls departed do profit the apostles, prophets, and martyrs?

Whether they know all the acts of every man here in earth; and if not, how do they rejoice of those good acts which they know not? (Strype's corrections,) pp. 549–50. ed. Oxon. 1829.

Whether our evil deeds do them hurt, as our good deeds profit them?

Whether the presentation of the body and blood of Christ in the mass do stand in all the words and actions that the priest useth in the mass? And if not, then in which of them it standeth?

Whether we may change those rites and ceremonies of the mass, which now we do use?

Whereby is it known that in the primitive church were priests which preached not?

Why may we not as well alter the mass into the English tongue, or alter the ceremonies of the same, as we alter the communion to be under both kinds, which in other churches is uniformly ministered to the people under one kind, seeing that the uniformity of all churches requireth not more the uniformity in one than in the other?]

NUMBER XXXVII.

ROGER ASCHAM TO MR. CECYL, GIVING HIM AN ACCOUNT OF A DISPUTATION IN ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE WHETHER THE MASS AND THE LORD'S SUPPER BE ALL ONE.

S. P. in Christo Jesu. Ornatissime vir. Ante mensem, aut plus eo, disputatum fuit in hoc collegio more nostro de missa, ipsane cœna Dominica fuerit, necne. Magna sane eruditione hæc questio tractata fuit a Thoma Levero, et Rog. Hutchinsono, quos opinor nosti. Sunt profecto docti viri. Quidam in academia hanc rem ægre tulerunt. Huc tandem res perducta est, vel ego potius MSS. Sr. W. H[icke's].

pertractus fui hortatu communi multorum in nostro collegio, ut hanc ipsam quæstionem e domesticis parietibus in publicas scholas præferrem, hoc animo et instituto, ut disceremus libenter et sine rubore a doctis viris, quid e fontibus sacræ scripturæ libari potuerit ad defendendam
82 missam; quæ non solum summum locum in religione et conscientiis hominum occupat, sed omne fidele propemodum ministerium verbi Dei et sacramentorum, ex usu et consuetudine Christianorum, abstulit. Rem quietissime aggressi sumus, communia studia nos inter nos conferebamus, Scripturam canonicam nobis proposuimus, cujus auctoritate totam hanc rem decidi cupiebamus: veteres canones ineuntis ecclesiæ, concilia patrum, decreta pontificum, judicia doctorum, quæstionistarum turbam, recentiores omnes, quos potuimus et Germanos et Romanos, ad hanc rem adhibuimus. Quidam in academia publicis concionibus notabant hoc factum nostrum, et tandem laborarunt, ut D. Madeûus vicecancellarius, literis suis hanc disputationem prohiberet. Nos libenter paruimus, ut par fuit; sed ægre tulimus disputandi facultatem nobis intercipi, concionandi vero copiam pro libidine aliis concedi.

Audivimus Cantuariensem nobis iniquiorem fuisse. Nec mirum est, nam adversarii nostri, cogor invitus acerbiori voce uti, prudentissime vir, tragicis clamoribus hanc rem illi detulerunt. Quod factum illorum majorine malitia, aut imperitia institutum fuit dubitari potest. Thomas enim Aquinas probat missam Dominicam cœnam multis prærogativis superasse, et longissime ab ea discrepasse multis notis; sexu, missare enim mulieres non debent: a cœna tamen non excludantur: ætate, vitio parentum, luxatione membrorum. Nam pueri, nothi et mutilatia a missæ dignitate repelluntur, ad cœnæ humilitatem recipiuntur: et multis aliis modis. Ut siquis affirmaret

eandem esse missam et cœnam, multo magis exclamarent.

Sed quid dicam de hiis nostris? Nihil aliud, nisi quod "Herodes turbatus est, et tota Hierosolyma cum eo." Dicunt nos esse præcipites. Certe nemo tam præceps est, quin facile revocari possit; ut calcaribus potius, quam habenis tota Cantabrigia egeat.

Sed quod institui tibi narrare, quanquam disputatio nostra fuerit prohibita, studia tamen nostra in eadem re quodammodo aucta sunt. Scripsimus enim fere justum librum de missa, quem brevi offerre instituimus D. Protectori, nisi tibi et magistro Checo aliter visum fuerit.

Quantum ad tractationem rei pertinet, vellem ut judicium tuum, non sermoni aliorum, sed ipsi rei reservare velis. Neque hoc dicimus, quia de nobis aliquid polliceri audemus, sed quia veremur, ne certi homines nimis studeant illud impedire quovis modo, quod ipsi non probant.

Legimus sanctissimas confessiones reginæ nostræ cum tua eloquentissima epistola. Utinam aliquid temporis tui ad excolendam Anglicanam linguam impartire velis, ut homines intelligerent et nostram linguam omnes eloquentiæ numeros facile admittere. Literæ magistri Checi ad collegium nostrum fuerunt omnibus nobis gratissimæ, ubi minimis verbis maxima benevolentia, et ejus et tua, comprehensa fuit. D. protectoris literæ ad acad. a te scriptæ mirifice nos omnes delectarunt. Commune votum est apud nos, ut Cantabrigia aliquando, imo brevissime, sentiat Joannem Checum præpositum regii collegii. Episcopus ille[t] nihil prodest studiis, vellem ut non obesset. Et hoc non dico ad aucupium cujusvis gratiæ, sed ad commodum totius academiæ. Plurima sunt, quæ nos sic sentire cogunt, et plura tua prudentia videt. Nos sic amici inter nos communicamus, fortasse non pruden-

[t] "Daius Cicestrensis."

tissime, cautissime tamen: et quod minimum est, valde
83 amanter. Cogita de hac re quid vis, promove tamen eam quantum potes. Nimis molestus sum. Vale ἐν Χριστῷ. Quinto Januarii, 1548. E Coll. D. Joan. Cant.

Dignitatis tuæ studiosiss. R. Aschamus.

Ornatissimo viro magistro Gulielmo Cicello supplicum libellorum magistro.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE TO THE ARCHBISHOP.

Aschami Ep.[a]

ALIQUID a te suppliciter petere, cum tu omnia nobis lubenter tribuis, doctissime præsul, non inane et supervacaneum negotium, sed gratæ voluntatis debitum potius officium esse ducimus. Rogamus igitur te, ut in hoc senatu vestro, privilegia nostra confirmentur. Quantum Reipu. interest, ut doctrinæ ratio haberetur, omnes fere intelligunt: quantum vero puræ religionis interest, tu unus plus universis aliis animadvertis: scis enim tu, quod annis abhinc quingentis, aut plus eo, cognitio literarum, regum vitio, a quibus ali debuerat, e conspectu hominum sese abducere, et in tenebras relabi cœpit. In quibus temporibus sic caligine obductis, sic ignorantia involutis, aper ille singularis de sylva, supra modum depopulatus est vineam Jesu Christi, non proculcans solum reges terræ, et imperium sibi collocans mundi: sed ita invasit erupitque in sanctam sedem, et templum conscientiæ, ut nulli fere nunc sint mores [hominum], nulla institutio vitæ, nullus cæremoniarum ritus, nullum ecclesiæ sacramentum, nullum Christi vestigium, quod non sit ejus aut fulmine prostratum, aut halitu fœdatum: quod non sit, (ut mitius, sed significantius cum Divo Paulo loquamur), prudentia hu-

[a] [Epist. Rog. Aschami. pp. 314, 315. ed. Lond. 1590.]

manæ ἐθηλοθρησκείας fœdissime corruptum, et constupratum. Hæc nox disciplinarum, et ignoratio vocem Domini nobis abstulit, et humanæ doctrinæ imperium, in illam libidinem evexit, ut pro vero cultu Dei, recto divinissimarum rerum usu, integra et pura vitæ consuetudine, hypocrisis, idololatria, et adulterium cervicibus hominum astutissime imponeretur. Hanc inscientiæ pestem libentius commemoramus, quod nunc in magnam spem ducimur constituendæ de integro dignitatis literarum, in hiis præsertim temporibus, cum omnia ad veram religionem illustrandam, a qua præclara doctrina abesse certe non potest, mirifice comparata sunt. Et cum prudentia tua ad verbum Dei restituendum, divinitus sit et nunc excitata, et diu reservata: non dubitamus, quin omnem operam et authoritatem tuam, ad salutem etiam literarum continendam collaturus sis: commotus aliquid certe vel hac ratione, quod nulla hoc tempore literis vel insperata clades, vel expectata commoditas accidere potest, cujus tu non aut author, ad magnam commendationem: aut particeps ad aliquam reprehensionem voce ac sermone omnium jactatus eris. D. Jesus, &c.

NUMBER XXXIX. 84

RICHARD SMITH'S, D. D. RECANTATION OF HIS BOOKS.

Becon's Reports. [pt. iii. vol. ii. fol. 271. ed. Lond. 1564.]

In my book of traditions I said and affirmed, that Christ and his apostles taught and left to the church many things without writing, which we must both believe steadfastly, and also fulfil obediently, under pain of damnation ever to endure. Among the which I rehearsed by name a great number to be obeyed, kept, and followed: as, the observation of Lent from flesh or wine; the keeping of the sacrament in the pix; the receiving [of] it at the

priest's hands; the hallowing of the water in the font; the thrice dipping of the child in the water at the christening; the putting on of the chrism; the consecration of the oil; the anointing of the christened child[ren]; the hallowing of the altars; the praying toward the east; the censing of the altar; the washing of the hands; the saying of "Confiteor;" the lifting up of the sacrament at mass; the making of holy water; that the twelve apostles, every man a piece for his portion, made the Creed; and many more beside these. And after like sort I spake of canons, decrees, and ordinances of bishops and general councils. Now I do confess the said doctrine, as concerning the observing of the said traditions [under that pain], to be false, and tyrannical, and unjust, unlawful, and untrue burden of men's consciences not fit to be taught, preached, or defended.

There be many things ascribed to the apostles, and called Traditions, deduced from the time of the apostles, and read in the name of old authors, and set forth under the pretensed title of their name, which be both feigned, forged, and nothing true, full of superstition and untruth, feigned by them which would magnify their [own] power and authority; as is the epistles of Clemens, Anacletus, Evaristus, and Fabianus and others, which are set forth by the bishop of Rome and his accomplices, which be forged, feigned, and of none authority, nor to be believed, but counterfeited by them; who, with the colour of antiquity, would magnify that usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

And now concerning another book which I made of the sacrifice of the mass; where the most chief and principal article of our faith, and most directly pertaining to the redemption of our sins and to our salvation, is, that our Saviour Christ Jesus, by his most precious death, and effusion of his most precious blood upon the cross, did

redeem mankind, taking away our sins, pacifying the indignation of his Father, and cancelling the obligation that was against us. In which sacrifice-making unto his Father, our said Saviour Jesus Christ, as St. Paul saith plainly to the Hebrews, was not a priest after the order of Aaron, forasmuch as he was of another tribe: and also, that priesthood was imperfect and unprofitable, bringing nothing to perfection. But our Saviour Christ made his sacrifice upon the cross perfectly, absolutely, and with the most highest perfection that could be, so much that after that one oblation and sacrifice for sin, made by him but once only, neither he nor any other creature should at any time after make any more oblations for the same. 85 And for that St. Paul saith, he was called an eternal priest after the order of Melchisedec, and not of Aaron.

This faith ought every man and woman undoubtedly to believe, and openly to profess, upon pain of everlasting damnation; and also to die in this profession, if case shall so require. The which most wholesome and most necessary doctrine of our faith I not diligently considering, as many times to right great clerks and learned men in much writing in like matters it hath chanced to say too far, the infirmity and weakness of men being such, that seldom in many words error hath escaped: so in my book of the sacrifice of the mass, I did incircumspectly and rashly write and set forth to the people, that Christ was not a priest after the order of Melchisedec, when he offered himself upon the cross to his Father for our sins, but was a priest after the order of Aaron. And that when Christ did offer his own body to his Father after the order of Melchisedec, to appease his wrath, it may not be understood of the sacrifice of the cross, but of the sacrfice that Christ made at his maundy in form of bread and wine. To the which indeed St. Paul's doctrine is

contrary, both in other places and in the epistle "Ad Hebræos" very manifestly. Against whom, (who without doubt had the very spirit of God), neither it becometh, nor I will not willingly teach or defend any thing. Wherefore ye shall impute that, good audience, to the frailty of man's nature, and to my negligent marking, having at that time rather a respect to a fantasy that then I had in my mind, than to the true and infallible doctrine of Scripture.

And moreover in the same my book I said not only that the sacrifice of the mass is the selfsame substance of Christ, but also the selfsame oblation or offering of our Saviour Christ's very flesh and blood, which himself once offered to his Father on the cross to appease his wrath: and that the priests do continually and daily in the mass offer not only the selfsame body of Christ, but also to the same effect that Christ did offer himself to his Father at his maundy. Of the which words and doctrine, if they be not very warily and circumspectly read, and more favourably taken than the words as they lie may well bear, it might be gathered that priests herein be equal with Christ. Priests of the order of Melchisedec, appeasing the wrath and indignation of the Father of heaven, crucifying or offering Christ to the same effect that Christ in his own person did upon the cross, is a blasphemy intolerable to be heard of Christian ears. For Christ, as St. Paul saith, was but once offered, once gave up himself for the redemption of our sins on Good Friday upon the cross; nor never before nor after was offered for us, but in a sacrament and as a commemoration of the same. And so of the maundy, or supper of the Lord, Christ himself saith, "Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in meam commemorationem facietis." Once he died for our sins, and once again he rose for our justification. He dieth no

more. And his sacrifice was so good, so full, so pleasant, so precious to God, that there needed no more oblations to appease God, not only for the sins past, but also for all the sins to the day of doom. There need no more sacrifices, no more offerers, but as having a respect and a remembrance of that most holy, most perfect, and most entire lamb, then and for ever offered up for us.

But these things aforesaid, I cannot deny but they were 86
spoken of me, and written. And as I do not now like them, so, at the example of St. Austin and other good doctors, I am not ashamed to retract them, and call them again and condemn them. For when I followed mine own invention, not directed by Scripture, I began, as the nature of man is, to wander, and at the last went clean contrary to God's word. Wherefore I heartily exhort every man, as touching matters of faith, to found the same upon God's certain, true, and infallible word; lest by doing the contrary they fall into superstition, idolatry, and other manifold errors, as myself and many other have done.

Wherefore these my two books, the one "of the sacrifice of the mass," and the other "of the traditions unwritten," in those points before rehearsed, and all other wherein they be not full consonant to Scripture, I forsake and renounce as false, erroneous, and against the true word of God; requiring the good Christian reader, whosoever shall read them, to give no further credence to them than I would myself: that is, not to take as undoubted truth all that is therein written, but as written of a man that some time falleth; to be so far true as they be consonant to Scripture: where they be not against Scripture, to be human persuasion, which may either be so or not so, as the greater reason shall lead; where they be not consonant to Scripture, to be erroneous and false; and that I

much lament and am sorry that I wrote them in those points. And I desire every man that hath any of the said books to beware of them, and to give no credence to them in all such things in them written as be not consonant to the Scripture, as they will avoid occasion of error, and tender the truth of God's word and his glory. To whom be laud, praise, and honour. Amen.

[NUMBER XXXIX*.

THE SENTENCE AGAINST JOAN OF KENT, WITH THE CERTIFICATE MADE UPON IT.

Regist. Cranm. fol. 74 b.-75 b.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, permissione divina Cantuarien. archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, Thomas Smyth, miles, Willielmus Cooke, decanus de arcubus, Hugo Latimer, sacræ theologiæ professor, et Richardus Lyell, legum doctor, illustrissimi, invictissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicane et Hibernice supremi capitis, cognitores, inquisitores, judices et commissarii, per literas suas regias patentes, dat. duodecimo die mensis Aprilis, anno regni sui felicissimi tertio, sufficienter et legitime deputati in quodam hereticæ pravitatis negotio, contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, et nobis super hæretica pravitate, juxta et secundum commissionem dicti domini nostri regis detectam et declaratam, ac in ea parte apud bonos et graves notorie et publice, diffamatam, rite et legitime procedentes, auditis, visis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, et matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis, servatisque in omnibus et per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis in quomodolibet requisitis, judi-

cialiter et pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes; quia per acta inactitata, deducta, probata, confessata, ac per te sæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, comperimus et clare invenimus te, tum per confessiones, tum per recognitiones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nefandum et intollerabilem errorem, hæresim damnatam et scandalosam opinionem subscriptam, juri divino et catholicæ fidei obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem; viz. "That you believe that the Word was made flesh in the Virgin's belly; but that Christ took flesh of the Virgin, you believe not; because the flesh of the Virgin, being the outward man, was sinfully gotten and born in sin; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh;" quam quidem errorem, hæresim damnatam et scandalosam opinionem, juri divino et fidei catholicæ obviantem, contrariam et repugnantem, coram nobis tam in judicio, quam extra animo obstinato, pertinaci et indurato arroganter, pertinaciter, et obstinate, etiam non sine fastu, asseruisti, tenuisti, affirmasti, et dixisti, atque sic credere, tenere, affirmare, et dicere velle, paribus obstinacia, pertinacia, malicia, quoque et mira cordis cæcitate etiam affirmasti; idcirco nos Thomas, archiepiscopus, primas et metropolitanus, ac commissarius regius antedictus, tam de aliorum collegatum nostrorum, nobis in hac parte assidentium et assistentium consensu et assensu expressis; quum etiam de et cum consilio et judicio jurisperitorum et sacrarum literarum professorum, cum quibus convocavimus in hac parte, te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente prædictam de meritis, culpis, obstinaciis et contumaciis, per tuam nefandam et damnabilem pertinaciam multipliciter contractis, incursis, et aggravatis, de et super hujusmodi destestabili et horrendo hæreticæ privitatis reatu confessam, ad ecclesiæ

unitatem redire nolentem, hæreticamque opinionem credentem, præmissorum prætextu fuisse et esse, cum animi dolore et cordis amaritudine judicamus, teque ex nunc tanquam pertinacem et obstinatam hæreticam, judicio sive curiæ seculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde sequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus et declaramus, et sic per præsentes de facto relinquimus; teque Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam, (uti præfertur), hæreticam, pertinacem, et obstinatam in majoris excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse, et incurrisse, necnon excommunicatam fuisse et esse, etiam sententialiter et definitive pronunciamus et declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam diffinitivam, quam ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

Lecta fuit hujusmodi suprascripta sententia per prænominatum, reverendum, in Christo patrem Thomam Cantuar. archiepiscopum, die Martis, viz. ultimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentessimo quadragesimo nono, regnique domini nostri regis Edwardi Sixti anno tertio, in capella beatæ Mariæ infra ecclesiam cathedralem divi Pauli, London., assidentibus dicto reverendissimo patri, Thoma Smyth, milite, Willielmo Cooke, decano de arcubus, Hugono Latimer, sacræ theologiæ professore, et Richardo Lyell, legum doctore, commissariis regiis huic sententiæ consentien., presentibus tunc et ibidem, ac premissa viden. et audientibus venerabilibus viris, Willielmo Yorke et Joanne Cliffe, militibus et vicecomitibus, London., Clemente Smyth, Edwardo Hastings, militibus, Thoma Huse, armigero, Thoma Argall, generoso, Willielmo Walker, et Joanne Gregory, notariis publicis.

Sermo factus domino regi contra Joannam Bocher, alias dictam, Joannam de Kent pro brachio seculari.

Illustrissimo et invictissimo in Christo principi, domino

nostro domino Edwardo Sexto, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regi, fidei defensori, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicane et Hibernice supremo capiti, Thomas, permissione divina Cantuarien. archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, Thomas Smyth, miles, Willielmus Cooke, decanus de arcubus, Hugo Latimer, theologiæ professor, et Richardus Lyell, legum doctor, vestræ celsitudinis cognitores inquisitores, judices, et commissarii, per literas vestras regias patentes gerentes, dat. 12° die Aprilis, anno regni vestri felicissimi tertio, sufficienter et legitime deputati honorem et perpetuam fœlicitatem in eo, per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. Vestræ regiæ celsitudini, tenore præsentium significamus, quod nos et adversus quandam Joannam Bocher, alias dictam Joannam de Kent, subditam vestram de et super nefando crimine hæreseos ac detestanda anabaptistarum secta apud bonos et graves enormiter diffamatam, et super reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam et denunciatam, rite et legitime juxta literarum vestrarum regiarum commissionalium exigentiam, et tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannam, per nos examinatam, comperimus et invenimus errores, hæreses, damnatas et scandalosas opiniones catholicæ Christi fidei obviantes, contrarias et repugnantes, nonmodo medio juramento suo corporali coram nobis prestito confessam fuisse, affirmasse, defendisse, et eisdem firmiter credidisse; verunetiam easdem sceleratas opiniones, errores, hæreses, et damnatas opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato sæpenumero manutenuisse, defendisse et in eisdem permansisse, et ab eisdem nullo modo resipuisse, nec resipiscere curasse; sed ad sanctæ matris ecclesiæ gremium redire penitus neglexisse: ideo, cum animi amaritudine et cordis dolore, eandem Joannam, sæpius monitam et per nos ad ecclesiæ unitatem redire hortatam, salutaribus nostris monitis parere omnino spernentem, de et cum consensu col-

legarum nostrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege Domini, (ne alios viros subditos sua contagione inficiat), ejiciendam et eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipsamque Joannam occasione iniquitatis suæ inveteratæ, hujusmodi hæreticam ac hæreticis opinionibus credentem, mediante nostra sententia diffinitiva, pronunciavimus et decrevimus. Cum igitur sancta mater ecclesia non habeat, quod ulterius facere et exequi debeat, in hac parte vestræ regiæ sublimitati et brachio vestro seculari dictam hæreticam et relapsam relinquimus, condigna animadversione plectandam. In cujus rei testimonium, nos Thomas archiepiscopus, primas, metropolitanus, ac commissarius vester humillimus supradictus, de consensu collegarum nostrorum, hic se subscribentium, sigillum nostrum archiepiscopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. ultimo die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo quingentessimo quadragesimo nono, et regni vestri felicissimi anno tertio.]

[NUMBER XXXIX**.

ARTICLES TO BE INQUIRED OF IN THE VISITATIONS TO BE HAD WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY, IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF OUR DREAD SOVEREIGN LORD, EDWARD THE SIXTH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, AND IN EARTH OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND ALSO OF IRELAND, THE SUPREME HEAD.

Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. pp. 23–26. Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. pp. 25–33. ed. Lond. 1684.

First, whether parsons, vicars, and curates, and every of them, have purely and sincerely, without colour or dissimulation, four times in the year at the least, preached against the usurped power, pretended authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.

Item, Whether they have preached and declared likewise four times in the year at the least, that the king's

majesty's power, authority, and pre-eminence, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God.

Item, Whether any person hath by writing, cyphering, preaching or teaching, deed or act, obstinately holden and stand with to extol, set forth, maintain, or defend the authority, jurisdiction, or power of the bishop of Rome or of his see heretofore claimed and usurped, or by any pretence, obstinately or maliciously invented any thing for the extolling of the same, or any part thereof.

Item, Whether in their common prayers they use not the collects made for the king, and make not special mention of his majesty's name in the same.

Item, Whether they do not every Sunday and holyday, with the collects of the English procession, say the prayer set forth by the king's majesty for peace between England and Scotland.

Item, Whether they have not removed, taken away, and utterly extincted and destroyed in their churches, chapels, and houses, all images, all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere.

Item, Whether they have exhorted, moved, and stirred their parishioners to do the like in every of their houses.

Item, Whether they have declared to their parishioners the articles concerning the abrogation of certain superfluous holydays, and done their endeavour to persuade the said parishioners to keep and observe the same articles inviolably; and whether any of those abrogate days have been kept as holydays, and by whose occasion they were so kept.

Item, Whether they have diligently, duly, and reverently ministered the sacraments in their cures.

Item, Whether they have preached, or caused to be preach-

ed, purely and sincerely, the word of God, in every of their cures every quarter of the year once at the least, exhorting their parishioners to works commanded by the Scripture, and not to works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture, as wearing or praying upon beads, or such-like.

Item, Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in your churches, but only two lights upon the high altar.

Item, Whether they have not every holyday, when they have no sermon, immediately after the gospel, openly, plainly, and distinctly, recited to their parishioners in the pulpit, the "Pater Noster," the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English.

Item, Whether every Lent they examine such persons as come to confession to them, whether they can recite the "Pater Noster," the Articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.

Item, Whether they have charged fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth, to bring them up in some virtuous study and occupation.

Item, Whether such beneficed men, as be lawfully absent from their benefices, do leave their cure to a rude and unlearned person, and not an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, which can and will teach you wholesome doctrine.

Item, Whether in every cure they have, they have provided one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the Paraphrasis of Erasmus also in English upon the Gospels, and set up the same in some convenient place in the church, where their parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same.

Item, Whether they have discouraged any person from reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English, but rather comforted and exhorted every person to

read the same, as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul.

Item, Whether parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests, be common haunters and resorters to taverns or ale-houses, giving themselves to drinking, rioting, or playing at unlawful games, and do not occupy themselves in the reading or hearing of some part of holy Scripture, or in some other godly exercise.

Item, Whether they have admitted any man to preach in their cures, not being lawfully licensed thereunto, or have refused or denied such to preach as have been licensed accordingly.

Item, Whether they which have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, have not openly recanted and reproved the same.

Item, Whether they have one book or register safely kept, wherein they write the day of every wedding, christening, and burying.

Item, Whether they have exhorted the people to obedience to the king's majesty and his ministers, and to charity and love one to another.

Item, Whether they have admonished their parishioners, that they ought not to presume to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ before they can perfectly rehearse the "Pater Noster," the Articles of the faith, and the Ten Commandments in English.

Item, Whether they have declared, and to their wits and power have persuaded the people, that the manner and kind of fasting in Lent, and other days in the year, is but a mere positive law, and that therefore all persons, having just cause of sickness, or other necessity, or being

licensed by the king's majesty, may moderately eat all kind of meats without grudge or scruple of conscience.

Item, Whether they be resident upon their benefices, and keep hospitality, or no; and if they be absent, or keep no hospitality, whether they do make due distributions among the poor parishioners or not.

Item, Whether parsons, vicars, clerks, and other beneficed men, having yearly to dispend an hundred pound, do not find competently one scholar in the university of Cambridge or Oxford, or some grammar school, and for as many hundred pounds as every of them may dispend, so many scholars likewise to be found by them, and what be their names that they so find.

Item, Whether proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, do keep their chancels, rectories, vicarages, and all other houses appertaining to them in due reparations.

Item, Whether they have counselled or moved their parishioners rather to pray in a tongue not known than in English, or to put their trust in a prescribed number of prayers, as in saying over a number of beads, or other like.

Item, Whether they have read the king's majesty's Injunctions every quarter of the year, the first holyday of the same quarter.

Item, whether the parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, have of their own the New Testament both in Latin and English, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the same.

Item, Whether within every church he that ministereth hath read or cause to be read the epistle and gospel in English, and not in Latin, either in the pulpit or some other meet place, so as the people may hear the same.

Item, Whether every Sunday and holyday at matins they have read or cause to be read plainly and distinctly in the said place, one chapter of the New Testament in English, immediately after the lessons, and at even-song after "Magnificat," one chapter of the Old Testament.

Item, Whether they have not at matins omitted three lessons when nine should have been read in the church, and at even-song the responds with all the memories.

Item, whether they have declared to their parishioners, that St. Mark's day, and the evens of the abrogate holydays should not be fasted.

Item, Whether they have the procession-book in English, and have said or sung the said litany in any other place but upon their knees in the midst of their church; and whether they use any other procession, or omit the said litany at any time, or say it or sing it in such sort as the people cannot understand the same.

Item, Whether they have put out of their church-books this word "Papa," and the name and service of Thomas Becket, and prayers having rubrics containing pardons or indulgences, and all other superstitious legends and prayers.

Item, Whether they bid not the beads according to the order appointed by the king's majesty.

Item, Whether they have opened and declared unto you the true use of ceremonies, that is to say, that they be no workers nor works of salvation, but only outward signs and tokens to put us in remembrance of things of higher perfection.

Item, Whether they have taught and declared to their parishioners, that they may with a safe and quiet conscience in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and if superstitiously they abstain from

working upon those days, that then they do grievously offend and displease God.

Item, Whether they have admitted any person to the communion, being openly known to be out of charity with their neighbours.

Item, Whether the deans, archdeacons, masters of hospitals, and prebendaries, have preached by themselves personally twice every year at the least.

Item, Whether they have provided and have a strong chest for the poor men's box, and set and fastened the same near to their high altar.

Item, Whether they have diligently called upon, exhorted, and moved their parishioners, and specially when they make their testaments, to give to the said poor men's box, and to bestow that upon the poor chest, which they were wont to bestow upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, masses satisfactory, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to friars, and upon other like blind devotions.

Item, Whether they have denied to visit the sick, or bury the dead, being brought to the church.

Item, Whether they have bought their benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit.

Item, Whether they have every Sunday, when the people be most gathered, read one of the homilies in order as they stand in the book set forth by the king's majesty.

Item, Whether they do not omit prime and hours, when they have any sermon or homily.

Item, Whether they have said or sung any mass, in any oratory, chapel, or any man's house, not being hallowed.

Item, Whether they have given open monition to their parishioners that they should not wear beads, nor pray upon them.

Item, Whether they have moved their parishioners, lying upon their death-beds, or at any other time, to bestow any part of their substance upon trentals, masses satisfactory, or any such blind devotions.

Item, Whether they take any trentals or other masses satisfactory to say or sing for the quick or the dead.

Item, Whether they have given open monition to their parishioners to detect and present to their ordinary all adulterers and fornicators, and such men as have two wives living, and such women as have two husbands living within their parishes.

Item, Whether they have not monished their parishioners openly, that they should not sell, give, nor otherwise alienate any of their churches' goods.

Item, Whether they, or any of them do keep more benefices, and other ecclesiastical promotions, than they ought to do, not having sufficient license and dispensations thereunto, and how many they be, and their names.

Item, Whether they minister the communion any other ways than only after such form and manner as is set forth by the king's majesty in the book of the communion.

Item, Whether they hallowed and delivered to the people any candles upon Candlemas-day, and ashes upon Ash-Wednesday, or any palms upon Palm-Sunday last past.

Item, Whether they had upon Good-Friday last past, the sepulchres with their lights, having the sacrament therein.

Item, Whether they upon Easter-even last past hallowed the font, fire, or paschal, or had any paschal set up, or burning in their churches.

Item, Whether your parsons and vicars have admitted any curates to serve their cures, which were not first examined and allowed either by my lord of Canterbury, master archdeacon, or their officers.

Item, Whether you know any person within your parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of the king's majesty's Injunctions, or other his majesty's proceedings in matters of religion.

Item, Whether every parish have provided a chest with two locks, (and keys), for the book of wedding, christening, and burying.

Item, Whether in the time of the litany or any other common prayer, in the time of the sermon or homily, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, any person have departed out of the church without a just and necessary cause.

Item, Whether any bells have been knolled or rung at the time of the premises.

Item, Whether any person hath abused the ceremonies, as in casting holy water upon his bed, or bearing about him holy bread, St. John's Gospel, ringing of holy bells, or keeping of private holydays, as tailors, bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such other.

Item, Whether the money coming and rising of any cattle, or other moveable stocks of the church, and money given or bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, or lamps, (not paid out of any lands), have not been employed to the poor men's chest.

Item, Who hath the said stocks and money in their hands, and what be their names.

Item, Whether any undiscreet persons do uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church.

Item, Whether they that understand not the Latin do pray upon any primer but the English primer, set forth by the king's majesty's authority; and whether they that understand Latin, do use any other than the Latin primer, set forth by like authority.

Item, Whether there be any other grammar taught in any other school within this diocese, than that which is set forth by the king's majesty.

Item, Whether any person keep their church holyday, and the dedication day, any otherwise, or at any other time than is appointed by the king's majesty.

Item, Whether the service in the church be done at due and convenient hours.

Item, Whether any have used to commune, jangle, and talk in the church in the time of the common prayer, reading of the homily, preaching, reading or declaring of the Scripture.

Item, Whether any have wilfully maintained and defended any heresies, errors, or false opinions, contrary to the faith of Christ, and holy Scripture.

Item, Whether any be common drunkards, swearers, or blasphemers of the name of God.

Item, Whether any have committed adultery, fornication, or incest, or be common bawds, and receivers of such evil persons, or vehemently suspected of any of the premises.

Item, Whether any be brawlers, slanderers, chiders, scolders, and sowers of discord between one person and another.

Item, Whether you know any that use charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any like craft invented by the devil.

Item, Whether the churches, pulpits, and other necessaries appertaining to the same, be sufficiently repaired.

Item, Whether you know any, that in contempt of your own parish church do resort to any other church.

Item, Whether any inn-holders or ale-house keepers do use commonly to sell meat and drink in the time of

common prayer, preaching, or reading of the homilies, or Scripture.

Item, Whether you know any to be married within the degrees prohibited by the laws of God, or that be separated or divorced without a just cause, allowed by the law of God, and whether any such have married again.

Item, Whether you know any to have made privy contracts of matrimony, not calling two or more thereunto.

Item, Whether they have married solemnly, the banns not first lawfully asked.

Item, Whether you know any executors or administrators of dead men's goods, which do not bestow such of the said goods as were given and bequeathed, or appointed to be distributed among the poor people, repairing of highways, finding of poor scholars, or marrying of poor maids, or such other like charitable deeds.

Item, Whether any do contemn married priests, and for that they be married will not receive the communion or other sacraments at their hands.

Item, Whether you know any that keep in their houses undefaced any abused or feigned images, any tables, pictures, paintings, or other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, or superstition.]

NUMBER XL.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S ANSWERS TO THE FIFTEEN ARTICLES OF THE REBELS, DEVON, ANNO 1549 [h].

MSS. C.C.C.C. cii. pp. 337,

When I first read your request, O ignorant men of

[h] [The text follows that of Strype, and has been collated with the C.C.C.C. MS., of which the different readings are given at the foot. See Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1305 et seqq. ed. Lond. 1583; Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. p. 237–242. ed. Oxon. 1829;

Devonshire and Cornwall, straightways came to my mind a request, which James and John made unto Christ; to whom Christ answered: "You ask you wot not what." Even so thought I of you, as soon as ever I heard your articles, that you were deceived by some crafty papist [i], which devised those articles for you, to make you ask you wist not what. 408. Original and holograph. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 76–139.

As for the devisers of your articles, if they understand them, I may not call them ignorant persons, but, as they be indeed, most rank papists, and wilful traitors and adversaries, both to God and to our sovereign lord the king, and to the whole realm. But I cannot be persuaded so to think of you, that in your hearts willingly you be papists and traitors; but that those that be such have craftily seduced you, being simple and unlearned people, to ask you wot not what.

Wherefore, my duty unto God, and the pity that I have of your ignorance, move me now at this time to open plainly and particularly your own articles unto you, that 87
you may understand them, and no longer be deceived.

In your first article you require, that all the general councils, and holy decrees of our forefathers, may be observed and kept, and whosoever shall againsay them to be holden as heretics.

This you all ask, but what you ask, I dare say [k], very few or none of you understand. For how many of you, I pray you, do know certainly which be called the general councils [l], and holy decrees of the fathers, and what is in

Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 1002. The heading in the C.C.C.C. MS. is "Against the articles of the Devonshire men."]

[i] ["Papists." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[k] ["I dare boldly say." Id.]

[l] [See Speech on the Authority of the Pope and of General Councils;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 76. et sqq. Park. Soc. ed.]

them contained? The holy decrees, as they call them, be nothing else but the laws and ordinances of the bishop of Rome: whereof the most part be made for his own advancement, glory, and lucre; and to make him and his clergy governors of the whole world, and to be exempted from all princes' laws, and to do what they list. And would you ask, if you knew what you asked, that we should put away the laws of our own realm, and be governed by the bishop of Rome's laws? If you mean this, then be you traitors to the king, and enemies to your own realm. And if you mean it not, consider what persons they be, and how they have deceived you, that make you ask you wot not what.

And as for the general councils, you say you will have them all kept: but you be not so destitute of all reason, that you would have spoken such words, if you had known what you had said. For a great number of the councils repugn one against another. How should they then be all kept, when one is contrary to another, and the keeping of one is the breaking of another? And among your own articles you say, you will have divers things observed, which be not only contrary to the general councils, but also contrary to the law[m] of this realm, and also to God's laws[n], as it shall be plainly declared when we come to the articles.

And all reason is contrary that you should have asked such things, if you had known what you had asked. I have this opinion of the great number of you, that you would fain walk in the right way, if you could find it. And forasmuch as I perceive that wicked and false guides, under pretence to bring you to the high way,

[m] ["Laws of this realm." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[n] ["To God's law." Id.]

have brought you clean out of it, my good-will shall be, seeing you so far wandering out of the way, and so blindfolded with evil persuasions, that you cannot see where you go, to open your eyes that you may see, and to set you again into the right way. And when your eyes be so opened that you may see, and the right way shewed unto you wherein you should walk, then if you will still wink, and not see, and run headlong in error, and not come to the right way, you may no longer [o] be called simple and ignorant people; but perverse, froward, and wicked papists and traitors, enemies to God and your own realm.

But now I will come to your articles particularly, opening every one of them by himself, that you may see the bowels thereof, and what is contained in the same: that when you shall understand the whole, you may judge whether you knew before what you asked, or you were deceived by subtle and wily papistical traitors.

Your first article is this: 88

We will have all the general councils, and holy decrees of our forefathers, observed, kept, and performed: and whosoever shall againsay them, we hold them as heretics.

First, to begin with the manner of your phrase. Is this the fashion of subjects to speak unto their prince, "We will have?" Was this manner of speech at any time used of the subjects to their prince since the beginning of the world? Have not all true subjects ever used to their sovereign lord [p] this form of speaking, "Most humbly beseecheth your faithful and obedient subjects?" Although the papists have abused your ignorance in pro-

[o] ["Then you may no longer." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[p] ["Sovereign lord and king." Id.]

pounding such articles, which you understand not, yet you should not have sufferèd yourselves so much to be led by the nose and bridled by them, that you should clearly forget your duty of allegiance unto your sovereign lord, saying unto him, "This we will have;" and that saying with armour upon your backs and swords in your hands. Would any of you that be householders be content that your servants should come upon you with harness unto [q] their backs, and swords in their hands, and say unto you, "This we will have?" If then you would abhor and detest this in your servants towards yourselves, how can you allow your fact? With what conscience can you, being but subjects, do to your king that thing which you would condemn in your servants towards yourselves? But answer me this, Be you subjects or no? If you be subjects, then I admonish you, as St. Paul taught Titus, saying: "Warn them to be subject to princes, and rulers, obeying them at a word." But tell me again, Pertaineth this to subjection and obedience to say, "This we will have?" St. Peter saith, "Be subject unto kings, as unto chief heads [r], and to other rulers sent by them. For so is the will of God." God's will is, that you should be ruled by your princes. But whether is this to be ruled by your king, or to rule your king, to say, "Thus we will have the realm governed?" Your servants be by the Scripture commanded, as they fear God, to be obedient to their masters, whether their masters be good or evil. And can you think it meet and lawful [s] for you to disobey your undoubted king, being a prince most innocent, most godly, and most careful for your surety [t] and wealth? If

[q] ["Be contented, that your servants should come unto you, with harness upon their backs." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[r] ["As chief heads." Id.]

[s] ["Meet or lawful." Id.]

[t] [So MS. C.C.C.C. Strype reads "sorrow;" evidently an incorrect reading.]

any thing can declare disobedience, what can declare it more, than subjects to come with force of arms to their natural king and prince, and say, "This we will have?"

But now leaving your rude and unhandsome manner[u] of speech to your most sovereign lord, I will come to the point, and join with you in the effect of your first article. You say, you will have all the holy decrees observed and kept. But do you know what they be? The holy decrees, as I told you before, be called the bishop of Rome's ordinances and laws. Which how holy and godly soever they be called, they be indeed so wicked, so ungodly, so full of tyranny, and so partial, that since the beginning of the world were never devised or invented the like. I shall rehearse a certain of them, [whereby you may judge of the rest, to the intent][x] that yourselves may see how holy they be, and may say your minds, whether you would have them kept or no. And at the hearing of them, if you shall not think them meet to be kept here in this 89
realm, then you may see how they deceived you, that moved you to ask this article. And if you like them, and would have them kept, after you know what they be, then I say assuredly, that you be not only wicked papists, but also heretics, and most heinous traitors to the king and this his realm. And yet how an absolute papist varieth from an heretic or traitor, I know not: but that a papist is also both a heretic and a traitor withal.

One decree saith, "that whosoever doth not acknowledge himself[y] to be under the obedience of the bishop of Rome, is an heretic[z]." Now answer me to this question,

[u] ["Unseemly manner." — MS. C.C.C.C.]

[x] [This passage is inserted from the MS. C.C.C.C.]

[y] ["Doth not knowledge himself." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[z] [See Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 68, Park. Soc. ed.]

Whether be you under the obedience of the bishop of Rome, or not? If you say that you be under his obedience, then be you traitors by the laws of this realm. And if you deny it, then be you heretics by this decree. And shift is there none to save you from treason, but to renounce this decree, that commandeth you to be under the bishop of Rome: and so to confess, contrary to your own first article, that all decrees are not to be kept.

Yet a great many other decrees be as evil[a], and worse than this. One saith, "That all princes' laws which be against a decree[b] of the bishop of Rome, be void and of no strength[c]." Another decree saith, "That all the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought for ever to be kept of all men, as God's word[c]." Another decree there is, "That whosoever receiveth not the laws of the bishop of Rome, availeth neither[d] him the catholic faith, nor the four evangelists. For his sin[e] shall never be forgiven[c]." Yet is there a worse and more detestable decree, "That all king's and princes that suffer the bishop of Rome's decree to be broken in any point are to be taken as infidels[f]." Another is there also, "That the bishop of Rome is bound to no manner of decrees, but he may constrain all other persons, both spiritual and temporal, to receive all his decrees and canons[f]." Another is yet more devilish than any before rehearsed, "That although the bishop of Rome neither regard his own salvation, nor no man's else, but put down with himself headlong innumerable people by

[a] ["Be as ill." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[b] ["Any decree." Id.]

[c] [See Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 68. Park. Soc. ed.]

[d] ["Neither availeth." — MS. C.C.C.C.]

[e] ["For his sins." Id.]

[f] [See Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70, &c. and Letter to Queen Mary, Sept. 1555, pp. 447–454. Park. Soc. ed.]

heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man presume to reprove him therefore[g]." But what should I tarry, and make you weary in rehearsing a number[h]? For a thousand other like canons and decrees there be to the advancement of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority.

I cannot think of you, that you be so far from all godliness, from all wit and discretion, that you would have these decrees observed within this realm, which be so blasphemous to God, so injurious to all princes and realms, and so far from all equity and reason. But here you may easily perceive, what wily foxes you met withal, which persuaded you to arm yourselves, to make sedition in your own country, to stand against your princes, and the laws of your realm, for such articles as you understand not[i], and to ask you wist not what. For I dare say for you, that the subtle papists, when they moved you to stand in this article, "That all the holy decrees should be observed," they shewed you nothing of these decrees, that they were taken for holy decrees. For if they had, they knew right well that you would never have consented unto this article, but would have taken them for traitors, that first moved you thereto.

For now shall I shew you what miserable case you 90
should bring yourselves unto, if the king's majesty should assent unto this first article[k], "That all the decrees should be kept and observed." For among other partial decrees made in the favour of the clergy, this is one: "That none of the clergy shall be called or sued before any temporal judge for any manner of cause, either for debt, suit of

[g] [Id. p. 70.]

[h] ["In rehearsing a number of laws." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[i] ["Understood not." Id.]

[k] ["Would assent unto this your first article." Id.]

lands, felony, murder, or for any other cause or crime: nor shall have any other judge, but his bishop only[k]." Another is: "That a spiritual man may sue a temporal man before a temporal or spiritual judge[l] at his pleasure: but a temporal man cannot sue a spiritual, but only before his ordinary[k]." I cannot deny, but these been good[m] and beneficial laws for the liberty of the clergy. But for your own part[n], I suppose you do not think it any indifferent law[o], that a priest shall sue you where he list, with the license of his ordinary; and you shall sue him for no manner of cause, but only before his own ordinary[k]. Or if a priest had slain one of your sons or brethren, that you should have no remedy against him, but only before the bishop[p]. What mean those[q] papistical priests, that stirred you to ask and will such decrees and laws to be observed in this realm, but covertly and craftily to bring you under their subjection: and that you yourselves, ignorantly asking you wist not what, should put your own heads under their girdles?

For surely if you had known these decrees, when you consented to this article, you would have torn the article in pieces, and they that moved you[r] thereto also. For these decrees be not only partial, and against all equity and reason, made only for the favour of the clergy, and the suppression of the laity; but also they be, and ever have been, clearly contrary to the laws and customs of this realm. And yet by this article you will have the old

[k] [See Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 72. Park. Soc. ed.]

[l] ["A spiritual or temporal judge." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[m] ["But these be good." Id.]

[n] ["But for your own parts." Id.]

[o] ["An indifferent law." Id.]

[p] ["The bishops." Id.]

[q] ["What meant then those." Id.]

[r] ["And them that moved you." Id.]

ancient laws and customs of this realm, (which have ever been used in all kings' times hitherto), to be void and to cease, and these decrees to come in their place, and be observed of all men, and againsaid of no man. For whosoever speaketh against them, you will hold them for heretics. And in so saying, look what sentence to give of yourselves[s]. Although your article say it, yet I am sure you be not so much enemies to your own realm, that you would have the old ancient laws and customs of this realm, (for the defence whereof all the noble kings of this realm have so valiantly and so justly stand against the bishops of Rome), now to be taken away, and give place unto Romish decrees. And then by your own article you hold and condemn yourselves to be heretics.

How be you bewitched by these false papists? Why do you suffer them thus to abuse you by their subtlety, to make you condemn yourselves of heresy? Why do you not send them unto the king's majesty, like errant traitors, as indeed they be, saying unto him, "Most mighty prince, and most dread sovereign lord, we present here unto you most heinous traitors against your majesty and realm, and greatest dissemblers and false deceivers of us, your simple and ignorant people, and yet in our own hearts[t] your true and faithful subjects. We have erred, we have grievously offended your majesty: but by ignorance, being so seduced and provoked by the crafty persuasions of these most heinous traitors, that we wist not what we did. But pardon us, sovereign lord, have pity upon our simplicity and 91
ignorance; and these abominable traitors punish according to their deservings. Have mercy, most merciful prince, of us, your poor flock, which were ignorantly led out of

[s] ["You give of yourselves." Id.]
[t] ["Yet in our hearts." Id.]

the way, and strike with the sword those malicious guides, that purposely would have led us to our utter destruction."

If you did thus, then would you do[u] the parts of true, faithful, and loyal subjects[x], and should declare to the world, that all that you have hitherto done was done by error and ignorance. And I would nothing doubt of the king's majesty's clemency and mercy towards you.

But yet to the intent that you may further know how unreasonable your first article is, I will yet rehearse another sort of the holy laws and decrees. One is, "That no layman may have a benefice to farm[y]." Another is: "That none of the clergy may give any thing to the relief of the commonweal and necessity of their own realm, without the consent of the bishop of Rome[z]." Another is: "That no layman may meddle with election or any other thing, that pertaineth unto any of the clergy[z]." Another is: "That none of the clergy ought to give any oath of fidelity to their princes, except they have temporal lands of them[a]." Another is: "That princes ought to obey the bishops, and the decrees of the church, and to submit their heads unto their bishops, and not to be judges over the bishops[b]." Another is this: "Whosoever offendeth the liberties of the church, or doth break any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or conspireth against the person or estate of the bishop or see of Rome, or by any ways offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the same bishop or see, or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other prelate, or invadeth,

[u] ["Should you do." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[x] ["Loving subjects." Id.]

[y] [See Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 72. Park. Soc. ed.]

[z] [Id. ibid.]

[a] [Id. p. 73.]

[b] [Id. ibid.]

spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands belonging to the church of Rome, or to any other church immediately subject unto Rome, or whosoever invadeth any pilgrims that go to Rome, or any suitors to the court of Rome, or that let the devolution of causes unto that court, or that put any new charges or impositions, real or personal, upon a church[c], or ecclesiastical person; and generally, all others that offend[d] in the cases contained in the bull, which is usually published by the bishops of Rome upon Maundy Thursday; all these can be assoiled by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none other, but only by the bishop of Rome, or by his express license[e]." These, with an infinite number of like sort, be the "godly" and "holy" decrees which you long so sore for, and so much desire.

Now would I know, whether you think that these decrees were made for the commonwealth of all realms, or only for the private weal of the bishop of Rome, and of his bishops and clergy? and whether you like and long for these laws; or now, at the hearing of them, your longing is done? If you like them, well, for my part I would you had them practised among you for a while, (so that the rest of the realm were not troubled, neither with you, nor with your decrees), until you repented yourselves of your foolish demands. I think within a year you would kneel on your knees to the king's majesty, desiring him to take from your necks the yokes and halters which you had made for yourselves.

But to conclude the sum of the first article[f] in few words. It is nothing else but a clear subversion of the

[c] ["Upon any church." MS. C.C.C.C.

[d] ["All other that offend." Id.]

[e] [See Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law;—Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 74. Park. Soc. ed.]

[f] ["Of your first article." MS. C. C. C. C.]

whole state and laws of this realm; and to make this
92 realm to be wholly governed by Romish laws, and to crown the idol and antichrist of Rome king of this realm, and to make our most undoubted and natural king his vile subject and slave. Oh! what was in your minds to ask such a thing, and so presumptuously to say, that you "will" have it? I trust there be not in you so much malice and devilishness, as the article containeth, but that you were craftily subordinate by subtle papists to ask and demand you wist not what.

If you had asked, that the word of God might be duly observed and kept every where within this realm, and whosoever would gainsay God's word[g], to be holden as a heretic; if you had[h] declared yourselves to be godly men; all that be godly[i] would have commended and furthered your request. But forasmuch as you ask Romish canons and decrees to be observed and kept here in England, and whosoever shall againsay them to be holden as heretics, there is neither godly nor truly English man, that will allow you, or consent to your articles. But clean contrary to your articles, a great number of godly persons within this realm, for the very love that they have to God, that his name may be glorified above all things, be daily humble suitors to the king's majesty, that he, following the steps of his father, will study and travail to weed out of this his realm all popish decrees, laws, and canons, and whatsoever else is contrary to God's word: and that the speakers against God's word may be taken, (as they be indeed), for heretics. And is any of you so far from reason, that he thinketh the king's majesty ought to hearken to you, that by force and stubbornness[j] say you will have Romish laws and decrees kept in this realm, and to turn

[g] ["Againsay." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[h] ["Heretic; you had," &c. Id.]
[i] ["And all that be godly." Id.]
[j] ["Force and stoutness." Id.]

his ears from them that with all humility be suitors for God's word?

But now will I come to your other articles, wherein I will be brief, forasmuch as in the first I have been long and tedious.

Your second article is this:

We will have the law of our sovereign lord king Henry VIII.[k] *concerning the Six Articles*[l] *to be used again, as in his time they were.*

Letting pass your rude style, nothing becoming subjects to say, "You will have:" First, I examine you of the cause of your wilful will, wherefore you will have these Six Articles; which never were laws in no region but this; nor in this realm also, until the thirty-first year of king Henry VIII[k]: and in some things[m] so enforced by the evil counsel of certain papists, against the truth, and common judgment both of divines and lawyers, that if the king's majesty himself had not come personally into the parliament house, those laws had never passed. And yet within a year or little more the same most noble prince was fain to temper his said laws[n], and moderate them in divers points: so that the statute of Six Articles continued in his force little above the space of one year. Is this then so great a matter to make these uproars, and to arise against the whole realm? Will you take away 93
the present laws of this realm, (which be and ever have been the laws of all other countries also), and set up new

[k] ["Henry VIII., the most noble prince of famous memory." Id.]

[l] [See vol. i. p. 160. n. g. and also Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. pp. 518–520. ed. Oxon. 1829. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. pp. 38, 39. ed. Lond. 1840, 1. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. pt. i. pp. 542, 543. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[m] ["And then in some things." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[n] ["The said laws." Id.]

laws, which never were but in this realm only, and were here in force not fully thirteen months? And how chanceth it, that you be so earnest in this article, which is directly contrary to your first article, but you know not[o] what neither of the articles meaneth, but be persuaded by perverse papists to ask you wot not what? But now here is the repugnance of the two articles[p]: by your first you will have all general councils and decrees observed and kept; and by your second article you will have the Six Articles used again. Then let us compare the general councils and decrees with the Six Articles; and you shall see them agree as well together as black and white.

First, it is contained in the canons of the apostles, that a priest under no pretence of holiness may put away his wife; and, if he do, he shall be excommunicated[q]. And the Six Articles say, that if a priest put not away his wife, he shall be taken for a felon. If he keep her not still, he must be excommunicate by the canon of the apostles: and if he keep her still, he must suffer death by the Six Articles. You be cunning men, if you can set these two together. Also the council of Nice, which was the chief of all the general councils, and was celebrated more than twelve hundred years past, decreed clean directly contrary to the Six Articles. For where the Six Articles command all priests to be separate from their wives, Nicene council determined clean contrary, that they should not be separated, confessing such copulation to be holy and godly[r]. And the council Gangrense, which was

[o] ["But that you know not." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[p] ["But now hear the repugnance of your two articles." Id.]

[q] [vi. Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβάλλετω προφάσει εὐλαβείας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείσθω. — Canon. Apostol. et Concil. can. vi. p. 2. (Bruns.) ed. Berol. 1839.]

[r] [Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τούτου βου-

about the same time, so much allowed the marriage of priests, that they accursed them[s] that would abstain from the ministration[t] of priests, because they were married[u]. These councils vary so far from the Six Articles, that either you must put the general councils out of your book, or else the Six Articles.

Likewise concerning private masses, the law of Six Articles far differeth from the canon of the apostles, and from the councils Nicene and Antioch, as shall be declared in the next article[v].

Other things there be divers also in the Six Articles, which cannot stand with sundry old canons, decrees, and councils. So that if you will stand to the canons, decrees, and councils, you must of force be constrained utterly to put out of your book your second article, which requireth the usage of the Six Articles. But now for shortness of time I will come to your third article, which is this:

The third article.

We will have the mass in Latin, as was before, and

λεύεσθαι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐδόκει νόμους ἐπεισάγειν, ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, διακόνους τε καὶ ὑποδιακόνους μὴ συγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γαμεταῖς, ἃς πρὶν ἱερᾶσθαι ἠγάγοντο. ἀναστὰς δὲ Παφνούτιος ὁ ὁμολογητὴς, ἀντεῖπε· τίμιον δὲ τὸν γάμον ἀποκαλῶν· σωφροσύνην τε τὴν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας γυναῖκας συνουσίαν, συνεβούλευσε τῇ συνόδῳ μὴ τοιοῦτον θέσθαι νόμον. χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα φέρειν· ἴσως δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς τούτων γαμεταῖς τοῦ μὴ σωφρονεῖν αἰτία γενήσεται —— ἐπῄνεσε δὲ καὶ ἡ σύνοδος τὴν βουλὴν, καὶ περὶ τούτου οὐδὲν ἐνομοθέτησεν.—Eccl. Hist. Sozomen. tom. ii. lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 41. ed. Cantab. 1720. See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 267.]

[s] ["Accursed all them." — MS. C. C. C. C.]

[t] ["From the administration." Id.]

[u] [i. Εἴ τις τὸν γάμον μέμφοιτο, καὶ τὴν καθεύδουσαν μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, οὖσην πιστὴν καὶ εὐλαβῆ, βδελύσσοιτο ἢ μέμφοιτο, ὡς ἂν μὴ δυναμένην εἰς βασιλείαν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. — Canon. Apostol. et Concil. Concil. Gangren.; (A.D. 362.) (-370), pp. 107, 319. (Bruns.) ed. Berol. 1839.]

[v] [See p. 522. n. [m], [n].]

celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him.

Forasmuch as there is nothing with you but "will," let your will be conferred with reason and God's word; and then you shall see how far your will differeth from them both. First, as touching the Latin masses, whatsoever the priest saith in the old masses, whether he pray and
94 ask any thing of God, or give thanks to God, or make the true profession of the faith, or whatsoever he doth besides [x], all he doth in your persons and in your names; and you answer unto that which he saith, sometime "Amen," sometime "et cum spiritu tuo," and sometime other things, as the matter serveth. For all the whole that is done should be the act of the people[y] and pertain to the people, as well as to the priest. And standeth it with reason that the priest should speak for you, and in your name, and you answer him again in your own person; and yet you understand never a word, neither what he saith nor what you say yourselves? The priest prayeth to God for you, and you answer "Amen," you wot not whereto. Is there any reason herein? Will you not understand what the priest prayeth for you, what thanks he giveth for you, what he asketh for you? Will you neither understand what he saith, nor let your hearts understand what your own tongues answer? Then must you needs confess yourselves to be such people as Christ spake of, when he said, "These people honour me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me." Had you rather be like pies or parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, than be true Christian men, that pray unto God in heart and in

[x] ["He doth beside." MS. C. C. C. C.]
[y] ["Action of the people." Id.]

faith? The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause, and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attornies have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended, that the priests, which plead [z] your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand? If you were before the king's highness, and should choose one to speak for you all, I am sure you would not choose one that should speak Greek or Hebrew, French or Italian; no, nor one that should speak Latin neither. But you would be glad to provide such one as should speak your own language, and speak so loud, that you might both hear him, and understand him; that you might allow or disallow that that he said in your names. Why do you then refuse to do the like unto God?

When the priest desireth any thing of God [a] for you, or giveth thanks for you, how can you in your heart confirm his sayings, when you know not one word what he saith? For the heart is not moved with words that be not understand.

But if reason will not persuade you, I will prove what God's word will do unto you. St. Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians [b], saith, that whosoever shall speak to the people in the church to their edification, must speak such language as the people may understand; or else he willeth him to hold his peace, and speak softly to himself and to God. For he which speaketh [c] a strange language which the people understand not, doth not edify them, as

[z] ["Which pleadeth." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[a] ["Desireth of God any thing." Id.]
[b] ["To the Corinthes." Id.]
[c] ["For he that speaketh." Id.]

St. Paul saith. And he giveth an example of the trumpet in the field, which when it giveth such a sound that the soldier understandeth, it availeth much[d]: for every soldier thereby knoweth what to do. But if such a blast be blown as no man understandeth, then the blast is utterly in vain: for no man knoweth thereby, whether the horsemen shall make them ready, or leap upon horseback, or go to their standard; or whether the footmen shall make them ready, or set themselves in array, or set upon the
95 enemy, or retire to the standard. Even so should the priests be God's trump in his church: so that if he blow such a certain blast that the people may understand, they be much edified thereby; but if he give such a sound as is to the people unknown, it is clearly in vain, saith St. Paul: for he speaks to the air[e]; but no man is the better or edified thereby, nor knoweth what he should do by that he heareth. Furthermore, in the same place St. Paul saith, that if a man giveth thanks to God in a language to the people unknown, how can they say "Amen" to that they understand not? He doth well in giving thanks to God; but that nothing availeth or edifieth the people, that know not what he saith. And St. Paul in one brief sentence concludeth his whole disputation of that matter, saying, "I had rather have five words spoken in the church to the instruction and edifying of the people, than ten thousand in a language unknown, that edifieth not." And for this purpose allegeth[f] the prophet Esay, who saith, that "God will speak to his people in other tongues, and in other languages;" meaning thereby, that he would speak to every country in their own language. So

[d] ["That the soldiers understand, then it availeth much." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[e] ["For he speaketh to the air." Id.]

[f] ["This purpose St. Paul allegeth." Id.]

have the Greeks the mass in the Greek tongue, the Syrians in the Syry tongue, the Armenians in their tongue, and the Indians in their own tongue. And be you so much addict to the Romish tongue, (which is the Latin tongue), that you will have your mass in none other language but the Romish language? Christ himself used among the Jews the Jews' language, and willed his apostles to do the like in every country wheresoever they came. And be you such enemies to your own country, that you will not suffer us to laud God, to thank him, and to use his sacraments in our own tongue; but will enforce us contrary [g], as well to all reason, as to the word of God?

So many as be godly [h], or have reason, will be satisfied with this; but the mere papist will be satisfied with nothing. Wherefore I will no longer tarry to satisfy them that never will be satisfied, but will proceed to the second part of this article, wherein you say that you will have neither men nor women [i] communicate with the priest. Alas, good simple souls! how be you blinded with the papists! How contrary be your articles one to another! You say in your first article, that you will have all general councils and decrees observed, and now you go from them yourselves. You say, you will have nobody to communicate with the priest. Hear then, what divers canons, decrees, and general councils say clean against you. There is one decree which saith thus: "When the consecration is done, let all the people receive the communion, except they will be put out of the church [k]."

[g] ["Will enforce things contrary." Id.]

[h] ["As either be godly." Id.]

[i] ["Man nor woman." Id.]

[k] ["Peracta consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia."—Corpus Juris Canonici. Decreti pars iii. De Consecrat. Dist. ii. can. x. tom. i. col. 1150. ed. Lips. 1839.]

And in the canons of the apostles, in the eighth chapter, is contained, "That whensoever there is any mass or communion, if any bishop, priest, deacon, or any other of the clergy, being there present, do not communicate, except he can shew some reasonable cause to the contrary, he shall be put out of the communion, as one that giveth occasion to the people to think evil of the ministers[l]." And in the ninth chapter of the same canons of the apostles, and in the general council held at Antioch, is thus written: "That all Christian people that come into the church, and hear the holy Scriptures read, and after will not tarry to pray, and to receive the holy communion with the rest of the people, but for some misordering of themselves will abstain therefrom, let them be put out of the church, until
96 by humble knowledging of their fault, and by the fruits of penance, and prayers, they obtain pardon and forgiveness[m]." And the council Nicene also sheweth the order how men should sit in receiving the communion, and who should receive first[n]. All these decrees and general coun-

[l] [viii. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλογοῦ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ προσφορᾶς γενομένης μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ ἐὰν εὔλογος ᾖ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγει, ἀφοριζέσθω, ὡς αἴτιος βλάβης γενόμενος τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ποιήσας κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος.—Canon. Apostol. et Concil. can. viii. p. 2. (Bruns.) ed. Berol. 1839.]

[m] [ix. Πάντας τοὺς εἰσίοντας πιστοὺς, καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσεύχῃ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.—Id. can. ix. p. 29. ii. Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατά τινα ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους, γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕως ἂν ἐξομολογησάμενοι καὶ δείξαντες καρποὺς μετανοίας, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, τυχεῖν δυνηθῶσι συγγνώμης.—Id. Concil. Antioch. I. (A. D. 341.) can. ii. pp. 81, 318.]

[n] [xviii. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην συνόδον, ὅτι ἔν τίσι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδόασιν, ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνηθεία παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσ-

cils utterly condemn your third article, wherein you will, that the priest shall receive the communion alone, without any man or woman communicating with him. And the whole church of Christ also, both Greeks and Latins, many hundred years after Christ and the apostles [o], do also condemn this your article; which ever received the communion in flocks and numbers together, and not the priest alone.

And besides this [p], the very words of the mass, as it is called, shew plainly that it was ordained not only for the priest, but for other also to communicate with the priest. For in the very canon which they so much extol, and which is so holy that no man may know what it is, (and therefore is read so softly that no man can hear it), in that same canon, I say, is a prayer containing this; that "not only the priest, but also as many beside as communicate with him, may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction [q]." How agreeth this prayer with your article, wherein you say, that neither man nor woman shall communicate with the priest? In another place also of the said canon, the priest prayeth for him-

φέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χρίστου. κἀκεῖνο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη, ὅτι ἤδε τίνες τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἅπτονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα περιῃρήσθω· καὶ ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους τυγχάνουσι· λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διδόντος αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέστω τοῖς διακόνοις· παρὰ κανόνα γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἔστι τὸ γινόμενον. εἰ δέ τις μὴ θέλοι πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὅρους, πεπαύσθω τῆς διακονίας.—Id. Concil. Nicæn. (A. D. 325.) can. xviii. pp. 19, 319.]

[o] ["His apostles." MS. C.C. C.C.]

[p] ["Beside this." Id.]

[q] ["Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus: jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot, ex hac altaris participatione,

self, and "for all that receive the communion with him, that it may be a preparation for them unto everlasting life[r]." Which prayer were but a very fond prayer, and a very mocking with God, if nobody should communicate with the priest. And the communion concludes with two prayers made in the name of the priest and them that communicate with him, wherein they pray thus: "O Lord, that thing which we have taken in our mouth, let us take it also with pure minds[s], that this communion may purge us from our sins, and make us partakers of heavenly remedy[t]." And beside all this, there be an infinite sort of post-communions in the mass-books; which all do evidently shew, that in the masses the people did communicate with the priest.

And although I would exhort every good Christian man often to receive the holy communion, yet I do not recite all these things to the intent, that I would in this corrupt world, when men live so ungodly as they do, that the old canons should be restored again, which command[u] every man present to receive the communion with the priest: which canons, if they were now used, I fear that many would receive it unworthily. But I speak them to con-

sacrosanctum Filii tui, corpus, et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti, et gratia repleamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen."—Canon. Missæ, Missale Sarisbur. fol. cxxxii. ed. 1533; Missale Rom. p. 238. ed. Mechlin. 1840.]

[r] ["Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi omnibusque sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam æternam promerendam et capescendam præparatio salutaris, per eundem ipsum Dominum nostrum. Amen."—Missale Sarisbur. fol. cxxxiv.]

[s] ["With pure mind." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[t] ["Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus: et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum."—Missale Sarisbur. fol. cxxxiii. b. Missale. Rom. p. 244. ed. Mechlin. 1840.]

[u] ["Which commanded." MS. C. C. C. C.]

demn your article, which would have nobody, neither man nor woman, to be communicated with the priest: which your article condemneth the old decrees, canons, and general councils, condemneth all the old primitive church, all the old ancient holy doctors and martyrs, and all the forms and manner of masses that ever were made, both new and old. Therefore eat again this article, if you will not be condemned of the whole world, and of yourselves also by your first article; wherein you will all decrees and general councils to be observed. But forasmuch as I have been so tedious[x] in this article, I will endeavour myself to be shorter in the next.

Your fourth article is this: 97

We will have the sacrament hang over the high altar, and there to be worshipped, as it was wont to be; and they which will not thereto consent, we will have them die like heretics against the holy catholic faith.

What say you, O ignorant people in things pertaining to God? Is this the holy catholic faith, that the sacrament should be hanged over the altar and worshipped? and be they heretics that will not consent thereto? I pray you, who made this faith? Any other but the bishops of Rome? and that more than a thousand years after the faith of Christ[y] was full and perfect! Innocent III. about 1215 years after Christ, did ordain that the sacrament and chrism should be kept under lock and key[z].

[x] ["Forasmuch as I have been too tedious." Id.]

[y] ["After Christ's faith." Id.]

[z] ["Innocentius III. in concilio generali.—Statuimus, et in cunctis ecclesiis chrisma et eucharistia, sub fideli custodia clavibus adhibitis conserventur, ne possit ad illa temeraria manus extendi, ad aliqua horribilia, vel nefaria exercenda."—Corpus Juris Canonici. Decretal. Gregor. IX. lib. iii. tit. xliv. cap. i. tom. ii. col. 624. ed. Lips. 1839.]

But yet no motion[a] is made of hanging the sacrament over the high altar, nor of the worshipping of it. After him came Honorius III. and he added further, commanding that the sacrament should be devoutly kept in a clean place, and sealed, and that the priest[b] should often teach the people reverendly[c] to bow down to the host, when it was lifted up in the mass time, and when the priest should carry it to the sick folks[d]. And although this Honorious[e] added the worshipping of the sacrament, yet he made no mention of the hanging thereof over the high altar, as your article proporteth[f]. Nor how long after, or by what means, that came first up into this realm, I think no man can tell. And in Italy it is not yet used until this day. And in the beginning of the church it was not only not used to be hanged up, but also it was utterly forbid to be kept.

And will you have all them that will not consent to your article, to die like heretics that hold against the catholic faith? Were the apostles and evangelists heretics? Were the martyrs and confessors heretics? Were all the old doctors of the church heretics? Were all Christian people heretics, until within three or four hundred years last past, that the bishops of Rome taught them

[a] ["No mention." MS. C.C. C.C.]

[b] ["That the priests." Id.]

[c] ["Reverently." Id.]

[d] ["Honorius III.—Ne propter incuriam sacerdotum divina indignatio gravius exardescat, districte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus a sacerdotibus eucharistia in loco singulari, mundo et signato semper honorifice collocata, devote ac fideliter conservetur. Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut, cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet, idem faciens, quum eam defert presbyter ad infirmum."—Corpus Juris Canonici. Decretal. Gregor. IX. lib. iii. tit. xli. cap. x. tom. ii. col. 617. ed. Lips. 1839.]

[e] ["This Innocentius." MS. C.C.C.C. The MS. has evidently been corrected by Strype.]

[f] ["Your article purporteth." Id.]

what they should do and believe? All they before rehearsed neither hanged the sacrament over the altar, neither worshipped it, nor not one of them all spake any one word, either of the hanging up, or worshipping of the sacrament. Marry, they speak very much of the worshipping of Christ himself, sitting in heaven at the right hand of his Father. And no man doth duly receive the sacrament, except he so, after that manner, do worship Christ, whom he spiritually receiveth, spiritually feedeth and nourisheth upon, and by whom spiritually he liveth, and continueth that life that is towards God. And this the sacrament teacheth us.

Now to knit up this article shortly. Here is the issue of this matter: that you must either condemn of heresy the apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, and all the holy church of Christ, until the time of Innocentius and Honorius, because they hanged not the sacrament over the altar to be worshipped; or else you must be condemned yourselves by your own article, to die like heretics against the holy catholic fath. Now to your fifth article.

Your fifth article is this: 98

We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind.

Methinks you be like a man that were brought up in a dark dungeon, that never saw light, nor knew nothing that is abroad in the world. And if a friend of his, pitying his ignorance and state, would bring him out of his dungeon, that he might see the light and come to knowledge, he, being from his youth used to darkness, could not abide the light, but would wilfully shut his eyes, and be offended both with the light, and with his friend also. A most godly prince of famous memory, king Henry VIII.,

our late sovereign lord, pitying to see his subjects many years so brought up in darkness and ignorance of God, by the erroneous doctrine and superstitions[g] of the bishop of Rome, with the counsel of all his nobles and learned men, studied by all means, and that to his no little danger and charges, to bring you out of your said ignorance and darkness unto the true light and knowledge of God's word. And our most dread sovereign lord that now is, succeeding his father, as well in this godly intent, as in his realms and dominions, hath with no less care and diligence studied to perform his father's godly intent and purpose. And you, like men that wilfully shut[h] their own eyes, refuse to receive the light, saying you will remain[i] in your darkness. Or rather you be like men that be so far wandered out of the right way, that they can never come to it again without good and expert guides: and yet when the guides would tell them the truth, they would not be ordered by them, but would say unto them, "we will have and follow our own ways."

And that you may understand how far you be wandered from the right way in this one article, wherein you will have the sacrament of the altar delivered to the lay-people but once in the year, and then but under one kind; be you assured, that there was never such law nor such request made among Christian people until this day. What injury do you to many godly persons, which would devoutly receive it many times, and you command the priest to deliver it them but at Easter! All learned men and godly[k] have exhorted Christian people, (although they have not commanded them), often to receive the communion. And

[g] ["By the erroneous doctrines and traditions." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[h] ["That wilfully shutteth." Id.]

[i] ["Saying that you will still remain." Id.]

[k] ["All learned and godly men." Id.]

in the apostles' time, the people at Jerusalem received it every day, as it appears[l] by the manifest word of the Scripture[m]. And after, they received it in some places every day; in some places four times in the week; in some three times; some twice; commonly[n] every where at the least once in the week. In the beginning, when men were most godly and most fervent in the Holy Spirit, then they received the communion daily. But when the Spirit of God began to be more cold in men's hearts, and they waxed more worldly than godly, then their desire was not so hot to receive the communion as it was before. And ever from time to time, as the world waxed more wicked, the more the people withdrew themselves from the holy communion. For it is so holy a thing, and the threatenings of God be so sore against them that come thereto unworthily, that an ungodly man abhorreth it, and not without cause dare in no wise approach thereunto. But 99
to them that live godly it is the greatest comfort that in this world can be imagined. And the more godly a man is, the more sweetness and spiritual pleasure and desire he shall have often to receive it. And will you be so ungodly to command the priest that he shall not deliver it to him but at Easter, and then but only in one kind? when Christ ordained both the kinds, as well for the laymen as for the priests; and that to be eaten and drunken at all times.

What enemies be you to all laymen, and to yourselves also, to refuse[o] to drink of Christ's cup, which he commanded all men to drink upon, saying, "Take and divide this among you;" and, "Drink ye all[p] of it!"

But what need any more be brought for the reproving

[l] ["As it appeareth." Id.]
[m] ["Words of the Scripture." Id.]
[n] ["And commonly." Id.]
[o] ["Also that refuse." Id.]
[p] ["Drink you all." Id.]

of this article, than your own first article, where you will have kept all decrees and councils? Now in the decrees, "De Consecrat. di. 2," there is one decree that commandeth all men to receive the communion at the least thrice in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas[q]. Another commandeth every man to receive the same upon Shere-Thursday[r]. The council Agathense saith, that all laymen which receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, shall not be taken for catholics[s]: and the decree of Gelasius[t], that the receiving under one kind is great sacrilege[u]. Then by your first article you do not only condemn this your fifth article, but also you shew yourselves not to be catholics, except you receive the com-

[q] ["Etsi non frequentius, saltem in anno ter laici homines communicent, nisi forte quis majoribus quibuslibet criminibus impediatur; in Pascha videlicet, et Pentecoste, et Natali Domino." —Corpus Juris Canonici. Decreti pars. iii. De Consecrat. dist. ii. can. xvi. tom. i. col. 1152. ed. Lips. 1839.]

[r] ["In cœna Domini a quibusdam perceptio eucharistiæ negligitur, quæ quoniam in eadem die ab omnibus fidelibus (exceptis iis, quibus pro gravibus criminibus inhibitum est) percipienda sit, ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat, quum etiam pœnitentes eadem die ad percipienda corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramenta reconcilientur.—Corpus Juris Canonici. can. xvii. tom. i. col. 1152. —Shere-Thursday: the Thursday before Easter, formerly so called. —See Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 105.]

[s] ["Seculares, qui in Natali Domini, Pascha, et Pentecoste non communicaverint; catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur."—Corpus Juris Canonici, Decreti pars iii. De Consecrat. dist. ii. can. xix. (ex Concil. Agathen. A. D. 506.) tom. i. col. 1153. See Can. Apost. et Concil. (Bruns) pars ii. p. 150. ed. Berol. 1839.]

[t] ["Decree of Gelasius saith." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[u] ["Comperimus autem, quod quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione a calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui procul dubio, (quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur obstringi), aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire."—Corpus Juris Canonici. Decreti pars iii. De Consecrat. dist. ii. can. xii. tom. i. col. 1151.]

munion at the least three times in the year, and that under both the kinds, which is clean repugnant to this article. And yet I pray God you may receive it worthily once in your life, which you shall never do, except you wonderfully repent this your misbehaviour; and all your life-time study to amend and redress that you have now offended. Now to your sixth article.

Your sixth article is this:

We will that our curates shall minister the sacrament of baptism at all times, as well in the week-day as on the holy-day.

Who letteth your ministers to baptize your children every day, if any cause of necessity so do require? But commonly it is more convenient, that baptism should not be ministered but upon the holy day, when the most number of people be together; as well for that the whole church[x] there present may rejoice together of the receiving of new members of Christ into the same church, as also, that all men being present may remember, and the better know, what they promised themselves by their godfathers and godmothers in their own baptism; and be the more earnestly stirred in their hearts to perform the same; and also may altogether pray for them that be baptized, that they may have grace to perform their profession. St. Gregory Nazianzene, as great a clerk as ever was in Christ's church, and master to St. Hierome, counselled, that children should not be christened until they came to three years of age or thereabout, except they were in danger of life[y]. And it was thought sufficient to our

[x] ["The whole church of Christ." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[y] [Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίδωμι γνώμην, τὴν τριετίαν ἀναμείναντες, ἢ μικρὸν ἐντὸς τούτου, ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο. ——οὕτως ἁγιάζειν καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ

forefathers to be done two times in the year, at Easter and Whitsuntide: as it appeareth by divers of their
100 councils and decrees[z]; which forbid baptism to be

σώματα τῷ μεγάλῳ μυστηρίῳ τῆς τελειώσεως. — Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. in Sanctum Baptismum. tom. i. p. 714. ed. Paris. 1778–1840.]

[z] ["Non ratione auctoritatis alicujus, sed sola temeritate præsumitur, ut passim, ac libere Natalitiis Christi, seu Apparitione, necnon et Apostolorum seu martyrum festivitatibus, innumeræ, ut asseris, plebes baptismi mysteriuin consequantur, quum hoc sibi privilegium et apud nos, et apud omnes ecclesias dominicum specialiter Pascha defendat cum sua Pentecoste."—Corpus Juris Canonici. Decreti pars iii. De Consecrat. dist. iv. can. xi. tom. i. col. 1191. ed. Lips. 1839.—"Duo tempora, id est, Pascha et Pentecoste, ad baptizandum a Romano pontifice legitime sunt præfixa. Unde, quia manifestissime patet, baptizandis in ecclesia electis hæc duo tempora, de quibus locuti sumus, esse legitima, dilectionem vestram monemus, ut nullos alios dies huic observantiæ misceatis." Id. can. xii. ibid.—"Proprie in morte crucifixi, et in resurrectione ex mortuis potentia baptismi novam creaturam condidit, ex veteri: ut in renascentibus et mors Christi operetur, et vita—ut appareret, ex hujus doctrinæ spiritu regenerandis filiis hominum, et in Dei filios adoptandis illum diem esse, et illud tempus electum, in quo per similitudinem formamque mysterii ea, quæ geruntur in membris, his, quæ in ipso sunt capite gesta, congruerunt, dum in baptismatis regula et mors intervenit interfectione peccati, et sepulturam triduanam imitatur trina demersio, et ab aquis elevatio resurgentis instar est de sepulchro. Ipsa igitur operis qualitas docet, celebrandæ generaliter gratiæ eum esse legitimum diem, in quo orta est, et virtus muneris, et species actionis."—§ 2. "Additur sane huic observantiæ etiam Pentecostes ex adventu Spiritu-sancti sacra solennitas, quæ de Paschalis festi pendet articulo, et, quum ad alios dies alia festa pertineant, hæc semper ad eum diem, qui resurrectione Domini est insignis, occurrit, porrigens quodammodo auxiliantis gratiæ manum, et eos, quos a die Paschæ aut molestia infirmitatis, aut longinquitas itineris, aut navigationis difficultas interclusit, invitat, ut quibuslibet necessitatibus impediti, desiderii sui effectum dono Spiritus sancti consequantur." Id. can. xiii. col. 1191, 2.—"De catechumenis baptizandis id statutum est, ut in Paschæ solennitate, vel Pentecostes, quanto majoris celebritatis major celebritas est, tanto magis ad baptizandum veniant; ceteris solennitatibus

ministered at any other time than Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity. And there remained lately divers signs and tokens thereof. For every Easter and Whitsun-even, until this time, the fonts were hallowed in every church, and many collects and other prayers were read for them that were baptized. But alas! in vain[a], and as it were a mocking with God: for at those times, except it were by chance, none were baptized, but all were baptized before[b]. For as vigils, otherwise called watchings, remained in the calendars upon certain saints' evens, because in old times the people watched all those nights[c]; and Vigilantius, because he speaketh against[d] these watchings, was condemned of heresy[e]; but now these many years those vigils remained in vain in the books, for no man did watch: even so until this day the

infirmi tantummodo debeant baptizari, quibus quocunque tempore convenit baptismum non negari." Id. can. xv. col. 1193.—"Si qui necessitate mortis, ægritudinis, obsidionis, persecutionis, et naufragii urgentur, omni tempore debeant baptizari." Id. can. xvi. ibid.—"Venerabilis baptismi sacramentum non nisi in festivitate Paschali et Pentecostes tradere præsumat episcopus; exceptis iis, quibus urgente mortis periculo talibus oportet, ne in æternum pereant, remediis subveniri." Id. can. xvii. ibid.—"Baptizandi sibi quispiam passim quocunque tempore nullam credat inesse fiduciam, præter Paschale festum, et Pentecostes venerabile sacramentum excepto duntaxat gravissimi languoris incursu, in quo verendum est, ne morbi crescente periculo, sine remedio salutari fortassis ægrotans exitio præventus abscedat." Id. can. xviii. col. 1193, 4.]

[a] ["But all was in vain." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[b] ["For none were baptized at those times, except it were by chance, but all were baptized before." Id.]

[c] [See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, book xiii. chap. ix. sect. iv. vol. iv. pp. 357–363. ed. Lond. 1840.]

[d] ["He spake against." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[e] [See Hieron. adv. Vigilant. Epist. lx. tom. ii. pp. 83–87. ed. Francof. 1684. Bayle's Dictionary, vol. ix. pp. 713–16. ed. Lond. 1739.]

order and form of christening was read and kept every year at Easter and Whitsuntide, but none was then christened. Wherein it appeareth how far we be swerved from our forefathers.

And, to conclude this article shortly, if you will needs have baptism ministered no more at one time than another, then must you needs renounce your first article; which willeth the councils and decrees of the forefathers to be observed and kept. And this briefly sufficeth for the sixth article.

Your seventh article is this:

We will have holy bread and holy water every Sunday[f], *palms and ashes at the times accustomed; images to be set up again in every church; and all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy church.*

Oh! superstition and idolatry, how they prevail among you. The very true heavenly bread of life, the food of[g] everlasting life, offered unto you in the sacrament of the holy communion, you refuse to eat, but only at Easter. And the cup of the most holy blood, wherewith you were redeemed and washed from your sins, you refuse utterly to drink of at any time. And yet in the stead of these you will eat often of the unsavoury and poisoned bread of the bishop of Rome, and drink of his stinking puddles, which he nameth holy bread and holy water. Consider, O ignorant people, the authors and intents of the makers of them both. The water of baptism, and the holy bread and wine of the holy communion, none other person did ordain, but Christ himself. The other that is called holy

[f] ["Holy water made every Sunday." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[g] ["Heavenly bread, the food," &c. Id.]

bread, holy water, holy ashes, holy palms[h], and all other like ceremonies[i] ordained the bishops of Rome; adversaries to Christ, and therefore rightly called Antichrist[j]. And Christ ordained his bread, and his wine[k], and his water, to our great comfort, to instruct us and teach us what things we have only by him. But Antichrist on the other side hath set up his superstitions, under the name of holiness, to none other intent, but as the devil seeketh all means to draw us from Christ, so doth antichrist advance his holy superstitions, to the intent that we should take him in the stead of Christ, and believe that 101
we have by him such things as we have only by Christ; that is to say, spiritual food, remission of our sins, and salvation.

First, our Saviour Christ ordained the water of baptism to signify unto us, that as that water washeth our bodies outwardly, so be we spiritually within washed by Christ from all our sins. And as the water[l] is called water of regeneration, or new birth, so it declareth unto us, that through Christ we be born anew, and begin a new life towards God; and that Christ is the beginning of this new life. And as the body that is new born, although it have life within it, yet can it not continue in the spiritual life towards God[m], except we be continually nourished with spiritual food: and that spiritual food is Christ also. For as he is the first beginning of our spiritual life, so is he the continuance and ending thereof. And for this

[h] [See Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. i. pp. 37, 8. n. "the archbishop's letter." ed. Oxon. 1829.]

[i] ["And all such other like." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[j] ["Called Antichrists." Id.]

[k] ["His bread, his wine." Id.]

[l] ["As that water." Id.]

[m] ["Yet can it not continue without meat and drink: even so can we not continue in the spiritual life towards God." Id.]

cause did Christ ordain in the holy communion to be eaten bread, and drunken wine, that we should surely believe, that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine in these holy mysteries, so be we out of doubt that our souls be fed spiritually with the lively food of Christ's body and blood; whereby we have remission of our sins and salvation[n]. But the bishop of Rome invented new devices of his own making, and by them promised remission of sins and salvation, that he might be set up and honoured for a saviour equal to Christ; and so to be esteemed above all creatures, and to sit in the temple of God, that is to say, in the church of Christ, as he were God.

And to bring this to pass he hath horribly abused holy Scriptures, altering them to his purpose; in the stead of Christ's most holy blood putting in his holy water: as it appeareth evidently in this sentence of St. Paul written in the ninth chapter of the Hebrews[o]: "If the blood of oxen and goats," saith St. Paul, "and the ashes of a young cow purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh: how much more the blood of Christ, which through the eternal Spirit offered himself without [p] spot unto God, shall purge your consciences from dead works for to serve the living God? And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new covenant[q]." Consider well this sentence of Paul, and you shall find two purify-

[n] ["But my meaning is, that the force, the grace, the virtue, and benefit of Christ's body that was crucified for us, and of his blood that was shed for us, be really and effectually present with all them that duly receive the sacraments: but all this I understand of his spiritual presence." —See Preface to the Reader, ed. 1551. Answer to Winchester; Works of abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 3. Park. Soc. ed.]

[o] ["To the Hebrews." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[p] ["Himself being without spot." Id.]

[q] ["Of the new testament." Id.]

ings, one of the body, and another of the soul or conscience. You shall find also two mediators: one was the priest of Moses' law, and the other is Christ. The priests of the old law, with the blood of oxen and goats, and other their sacrifices, purged only the bodies of them that were defiled, but the soul or conscience they could not help. But our Saviour Christ by his own blood purged both body and soul. And for that cause he, and none other, is the Mediator of the new covenant[r]. But the bishop of Rome, to make himself also a mediator with Christ, hath taken upon him to purify the soul and conscience with holy water, holy salt, and other his holy creatures of his own devising, to the intolerable injury of Christ's blood, which only hath the effect[s]. And to bring this to pass, he hath most shamefully changed the words of the Scripture, and wrested them to his purpose; some words putting out, and also in the stead of Christ's blood putting in his own holy water and salt[t]. For whereas St. Paul saith, "If the blood of oxen and goats and the ashes of a cow purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh:" here the bishop of Rome leaveth out these words, "as touching the purifying of the flesh." And 102
where St. Paul, extolling the effects of Christ's blood in comparison of the blood of oxen and goats, saith, "How much more the blood of Christ, which through the eternal Spirit offered himself, being without spot, unto God, shall

[r] ["Of the new testament." Id.]

[s] ["That effect." Id.]

[t] ["Aquam sale conspersam populis benedicimus, ut ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur et purificentur. Quod et omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus. Nam si cinis vitulæ sanguine aspersus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, (s. a venialibus); multo magis aqua sale aspersa divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat, atque mundat (a venialibus)."—Corpus Juris Canonici. Decreti pars iii. dist. iii. can. xx. tom. i. col. 1186. ed. Lips. 1839. See also Durandi Rational. Divin. Offic. lib. iv. c. 4. p. 63. ed. Venet. 1609.]

purge your consciences:" here the bishop of Rome, extolling his water and salt, puts out[u] Christ's blood, and in the place thereof puts his[x] holy water and salt; saying, "How much more water, which is sprinkled with salt and hallowed with godly prayers, shall sanctify and purify the people." O intolerable blasphemy against the most precious blood of Christ! O shameless audacity and boldness, so to corrupt and pervert God's holy word! If he by his holy water presume to purify our souls, as Christ did by his blood, what is that else but to make himself equal, and another mediator with Christ? And what is it to tread under foot[y] the Son of God, and to make the blood of the new testament, whereby he was sanctified[z], like other common things, and to dishonour the Spirit of grace, if this be not? And yet, not contented with this blaspheming the blood[a] of Christ, he preferreth his holy creatures far above the blood of Christ, promising by them many benefits, which by the blood of Christ be not promised. For in the same place he promiseth by his holy ceremonies to take away from us dearth and scarcity of all worldly things, and to multiply and increase us with the same; also to defend us from the assaults of the devil, and all his deceits, and to give us health both of body and soul. But all men see him so shamefully to lie in these worldly things, that no man that wise is will trust him in the rest. Nor no man that is godly will desire such things to remain still, which so much have deceived simple people, and dishonoured God, and been contumelious to the blood of Christ.

[u] ["Putteth out." MS. C.C. C.C.]

[x] ["Putteth his." Id.]

[y] ["To tread under his foot." Id.]

[z] ["Whereby we be sanctified." Id.]

[a] ["Blaspheming of the blood." Id.]

But now to your images, which, you say, you will have set up again in every church. What moved you to require this article, but only ignorance? For if you had known the laws of God, and the use of godly religion, as well before the incarnation of Christ, as four or five hundred years next after, and by whom images were first brought into Christ's church, and how much idolatry was every where committed by the means of the same, it could not have been that ever you would have desired this article, except you had more affection to idolatry than to true religion. For Almighty God, among the Ten Commandments rehearsed this for the second, as one of the chief: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water[b] under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them." This commandment was diligently kept in the Old Testament, so long as the people pleased God. For in their tabernacle was not one image, less nor more, that the people might see: although upon the propitiatory were two cherubims[c] of gold by the commandment of God; and that was in such a place as the people never came near, nor saw[d]. But when the people, forgetting this commandment, began to make them images, and to set them up in the place of adoration, by and bye they provoked God's indignation against them, and were grievously punished therefore.

The church of Christ likewise in the New Testament, for the space of four or five hundred years after Christ's ascension, utterly refused to have images in the church, a

[b] ["Nor in the water." Id.]

[c] ["Were set two cherubims." Id.]

[d] ["Never came, nor saw them." Id.]

103 place of adoration; as it may plainly appear[e] by all the old ancient authors that lived and wrote in that time; insomuch[f] that above four hundred years after Christ, when some superstitious and ignorant people in some places began to bring painted images, not into the church, but to the church-doors, the great clerk Epiphanius, bishop at Cyprus, finding such a painted image of Christ, or some other saint, hanging at the church-door in a town called Anablatha, he cut it in pieces, saying, that "it was against the authority of Scripture that in the church of Christ should hang the image of a man." And the same Epiphanius wrote unto the bishop of Jerusalem, that he should command the priests, that in no wise they should suffer such images to be hanged in the church of Christ, which were contrary to our religion[g].

But peradventure you will marvel, and ask me the ques-

[e] [The word "appear" is inserted by another hand in the C. C. C. C. MS.]

[f] ["In that time; so much." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[g] ["Præterea quod audivi quosdam murmurare contra me, quia quando simul pergebamus ad sanctum locum, qui vocatur Bethel, ut ibi collectam tecum ex more ecclesiastico facerem, et venissem ad villam, quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidissemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, et interrogassem, quis locus esset, didicissemque esse ecclesiam, et intrassem ut orarem; inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem, quasi Christi, vel sancti cujusdam: non enim satis memini, cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem, in ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent. ——Nunc autem nisi quod potui reperire, et precor ut jubeas presbyteros ejusdem loci deinceps præcipere, in ecclesia Christi ejusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi." —Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hier. tom. ii. p. 317. ed. Colon. 1682. See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. ii. book viii. ch. viii. sect. vi. pp. 501–8. ed. Lond. 1840.]

tion, how it was brought to pass that of late years all churches were so full of images, and so much offering and pilgrimages done unto them, if it were against the commandment of God, against the usage of all godly people in the Old Testament, and also against the custom of Christ's church in the New Testament, so long as it was pure and holy, and kept from idolatry? Who was able to bring this to effect, contrary both to God's express commandment, and the custom of all godly people from the beginning of the world until four or five hundred years after Christ? No man surely could have wrought this thing so much contrary to God, but antichrist himself, that is to say, the bishop of Rome; to whom God hath given great power to work great wonders, to bring into error those that will not believe the truth. But by what means did he compass this matter? By such means as were most meet[h] for himself, and as he hath commonly practised in all other matters; that is to say, by sedition and murder, by confederacies and persecutions, by raising the son against the father, the children against their mother, and the subjects against their rulers; by deposing of emperors and princes, and murdering of learned men, saints and martyrs. For thus he wrought against the emperor[i] of the East parties from Gregory II's time until Gregory III[k]; who at length, after this condition[l] had endured above five hundred years, in a council held at Lyons, by feigned promises persuaded the emperor of the East to condescend to his purpose, as well to receive images

[h] ["As was most meet." MS. C. C. C. C.]

[i] ["Against the empire." Id.]

[k] [Gregory II. May 18, A.D. 715, to Feb. 20, A.D. 732. Gregory III. March 18, A.D. 732, to Nov. 27, A.D. 741.—See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. pt. ii. ch. iii. sect. xi. pp. 154, 155, and 673. ed. Lond. 1845.]

[l] ["This contention." MS. C.C.C.C.]

into the churches, as to other his requests. But nevertheless the bishop of Rome failed of his purpose. For yet to this day the Christian men in the East do not allow images to stand in their churches; neither the Greeks, nor the Armenians, nor the Indians, nor none[m] other Christian men. And, that more is, search all the world[n] throughout, of what religion soever they be, whether they be Jews, Turks, Saracens, Tartaries, or Christian people, and you shall not find an image in none of their churches, but that was brought in by the bishop of Rome, and where the bishop of Rome is, or within these forty years was taken for the head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth.

And at the beginning the bishops of Rome, to cloak their idolatry, pretended to have images set up only for a remembrance to laymen, and to be, as it were, laymen's books. But after, they defined plainly that these should be[o] worshipped. And so it increased at length, that images were kneeled unto, offered unto, prayed unto,
104 sought unto, incensed and pilgrimages done unto them, and all manner of superstition and idolatry that could be devised. Almighty God knoweth our corrupt nature better than we do ourselves. He knoweth well the inclinations of man[p], how much he is given to worship creatures and the works of his own hands; and specially fond women, which commonly follow superstition rather than true religion. And therefore he utterly forbad the people the use of graven images, specially in places dedicated to the honour of God, knowing assuredly that of the having would follow the worshipping of them.

Now, thanks be to God, in this realm we be clearly

[m] ["Nor nor none." MS. C.C. C.C.]

[n] ["Search the all world." Id.]

[o] ["That they should be." Id.]

[p] ["Inclination of man." Id.]

delivered from that kind of idolatry, which most highly offended God, and we do according to the council Elebertine, which ordained that no images should be in churches [q]. And this council is so ancient, that it was about the same year that Nicene council was. What should then move you to ask again your images in the church, being not only against God's commandments, and the use of God's church evermore since the beginning of the world, when it was pure from idolatry, but also being chargeable to the realm, and great occasion of heinous idolatry, but that some papistical and covetous priests have persuaded you hereto? which care neither for God's honour [r], nor your damnation, so that they may have any commodity or profit thereby.

I have been very long in this article, and yet the matter is so large that it requireth much more to be spoken therein, which for shortness of time I am constrained to leave until a more occasion; and to come to your eighth article.

Your eighth article is this:

We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of matins, mass, even-song, and procession in Latin, as it was before. And so we, the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English.

As concerning the having of the service in the Latin tongue, is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to your third article. But I would gladly know the reason why

[q] ["xxxvi. Placuit, picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur, et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur."—Concil. Eliberit. A. D. 305, cap. xxxvi. Can. Apost. et Concil. (Bruns) pars ii. p. 7. ed. Berol. 1839.]

[r] ["God's dishonour." MS. C.C.C.C.]

the Cornish men[s] refuse utterly the new English, as you call it, because certain of you understand it not; and yet you will have the service in Latin, which almost none of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwall to refuse the English service, because some of you[t] understand none English, a much greater cause have they, both of Cornwall and Devonshire, to refuse utterly the late service[u]; forasmuch as fewer of them know the Latin tongue than they of Cornwall[x] the English tongue. But where you say that you will have the old service, because the new is "like a Christmas game," you declare yourselves what spirit you be led withal, or rather what spirit leadeth them that persuaded you[y] that the word of God is but like a Christmas game. It is more like a game and a fond play to be laughed at of all men, to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latin, and the people listen with their ears[z] to hear; and some walking up and down in the church, some saying other[a] prayers in Latin,
105 and none understandeth other. Neither the priest nor his parish[b] wot what they say. And many times the thing that the priest saith in Latin is so fond of itself, that it is more like a play than a godly prayer.

But in the English service appointed to be read there is[c] nothing else but the eternal word of God: the New and the Old Testament is read that hath power[d] to save your souls; which as St. Paul saith, "is the power of God to the salvation of all that believe;" the clear light to our

[s] ["Why you Cornish men." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[t] ["Some of them." Id.]
[u] ["The Latin service." Id.]
[x] ["Them of Cornwall." Id.]
[y] ["Persuaded to you." Id.]
[z] ["Listen to some." Id.]
[a] ["Some in the church saying other." Id.]
[b] ["Nor the parish." Id.]
[c] ["Is there." Id.]
[d] ["The Old Testament, the word that hath." Id.]

eyes, without the which we cannot see; and a lantern unto our feet[e], without which we should stumble in darkness. It is in itself the wisdom of God, and yet "to the Jews it is a stumblingblock, and to the Gentiles it is but foolishness: but to such as be called of God, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, it is the power of God, and the wisdom of God." Then unto you if it be but foolishness and a Christmas game, you may discern yourselves what miserable state you be in, and how far you be from God. For St. Paul saith plainly, that the word of God is foolishness only to them that perish; but to them that shall be saved it is God's might and power. To some it is a lively savour unto life, and to some it is a deadly savour unto death. If it be to you but a Christmas game, it is then a savour of death unto death. And surely persuade yourselves that you be not led with the Spirit of God, so long as the word of God savoureth no better unto you[f], but seemeth unto you[g] a Christmas pastime, and foolishness. And therefore the old service pleaseth you better, which in many things is so foolish and so ungodly, that it seems rather[h] to be old wives' tales and lies, than to sound to any godliness. The devil is a liar, and the author of lies; and they may think themselves governed rather of his spirit, than of God, when lies delight more than God's most true word.

But this I judge rather of your leaders than of yourselves, who by ignorance be carried away by others[i], you wot not whither. For when the service was in the Latin tongue, which you understood not, they might read to you truth or fables[k], godly or ungodly things, as they

[e] ["To our feet." Id.]
[f] ["No better to you.' Id.]
[g] ["Seemeth to you." Id.]
[h] ["Seemeth rather." Id.]
[i] ["By other." Id.]
[k] ["Truths or fables." Id.]

pleased; but you could not[l] judge that you understood not. And what was the cause[m] why St. Paul would have such languages spoken in the church as that people[n] might understand? that they might learn and be edified thereby, and judge of that which should be spoken, whether it were according to God's word or not.

But forasmuch as you understand not[o] the old Latin service, I shall rehearse some things in English that were wont[p] to be read in Latin, that when you understand them, you may judge them whether they seem to be true tales, or fables; and whether they or God's word seem to be more like plays and Christmas games. "The devil entered into a certain person, in whose mouth St. Martin put his finger; and because the devil could not get out at his mouth, the man blew him, or cacked him out behind." This is one of the tales that was wont to be read in the Latin service, that you will needs have again. As though the devil had a body, and that so crass that he could not pass out by the small pores of the flesh, but must needs have a wide hole to go out at. Is this a grave and godly matter to be read in the church, or rather a foolish Christmas tale, or an old wives' fable, worthy to be laughed at and scorned of every man that hath either wit or godly judgment? Yet more foolish, erroneous, and
106 superstitious things be read in the feasts of St. Blase, St. Valentine, St. Margaret, St. Peter, of the Visitation of our lady, and the Conception, of the Transfiguration of Christ, and in the feast of Corpus Christi, and a great number more: whereof some be most vain fables, some very superstitious, some directly against God's word, and the laws

[l] ["For you could not." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[m] ["And that was the cause." Id.]

[n] ["As the people." Id.]

[o] ["You understood not." Id.]

[p] ["Which were wont." Id.]

of this realm, and altogether be full of error and superstition. But as Christ commonly excused the simple people because of their ignorance, and justly condemned the scribes and Pharisees, which by their crafty persuasions led the people out of the right way; so I think not you so much to be blamed as those Pharisees and papistical priests, which, abusing your simplicity, caused you to ask you wist not what, desiring rather to drink of the dregs of corrupt error, which you knew not, than of the pure and sweet wine of God's word, which you may and ought to understand. But now have I sufficiently spoke[r] of your eighth article: I will go forward unto the ninth.

Your ninth article is this:

We will have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at the mass[s]*, pray specially by name for the souls in purgatory, as our forefathers did.*

To reason with you by learning, which be unlearned, it were but folly: therefore I will convince your article with very reason. First, tell me, I pray, if you can[t], whether there be a purgatory or no; and where, or what it is. And if you cannot tell, then I may tell you that you ask you wot not what. The Scripture maketh mention of two places where the dead be received after this life, of heaven and of hell; but of purgatory is not one word spoken. Purgatory was wont to be called a fire as hot as hell, but not so long during. But now the defenders of purgatory within this realm be ashamed so to say: nevertheless they say it is a third place; but where or what it is, they confess themselves they cannot tell. And of God's word they have nothing to shew, neither where it is, nor what

[r] ["Sufficiently be spoken." Id.] [s] ["At his mass." Id.]
[t] ["I pray you, if you can." Id.]

it is, nor that it is. But all is feigned of their own brains [u], without authority of Scripture.

I would ask of them then, wherefore it is, and to what use it serveth? For if it be to no use, then it is a thing frustrate and in vain. Marry, say they, it is a place of punishment, whereby they be purged from their sins that depart out of this life not fully purged before. I cannot tell whether this saying be more foolish [x], or more contumelious to Christ. For what can be more foolish than to say, that pains can wash sins out of the soul. I do not deny but that corrections and punishments [y] in this life is a calling of men to repentance and amendment, and so to be purged by the blood of Christ. But correction without repentance can nothing avail; and they that be dead be past the time of repentance; and so no correction or torments in purgatory can avail them. And what a contumely [z] and injury is this to Christ, to affirm
107 that all have not [a] full and perfect purgation by his blood that die in his faith! Is not all our trust in the blood of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed thereby? And will you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the pope's purgatory to be washed therein; thinking that Christ's blood is an imperfect lee or soap that washeth not clean? If he shall die without mercy that treadeth Christ's blood under his feet, what is treading of his blood under our feet, if this be not? But if according to the catholic faith, which the holy Scripture teacheth, and the prophets, apostles, and martyrs confirmed with their blood, all the faithful that die

[u] ["Their own brain." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[x] ["Be more foolishness." Id.]

[y] ["But correction and punishment." Id.]

[z] ["And how great a contumely." Id.]

[a] ["All they have not." Id.]

in the Lord be pardoned of all their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly sponged and washed away by his blood; shall they after be cast into another strong and grievous prison of purgatory, there to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? God hath promised by his word, that the souls of the just [b] be in God's hand, and no pain shall touch them: and again he saith, "Blessed be they that die in the Lord. For the Spirit of God saith, that from henceforth they shall rest from their pains." And Christ himself saith: "He that believeth in him that sent me hath everlasting life, and shall not come to judgment, but shall pass from death unto life." And is God no truer of his promises [c] but to punish that which he promiseth to pardon? Consider the matter by your own cases. If the king's majesty should pardon your offences, and after would cast you into prison, would you think that he had well observed his promise? For what is to pardon your offences, but to pardon the punishment for the same? If the king would punish [d] you, would you take that for a pardon? Would you not allege your pardon, and say that you ought not to be punished? Who can then, that hath but a crumb of reason in his head, imagine of God that he will after our death punish those things that he pardoned in our life-time?

Truth it is that Scripture maketh mention of paradise and Abraham's bosom after this life; but those be places of joy and consolation, not of pains and torments. But yet I know what subtle sophisters use to mutter in men's ears to deceive them withal. David, say they [e], with

[b] ["Of the Jews;" (Strype), evidently a misprint.]

[c] ["Of his promise." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[d] ["Pardon;" (Strype), evidently a misprint.]

[e] ["David, they say." MS. C.C.C.C.]

many other, were pardoned of their offences, and yet were they sore punished after for the same of God; and some of them so long as they lived. Well, be it it were so. Yet after their lives they were not punished in purgatory therefore: but the end of their lives was the end of their punishment. And likewise it is of original sin after baptism, which although it be pardoned, yet after pains[f] thereof continue so long as we live. But this punishment in this life-time[g] is not to revenge our original sin, which is pardoned in baptism, but to make us humble, penitent, obedient to God, fearful to offend, to know ourselves, and ever to stand in fear and awe; as, if a father that hath beaten a wilful child for his faults should hang the rod continually at the child's girdle, it should be no small pain and grief to the child, ever hanging by his side: and yet the father doth it not to beat the child for that which is past and forgiven; but to make him beware hereafter that he offend not again, and to be gentle, tractable, obedient, and loath to do any thing amiss. But after this life there is no such cause of punishment; where no rod nor whip can force any man to go any faster or farther,
108 being already at the end of his journey. Likewise a master that hath an unthrifty servant, which out of his master's sight doth nothing but riot and disorder himself, if he forgive his servant, and for the love he beareth to him, and the desire he hath to see him corrected and reformed, he will command him never to be out of his sight; this command[h], although indeed it be a great pain to the servant, yet the master doth it not to punish those faults, which before he had pardoned and forgiven, but to keep him in stay, that he fall no more to like disorder. But

[f] ["Yet certain pains." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[g] ["In our life-time." Id.] [h] ["This commandment." Id.]

these examples and cases of punishment here in this life can in no wise be wrested and drawn to the life to come; and so in no wise can serve for purgatory.

And furthermore, seeing that the Scriptures so often and so diligently teach us, almost in every place, to relieve all them that be in necessity, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and the prisoner[i], to comfort the sorrowful, and so to all others[k] that have need of our help; and the same in no place make mention[l] either of such pains in purgatory, or what comfort we may do them; it is certain that the same is feigned for lucre, and not grounded upon God's word. For else the Scripture in some place would have told us plainly what case they stood in that be in purgatory, and what relief and help we might do unto them. But as for such[m] as God's words speaketh not one word of neither of them both, my counsel shall be, that you keep not the bishop of Rome's decrees that you may come to purgatory, but keep God's laws that you may come to heaven: or else I promise you assuredly that you shall never escape hell. Now to your next article.

Your tenth article is this:

We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English, to be called in again. For we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics.

Alas! it grieveth me to hear your articles; and much I rue and lament your ignorance; praying God most earnestly once to lighten your eyes that you may see the truth[n]. What Christian heart would not be grieved

[i] ["The prisoners." Id.] [k] ["To all other." Id.]
[l] ["In no place maketh mention." Id.]
[m] ["But forasmuch." Id.] [n] ["See his truth." Id].

to see you so ignorant, (for willingly and wilfully, I trust, you do it not), that you refuse Christ, and join yourselves with antichrist? You refuse the holy Bible and all holy Scriptures so much, that you will have them called in again; and the bishop of Rome's decrees you will have advanced and observed. I may well say to you as Christ said to Peter, "Turn back again, for you savour not godly things." As many of you as understand no Latin cannot know God's word but in English, except it be the Cornish men, which cannot understand likewise none but their own speech. Then you must be content to have it in English, which you know, or else you must confess that you refuse utterly the knowledge thereof. And wherefore did the Holy Ghost come down [among the apostles[o]] in fiery tongues, and gave them knowledge of all languages, but that all nations might hear, speak, and learn God's word in their mother-tongue? And can you name me any
109 Christians in all the world[p], but they have, and ever had[q], God's word in their own tongue? And the Jews, to whom God gave his Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue, after their long captivity among the Chaldees, so that more of them knew the Chaldee rather than the Hebrew[r] tongue, they caused the Scripture to be turned into the Chaldee tongue, that they might understand it: which until this day is called Targum[s]. And Ptolemy, king of Egypt, caused sixty [seventy] of the greatest clerks that might be gotten to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew into Greek[t].

o [These words are found in C.C.C.C. MS., but they have been omitted by Strype.]

p ["Any Christian nation in all the world." MS. C.C.C.C.]

q ["And ever have had." Id.]

r ["The Chaldee than the Hebrew." Id.]

s [See Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures, vol. ii. pp. 33–38. ed. Lond. 1828.]

t [Id. pp. 39, 40. See also Prideaux's Old and New Testament connected, vol. ii. pp. 26–28. ed. Oxon. 1839.]

And until this day the Greeks have it in the Greek tongue, the Latins in the Latin tongue, and all other nations in their own tongue. And will you have God farther from us than from all other countries, that he shall speak to every man in his own language that he understandeth and was born in, and to us shall speak a strange language that we understand not? And will you that all other realms shall laud God in their own speech, and we shall say to him we know not what?

Although you savour so little of godliness that you list not to read his word yourselves, you ought not to be so malicious and envious to let them that be more godly, and would gladly read it to their comfort and edification. And if there be an English heretic, how will you have him confuted but in English? and whereby else but by God's word? Then it followeth, that to confute English heretics we must needs have God's word in English, as all other nations have it in their own native language. St. Paul to the Ephesians teacheth all men, as well laymen as priests, to arm themselves, and to fight against all adversaries with God's word; without the which we cannot be able to prevail, neither against subtle heretics, puissant devils, this deceitful world, nor our own sinful flesh. And therefore, until God's word came to light, the bishop of Rome, under the prince of darkness, reigned quietly in the world, and his heresies were received and allowed for the true catholic faith. And it can none otherwise be but that heresies must reign where the light of God's word driveth not away our darkness.

Your eleventh article is this:

We will have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin[u]*, which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us; and to them we*

[u] [See above, pp. 115, 116.]

require the king's majesty to give some certain livings, to preach among us our catholic faith.

If you be of Moreman's and Crispin's faith, I like you much the worse. For "like lettuce, like lips." And to declare you plainly the qualities of Crispin and Moreman, and how unmeet men they be to be your teachers, they be persons very ignorant in God's word, and yet thereto very wilful, crafty, and full of dissimulation. For if they were profoundly learned, and of sincere judgments, as they be not, they might be godly teachers of you. Or if they were not "toto" wilful, and standing wholly in their own conceits, they might learn and be taught of others[x]. But now they be so wilful that they will not learn, and so ignorant that they cannot teach, and so full of craft and
110 hypocrisy that they be able to deceive you all, and to lead you into error after themselves. So that if you ask them, you ask your own poison. Now if a man were in such a sickness that he longed for poison, (as many diseases desire things most noyful unto them), yet it were not the part of a good physician to give it unto them. No more is it the office of a most godly prince to give you such teachers, (although you long never so sore for them), as he knoweth would corrupt you, feeding you rather with sour and unwholesome leaven of Romish pharisaical doctrine, than with the sweet, pure, and wholesome bread of God's heavenly word. And where you would have God's word in English destroyed, and Crispin and Moreman delivered unto you, you do even as the people of the Jews did; which cried out that Christ might be crucified, and that Barabbas, the strong thief, might be delivered unto them.

Your twelfth article is this:

We think it very meet, because the lord cardinal Pole is of

[x] ["Of other." C.C.C.C. MS.]

the king's blood[y], *that he should not*[z] *only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted to be of the king's council.*

In this article I will answer no more but this: if ever any cardinal or legate were beneficial unto this realm, we may have some hope of some other to follow his steps: but if all that ever were in this realm were pernicious and hurtful unto the same, I know not why we should be with child to long for any more. For by the experience of them that have been heretofore, we may conjecture of them that be to come. And I fear me that cardinal Pole would follow rather the whole race of the rest, than to begin a better of himself. Surely I have read a book of his making[a], which whosoever shall read, if he have a true

[y] ["He was of the blood royal, and cousin-germain to the king, (Henry VIII.), by both the houses of York and Lancaster, being by his mother descended from the duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV.;" and was "educated with princely munificence by him." — See also Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 389. ed. Lond. 1840, 41. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. i. p. 444. ed. Oxon. 1829, and Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. pp. 421, 422. ed. Lond. 1845.]

[z] ["Blood, should not." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[a] [The book is intituled by Strype and Collier, "De Unione Ecclesiastica," by Burnet, "De Unitate Ecclesiastica;" it was written against Henry's divorce from queen Katherine, and his assuming the supremacy. "His majesty, having literally made him the man he was, became eager to have his opinions in writing, as to himself and his movements; expecting, of course, that they would be entirely in his favour. Pole assented, and all the time living on Henry's bounty, carried on the delusion. His opinions grew into a volume, which he began in January of this year, and so late as June he had the profound hypocrisy to give assurances, in writing*, that he meant to serve the king in the cause desired. His book, however, such as it was, had been completed in *March*, but it was retained for more than twelve months after that, and shewn to select enemies, just as if intended to produce the more astounding effect on the day of its presentation next year."

* [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. vi. fol. 334. British Museum.]

heart to our late sovereign lord king Henry VIII., or to this realm, he will judge cardinal Pole neither worthy to dwell in this realm, nor yet to live. For he doth extend all his wits and eloquence in that book to persuade the bishop of Rome, the emperor, the French king, and all other princes, to invade this realm by force. And sure I am, that if you have him, you must have the bishop of Rome also. For the cardinal cannot be a subject, but where the other is his head. This sufficeth briefly to this article.

Your thirteenth article is this:

We will that no gentleman shall have any more servants than one to wait upon him, except he may dispend one hundred mark land. And for every hundred mark we think it reasonable he should have a man.

Yet have you not foreseen one thing, you wise disposers of the commonwealth. For if a gentleman of an hundred mark land[b], (who by your order must have but one ser-
111 vant, except he might spend two hundred marks), should send that one servant to London, you have not provided who shall wait upon him until his servant come home again. Nor you have not provided where every gentleman may have one servant that can do all things necessary for him. I fear me the most part of you that devised this article, (whom I take to be loiterers and idle unthrifts), if you should serve a gentleman, he should be fain to do all things himself, for any thing that you could or would do for him. But one thing methink very strange:

"See an analysis of cardinal Pole's character and writings, his virulent and treasonable language, in Turner's Henry VIII., chap. 28." —Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, vol. i. pp. 421, 422. See also above, pp. 116, 555, n. y, Burnet ut supra, vol. i. pp. 11–16; and Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 132.]

[b] ["Of an hundred pounds land." MS. C.C.C.C.]

for where much complaint is made of divers gentlemen, because they keep not houses, you provide by your order that no gentleman shall keep house, but all shall sojourn with other men. For who can keep an household with one servant, or with two servants, after the rate of two hundred marks, or with three, after the rate of three hundred, and so upward? For here, it seems[c], you be very desirous to make gentlemen rich: for after this proportion every gentleman may lay up clearly in his coffers at the least the one half of his yearly revenue, and much more.

But it was not for good mind that you bare to the gentlemen that you devised this article; but it appeareth plainly that you devised it to diminish their strength, and to take away their friends, that you might command gentlemen at your pleasures. But you be much deceived in your account. For although by your appointment they lacked household servants, yet shall they not lack tenants and farmers: which, if they do their duties, will be as assured to their lords as their own household servants. For of those lands, which they have or hold of their lords, they have their whole livings for themselves, their wives, children, and servants. And for all these they attend their own business, and wait not upon their lords but when they be called thereto. But the household servant, leaving all his own business, waiteth daily and continually upon his master's service; and for the same hath no more but meat and drink and apparel for himself only: so that all tenants and farmers, which know their duties, and be kind to their lords, will die and live with them, no less than their own household servants. Therefore I would wish you to put this fantasy out of your heads, and this article out of your book, as well for the unreasonableness as for the ungodliness thereof.

[c] ["But here it seemeth." Id.]

For was it ever seen in any country since the world began, that the commons did appoint the nobles and gentlemen the number of their servants? Standeth it with any reason to turn upside down[d] the good order of the whole world, that is every where, and ever hath been, that is to say, the commoners to be governed by the nobles, and the servants by their masters? Will you now have[e] the subjects to govern their king, the villains to rule the gentlemen, and the servants their masters? If men would suffer this, God will not; but will take vengeance of all them that will break his order, as he did of Dathan and Abiram; although for a time he be a God of much sufferance, and hideth his indignation under his mercy, that the evil of themselves may repent, and see their own folly.

112 Your fourteenth article is this:

We will that the half part of the abbey-lands and chantry lands in every man's possession, however he came by them, be given again to two places, where two of the chief abbeys were within[f] *every county; where such half part shall be taken out, and there to be established a place for devout persons, which shall pray for the king and the commonwealth. And to the same we will have all the alms of the church-box given for these seven years.*

At the beginning you pretended that you meant nothing against the king's majesty, but now you open yourselves plainly to the world that you go about to pluck the crown from his head; and, against all justice and equity, not only to take from him such lands as be annexed unto his crown, and be parcel of the same, but also against all right and reason to take from all other men such lands as they came

[d] ["To turn upso down." MS. C.C.C.C.]
[e] ["Will you have now." Id.] [f] ["Abbeys was within." Id.]

to by most just title, by gift, by sale, by exchange, or otherwise. There is no respect nor difference had amongst you, whether they came to them by right or by wrong. Be you so blind that you cannot see how justly you proceed to take the sword in your hands against your prince, and to dispossess just inheritors without any cause? Christ would not take upon him to judge the right and title of lands between two brethren; and you arrogantly presume not only to judge, but unjustly to take away all men's right titles; yea, even from the king himself. And do you not tremble for fear that the vengeance of God shall fall upon you, before you have grace to repent? And yet you, not contented with this your rebellion, would have your shameful act celebrated with a perpetual memory, as it were to boast and glory of your iniquity. For, in memory of your fact, you would have stablished in every county two places to pray for the king and the commonwealth; whereby your abominable behaviour at this present may never be forgotten, but be remembered unto the world's end; that when the king's majesty was in wars both with Scotland and France, you, under pretence of the commonwealth, rebelled, and made so great sedition against him within his own realm, as never before was heard of. And therefore you must be prayed for for ever, in every county of this realm.

It were more fit for you[g] to make humble supplication upon your knees to the king's majesty, desiring him not only to forgive you this fault, but also that the same may never be put in chronicle nor writing; and that neither shew nor mention may remain to your posterity, that ever subjects were so unkind to their prince, and so ungracious towards God, that, contrary to God's word, they should

g ["More meet for you." Id.]

so use[h] themselves against their sovereign lord and king. And this I assure you of, that if all the whole world should pray for you until doomsday, their prayers should no more avail you than they should avail the devils in hell, if they prayed for them, unless you be so penitent and sorry for your disobedience, that you will ever after, so long as you live, study to redub[i] and recompense the same with all true and faithful obedience, not only yourselves, but also
113 procuring all other, so much as lieth in you; and so much detesting such uproars and seditions, that if you see any man towards any such things, you will to your power resist him, and open him unto such governors and rulers as may straightway[k] repress the same. As for your last article, thanks be to God, it needeth not to be answered, which is this:

Your last article is this:

For the particular griefs of our country, we will have them so ordered, as Humphry Arundel and Henry Bray, the king's mayor of Bodman, shall inform the king's majesty, if they may have safe conduct under the king's great seal to pass and repass with an herald of arms[l].

Who ever heard such arrogancy in subjects, to require

[h] ["Would so use." MS. C.C. C.C.]

[i] [Redub, i. e. to make amends for.]

[k] ["As may straightways." MS. C.C.C.C.]

[l] [Humphry Arundel, the leader of the ten thousand Devonshire rebels, was of good family, and governor of St. Michael's Mount. He was sent to London after being for some time confined at Exeter, and there executed. Bray was mayor of Bodmin, in Cornwall. — "Attempts, it is said, were made to exculpate the mayor of Bodmin, on the ground of his having been forced into the insurrection against his will. As if this defence had been successful, sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal of the army, appointed a day for dining with him.—Having been 'right heartily welcomed,' he after dinner expressed a wish to see a pair of

and will of their princes, that their own particular causes may be ordered, neither according to reason, nor the laws of this realm, but according to the information of two most heinous traitors? Was it ever heard before this time, that an information should be a judgment, although the informer were of never so great credit? and will you have suffice the information of two villainous papistical traitors? You will deprive the king of his lands[m] pertaining to his crown, and other men of their just possessions and inheritance, and judge your own causes as you list yourselves. And what can you be called then but most wicked judges, and most errant traitors? except only ignorance or force may excuse you; that either you were constrained by your captains[n] against your wills, or

gallows, which he had desired his host to erect. On coming thither and beholding them, he said to the mayor, 'Think you, master mayor, that they be strong enough?' 'Yea, sir,' quoth he, 'that they are.' 'Well then,' said sir Anthony, 'get you even up unto them, for they are provided for you.' The mayor, greatly abashed herewith, said, 'I trust you mean no such thing to me.' 'Sir,' said he, 'there is no remedy; ye have been a busy rebel, and therefore this is appointed for your reward.' And so without respite or stay there was the mayor hanged. But Boyer, and not Bray, is the name given by Holinshed to this victim of Kingston's cruel pleasantry. It may therefore be doubted whether he is correctly described as mayor of Bodmin. The story perhaps may apply to another person named Boyer, who is said by Strype to have suffered death among the rebel leaders." — Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 244. See also Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. iii. pp. 1006, 1026, and Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. i. p. 281. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[m] ["Of the lands." MS. C.C. C.C.]

[n] ["Of whom the chief gentlemen captains were, Humfrey Arundell, esquire, governor of the mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Payne, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar. Of priests, which were principal stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and after executed, were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bochim, John Tompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcocke, William

deceived by blind priests and other crafty persuaders, to ask you wist not what. How much then ought you to detest and abhor such men hereafter, and to beware of all such like, so long as you live; and to give most humble and hearty thanks unto God, who hath made an end of this article, and brought Arundel and Bray to that they have deserved; that is, perpetual shame, confusion, and death! Yet I beseech God so to extend his grace unto them, that they may die well which have lived ill. Amen.

NUMBER XLI.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S NOTES FOR AN HOMILY AGAINST THE REBELLION.

Sentences of the Scripture against sedition.

Ex MS. C. C. C. C. Miscellan. D.[o]

1 Cor. iii. Cum sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales estis, et sicut homines ambulatis? Et

1 Cor. vi. Quare non magis injuriam accipitis? Quare non magis fraudem patimini?

Jac. iii. Si zelum amarum habetis, et contentiones sint in cordibus vestris, &c. non est ista sapientia desur-

114 sum, descendens a Patre luminum, sed terrena, animalis,

Asa, James Mourton, John Barow, Richard Benet; besides a multitude of other popish priests, which to the same faction were adjoined. The number of the whole rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted little less than to the sum of ten thousand stout traitors."—Foxe'sActs and Monuments, p. 1305. ed. Lond. 1583. "Their names were Arundel, Pomeroy, Coffin, Winslade, Rosogan, Holmes, Bury, Underhil, Soleman, Segar, Boyer, Lee, two mayors, Pain, Maunder, Ashridge, Thompson, Baret, Bocham, Wolcock, Alsa, Morton, Welsh, Barrow, Benet; which last-recited nine were priests." — Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pt. 1. p. 281. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

[o] [MS. C. C. C. C. No. cii. pp. 529–534; from which this document has been corrected for this edition.]

diabolica. Ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia, et omne opus pravum, &c. [Quæ autem desursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suadibilis, &c. Fructus autem justitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.]

Jac. iv. Unde bella et lites in vobis? Nonne ex concupiscentiis vestris, quæ militant in membris vestris.

How God hath plagued sedition in time past.

Num. xvii. Dathan and Abiram, for their sedition against Moses and Aaron, did miserably perish by God's just judgment, the earth opening and swallowing them down quick.

2 Reg. [i. e. Samuel] xv. and xviii. Absalom, moving sedition against David, did miserably perish likewise.

2 Reg. [i. e. Samuel] xx. Seba for his sedition against David lost his head.

3 Reg. [i. e. 1 Kings] i. and ii. Adonias also for his sedition against Solomon was slain.

Acts viii. Judas and Theudas for their sedition were justly slain.

Acts xxi. An Egyptian likewise, which moved the people of Israel to sedition, received that he deserved.

Tumults in England. Jack Cade. Jack Straw.

In Germany for their sedition was slain almost in one month about two hundred thousand.

The sword by God's word pertaineth not to subjects, but only to magistrates.

Though the magistrates be evil, and very tyrants against the commonwealth, and enemies to Christ's religion, yet the subjects must obey in all worldly things, as the Christians do under the Turk; and ought so to do as long as he commandeth them not to do against God.

How ungodly then it is for our subjects to take the sword, where there reigneth a most Christian prince, most desirous to reform all griefs!

Subjects ought to make humble suit to their prince for reformation of all injuries, and not to come with force.

The sword of the subjects at this present cometh not of God, nor for the commonweal of the realm; but of the devil, and destroyeth the commonweal.

First, For that it is against the word of God.

Secondly, For that they rise so many lies; whereof the devil is ever the author. "Quia mendax est, et pater ejus."

Thirdly, For that they spoil and rob men, and command every man to come to them, and to send to them what they please.

Fourthly, For that they let the harvest, which is the chief sustentation of our life, and God of his goodness hath sent it abundantly; and they by their folly do cause it to be lost and abandoned.

Fifthly, For that they be led by rage and fury, without reason; having no respect neither of the king's minority; nor of the papists in the west country; nor of our affairs in France, nor Scotland; which by their sedition is so much hindered, that there could not be imagined so great a damage to the realm.

115 Sixthly, That they give commandment in the king's name, and in pain of death, having none authority so to do.

Ever against God the devil hath raised sedition. As appeareth by the sedition of Dathan and Abiram; and all the murmurations of the children of Israel against Moses and Aaron. Also, of the conspiracies against Zorobabel in the re-edifying of the temple. Also, against Christ and his apostles, in sundry parts of the world. Also, in

Germany lately, and now among us. For the devil can abide no right reformation in religion.

Civil war is the greatest scourge that can be, and most certain argument of God's indignation against us for our ingratitude: that we either will not receive his true word, or that they which receive the same dishonour God in their living, when they pretend to honour him with their mouths. Which ingratitude and contumely God can in no wise bear at our hands.

The remedies to avert God's indignation from us is to receive his word, and to live according thereunto, returning unto God with prayer and penance. Or else surely more grievous affliction shall follow, if more grievous may be, than civil wars among ourselves.

The chief authors of all these tumults be idle and naughty people, which nothing have, nor nothing or little will labour to have; that will riot in expending, but not labour in getting.

And these tumults first were excitated by the papists and others which came from the western camp, to the intent, that by sowing division among ourselves we should not be able to impeach them.

NUMBER XLII.

THE LADY MARY TO THE COUNCIL, JUSTIFYING HERSELF FOR USING THE MASS IN KING EDWARD'S MINORITY.

Sir. W. H[icke's] MSS.

It is no small grief to me to perceive that they, whom the king's majesty my father, (whose soul God pardon), made in this world of nothing, in respect of that they be come to now; and at his last end put in trust to see his will performed, whereunto they were all sworn upon a book; it grieveth me, I say, for the love I bear to them,

to see both how they break his will, and what usurped power they take upon them, in making, (as they call it), laws both clean contrary to his proceedings and will, and also against the custom of all Christendom, and, (in my conscience), against the law of God and his church; which passeth all the rest. But though you among you have forgotten the king my father, yet both God's commandment and nature will not suffer me to do so. Wherefore with God's help I will remain an obedient
116 child to his laws as he left them, till such time as the king's majesty, my brother, shall have perfect years of discretion to order the power that God hath sent him, and to be a judge in these matters himself. And I doubt not but he shall then accept my so doing better than theirs, which have taken a piece of his power upon them in his minority.

I do not a little marvel, that you can find fault with me for observing of that law which was allowed by him that was a king, not only of power, but also of knowledge, how to order his power. To which laws all you consented and seemed at that time to the outward appearance very well to like the same. And more immediately when the king reasons to have his proceedings observed. Wherefore I do wonder that you can find fault with me, and not all this while with some amongst yourselves, for running half a year before that, which you now call a law: yea, and before the bishops came together. Wherein me thinketh you do me very much wrong, if I should not have as much preeminence to continue in keeping a full authorized law made without partiality, as they had, both to break the law, which at that time yourselves must needs confess was of full power and strength, and to use alterations of their own invention contrary both to that, yea, and to your new law, as you call it.

[NUMBER XLII*.

LETTERS FROM THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL AT WINDSOR TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL IN LONDON, WITH ANSWERS, &c.[p]

My lords, we commend us most heartily unto you: and where the king's majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as ye do now remain there, was advised by us, and such other of his council as were here about his person, to send master secretary Peter unto you with such a message, as whereby might have ensued the surety of his majesty's person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as master secretary can declare unto you: his majesty, and we of his council here, do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said master secretary: and have not, (as it were), vouchsafed to send an answer to his majesty, neither by him, nor yet by any other. And for ourselves, we do much more marvel, and are right sorry, as we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings, bent with force and violence to bring the king's majesty and us to those extremities, which as we do intend, if you will take none other way but violence to defend us, as nature and our allegiance doth bind us, to extremity of death, and put it unto God's hands, who giveth victory as pleaseth him. So if our reasonable

Stow's Annals, pp. 597, 8. ed. Lond. 1631.

[p] [See Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. part ii. B. i. No. 41. p. 261, et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1829. Stow's Annals, pp. 597, 8. ed. Lond. 1516. Ellis' Original Letters, 1st ser. Letter clxxi. vol. ii. p. 171, &c. "The second of them has been attributed wholly to the pen of Cranmer by Mr. Turner and Mr. Todd, who affirm that 'it breathes all his spirit in its genuine nature.' Strype also seems to have been of the same opinion." See Turner's Modern Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 286. Todd's Life of abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 157. Jenkyns' Remains of abp. Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 369. n.[d].]

conditions and offers will take no place, as hitherto none hath been signified unto us from you, nor we do not understand what ye do require or seek, nor what ye do mean, and that ye speak no hurt of the king's majesty's person: as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the king's majesty's person, his realm, and subjects, ye shall find us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require. For we do esteem the king's wealth and tranquillity of the realm more than all other worldly things, yea more than our own lives. Thus praying you to send us determinate answer herein by master secretary Peter, or, if ye will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From the king's majesty's castle of Windsor, the 7th day of October, 1549.

Your lordships' loving friends E. Somerset, &c.

Stow's Annals, pp. 598, 9. ed. Lond. 1631. Todd's Life of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 157.

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordships: we have received from the same a letter by master Hunnings, dated at London yesterday, whereby you do us to understand the causes of your assembly there, and, charging the lord protector with the manner of government, require that he withdraw himself from the king's majesty, disperse the force which he hath levied, and be contented to be ordered according to justice and reason. And so you will gladly commune with us, as touching the surety of the king's majesty's person, and the order of all other things, with such conformity on that behalf as appertaineth, and otherwise you must, (as you write), make other account of us, than you trust to have cause, and burden us, if things come to extremities.

To the first points we verily believe, that as bruits, rumours, and reports, that your lordships intended the destruction of the lord protector, induced his grace to fly to the defence which he hath assembled, excuse your lordships, hearing that his grace intended the like destruction towards you, have been moved to do as you have done, so as for lack of understanding one of another's right meaning, things be grown to such extremities, as if the saving of the king's majesty's person and the commonweal, take not more place in his grace and your lordships, than private respect or affairs, you see, we doubt not, as we do, that both our king, our country, and also ourselves shall, as verily as God is God, be utterly destroyed and cast away. Wherefore might it please you, for the tender passion of Jesus Christ, use your wisdom, and temper your determination in such sort, as no blood be shed, nor cruelty used, neither of his grace's part nor of your lordships'; for, if it come to the point, both you and we are like to see presently with our eyes that which every vein of all our hearts will bleed to behold.

Wherefore, as true subjects to the king's majesty, as faithful counsellors, though unworthy counsellors to his majesty and his realm, and as lamentable petitioners, we beseech your lordships most humbly and from the bottom of our hearts, to take pity of the king and the realm, whereof you be principal members, and to set apart "summum jus," and to use at this time "tum bonum et æquum;" and think not that this is written for any private fear, or other respect of ourselves, but for that undoubtedly we hear and know more of this point with your favours, than you there do know; yea, and howsoever it shall please you to account of us, we are true men to God, to the king, to the realm, and so will we live and die whersoever we be; and in respect of them three esteem little

any other person or thing, no, not our own lives: and having clear consciences, as some whatsoever, ill may follow, upon the use of extremity there, that neither now is nor shall be found fault in us, and so quieting ourselves we rest.

Now to that you would have the lord protector to do, for his part, his grace and we have communed herein, and much to our comforts, and yours also, if it shall like you to weigh the case, who is contented, if you will again for your parts use equity, to put that now in execution, which many times he hath declared by his words; that is to say, so as the king and the realm may be otherwise well served, he passeth little for the place he now hath. Mary, he doth consider, that by the king's majesty, with all your advices and the consents of the nobles of the realm, he was called to the place, (as appeareth in writing under his majesty's great seal and sign, whereunto your own hands also, and ours, with all others the lords of the upper house in the parliament are subscribed): and therefore in violent sort to be thus thrust out against his will, he thinketh it not reasonable. He is here with the king's person, where his place is to be; and we be here with him, we trust in God, for the good service of the king, the weal of the realm, and the good acquitting both of his grace and of your lordships, which we most heartily desire, and see such hope here thereof; as if you be not too sore bent upon the extremities, as is reported, and as equity can take no place, my lord's grace may live in quiet, and the king's majesty's affairs maintained in such order, as by his majesty's counsellors shall be thought convenient. Mary, to put himself simply into your hands, having heard as both we and he have, without first knowledge upon what conditions, it is not reasonable. Life is sweet, my lords, and they say you seek his blood and his death;

which if you do, and may have him otherwise conformable to reason, and by extremity drive him to seek extremity again, the blood of him and others that shall die on both sides innocently, shall be by God justly required at your hands. And when peradventure you would have him again, upon occasion of service, you shall forethink to have lost him. Wherefore, good my lords, we beseech you again and again, if you have conceived any such determination, to put it out of your heads, and incline your hearts to kindness and humanity, remembering that he hath never been cruel to any of you, and why should you be cruel to him; as we trust you be not, whatsoever hath been said, but will shew yourselves as conformable for your parts, as his grace is contented, for the zeal he beareth to the king and the realm, to be of his part, as this bearer, sir Philip Hobie, will declare unto you; to whom we pray you to give credit, and to return him hither again with answer hereof. And thus beseeching the living God to direct your hearts to the making of a quiet end of these terrible tumults, we bid your lordships most heartily well to fare. From the king's majesty's castle of Windsor, the eight of October, 1549.

Letters of the 9th of October sent from the lords to the king's majesty.

MSS. Council Book. A. D. 1549, 1550. fol. 8-10. Privy Council Office. Original.

Most high and mighty prince, our most gracious sovereign lord, we have received, by Mr. Hobbey, your majesty's most gracious letters, of the 8th of this instant, and heard such further matter as it pleased your majesty to will to be declared by him. And sorry we be that your majesty should have these occasions to be troubled, especially in this kind of matter; the beginning and only occasion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your ma-

jesty, hath proceeded of the duke of Somerset. It is much discomfort to us all, to understand that your royal person should be touched with any care of mind; and most of all it grieveth us, that it should be persuaded your majesty, that we have not that care that beseemeth us of the pacifying of these uproars, and conservation of your majesty's commonwealth and state from danger; wherein whatsoever is informed your highness, we humbly beseech your majesty to think, we be as careful as any men living may be; and do not, nor, (we trust), shall not forget the benefits received of your majesty's most noble father, nor any of our bounden duties of allegiance; the consideration, and the special care whereof, forced us to consult seriously, and to join in this sort: which thing if we had presently followed, not only your most royal person, (whom Almighty God long preserve), but this your whole estate being already much touched, and in great towardness of ruin, was most like to come, in short time, to most imminent danger and peril; the causes whereof, as we do all well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the said duke. So if we should not earnestly provide for the same, we should not be able to answer to your majesty hereafter for not doing our duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your majesty, of your great clemency and good nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole state of your privy-council, one or two excepted, should be led in these things by private affections, or would presume to write to your majesty that whereof we were not most assured; and much more we trust that your highness, of your goodness, will, without any jealousy or suspicion, think that most expedient, both for your own most royal person, and all your subjects, that by the body of your council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one man, your highness

most grave father, appointed by his last will and testament, the care of your majesty, and all your most weighty affairs. We cannot therefore but think ourselves much wronged, that your said most royal person is in this sort by the duke only detained and shut up from us, to all our great heaviness, and the great fear of all other your majesty's true subjects, and wonder of all the world; sooner may one man intend ill, than a multitude of us, who, we take God to witness, to be a thousand times more careful of your highness surety, than for all our own lives. We trust also, that of your majesty's good nature, you will not think that wilfulness, which your whole council doth, or shall agree upon, for your majesty's surety and benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better opinion we trust your majesty will conceive of us and our doings. It comforteth us much to see the great appearance of your majesty's natural clemency, even in these your young years; and the assured hope which we have thereof, encourageth us to be persuaded, that you both do and will conceive good opinion of us and all our doings; and that your majesty is, and so will continue, our gracious good lord, with whom, (as we trust), (we) never deserve willingly to be called in the standing of any judgment with your majesty. For the end of this matter, touching the duke of Somerset, if he have that respect to your majesty's surety that he pretendeth; if he have that consideration of his duty to God that his promise and oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of your majesty's father's will, that to the effect of a good executor appertaineth; if he have the reverence to your law that a good subject ought to have; let him first quietly suffer us, your majesty's most humble servants, and true counsellors, to be restored to your majesty's presence; let him, as becometh a true subject, submit himself to your ma-

jesty's council, and the order of your highness laws; let the forces assembled be sent away, and then may we do our duties, in giving our attendance upon your majesty; and after consult there with your majesty more freely, for such order as may be thought most meet for your grace's surety: by these means your majesty's subjects may be at quiet, and all occasions of stir taken away. And if the said duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must think him to remain in his naughty and detestable determination. The protectorship and governance of your most royal person, was not granted him by your father's will, but only by agreement, first amongst us the executors, and after of others. Those titles and special trust was committed to him during your majesty's pleasure; and upon condition he should do all things by advice of your council, which condition, because he hath so many times broken, and notwithstanding the often speaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him most unworthy those honours or trust. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to your majesty at this time, may at our next access to your royal presence be more particularly opened, consulted upon, and moderated, for the conservation of your majesty's honour, surety, and good quiet of your realms and dominions, (as) may be thought most expedient.

MSS. Council Book A. D. 1549, 1550. fol. 11. Privy Council Office. Original.

Letters of the 9th of October from the lords, to the archbishop of Canterbury and sir William Paget, &c.

My lords, after our most hearty commendations, we have received your letters by Mr. Hobbey, and heard such credence as he declared on the king's majesty's and your behalfs unto us; the answers whereunto, because they may at more length appear to you both, by our letters to the king's majesty, and by report also of the

said Mr. Hobbey, we forbear to repeat here again; most heartily praying, and requiring your lordships, and every of you; and nevertheless charging and commanding you, in the king's majesty's name, to have a continual earnest watch, respect and care, to the surety of the king's majesty, our natural and most gracious sovereign lord's person; and that he be not removed from his majesty's castle of Windsor, as you tender your duties to Almighty God and his majesty, and as you will answer for the contrary at your uttermost perils. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, not without great cause; and amongst many others, we cannot but remember unto you, that it appeareth very strange unto us, and a great wonder to all true subjects, that you will either assist or suffer his majesty's most royal person to remain in the guard of the duke of Somerset's men, sequestered from his own old sworn servants. It seemeth strange, that in his majesty's own house, strangers should be armed with his majesty's own armour, and be nearest about his highness' person; and those to whom the ordinary charge is committed, sequestered away, so as they may not attend according to their sworn duties. If any ill come hereof, you can consider to whom it must be imputed once; the example is very strange and perilous. And now, my lords, if you tender the preservation of his majesty and the state, join with us to that end we have written to the king's majesty, by which way things may soon be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwise than we would be done to, and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we may. We trust none of you hath just cause to note any one of us, and much less all of such cruelty, as you so many times make mention of. One thing in your letters we marvel much at, which is that you write,

that you know more than we know. If the matters come to your knowledge, and hidden from us, be of such weight as you seem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch his majesty or the state, we think you do not as you ought, in that you have not disclosed the same unto us, being the whole state of the council. And thus praying God to send you the grace to do that may tend to the surety of the king's majesty's person, and tranquillity of the realm, we bid you heartily farewell; from &c.

Cott. MSS. Calig. b vii. f. 412. British Museum. Original. Ellis' Original Letters, 1st series, Let. clxxiv. vol. ii. pp. 171–173. Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pt. ii. App. book i. No. 45. pp. 267, 8. ed. Oxon. 1829.

It may like your good lordships, with our most hearty commendations, to understand, that this morning sir Philip Hobbey hath, according to the charge given to him by your lordships, presented your letters to the king's majesty, in the presence of us and all the rest of his majesty's good servants here, which was there read openly, and also the others to them of the chamber and of the household, much to their comforts, and ours also; and according to the tenours of the same, we will not fail to endeavour ourselves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your lordships, both of that we would suffer the duke of Somerset's men to guard the king's majesty's person, and also of our often repeating the word cruelty. Although we doubt not but that your lordships hath been thoroughly informed of our estates here, and upon what occasions the one hath been suffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together, (which may be when and where please you), we will, and are able to make your lordships such an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be satisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for because this bearer, Mr. Hobbey, can particularly inform your lordships of the whole discourse of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, saving that we

desire to be advertised, with as much speed as you shall think good, whether the king's majesty shall come forthwith thither, or remain still here, and that some of your lordships would take pain to come hither forthwith. For the which purpose, I the comptroller will cause three of the best chambers in the great court to be hanged and made ready. Thus, thanking God that all things be so well acquieted, we commit your lordships to his tuition. From Windsor, the xth of October, 1549.

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

T. Cant. William Paget. T. Smith.

To our very good lords and others of the king's majesty's privy council at London.]

[NUMBER XLII**.

THE KING'S ORDER, AND THE MANDATE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, FOR BRINGING IN POPISH RITUALS.

Thomas, permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, per illustrissimum et invictissimum in Christo principem et dominum nostrum, dominum Edvardum Sextum, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regem, &c. ad infrascripta sufficienter et legitime fulcitus, dilecto filio archidiacono nostro Cantuariensi, seu ejus officiali, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Literas missivas dicti metuendissimi domini nostri regis signatas, et nominibus honorabilium virorum dominorum consiliariorum suorum in calce earundem subscriptas, signeto suo obsignatas, nobis inscriptas et datas, nuper cum honore et reverentia debitis accepimus, tenorem subsequentem complectentes[q]: Cranm. Reg. f. 55 b., 56. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 37.

[q] [See Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. pp. 329–334. ed. Oxon. 1822.]

Burnet's Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. pt. ii. App. book i. No. 47. pp. 272, 3. ed. Oxon. 1829.

By the king. Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book entitled, "The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England," was agreed upon and set forth by act of parliament, and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm; yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, sithence the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said book had been the only act of the said duke: we therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church and much to the re-edifying of our subjects, to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies again in the Latin tongue; which were but a preferment of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again; have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require and nevertheless straitly to command and charge you, that, immediately upon the receipt hereof, (you) do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church, the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish, within your diocese, to bring and deliver unto you or your deputy, any of them for their church and parish, at such convenient place as

you shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grayles, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portasies, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be a let to the usage of the said book of Common Prayers: and that you take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and then so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order, which by a common consent is now set forth: and if you shall find any person stubborn or disobedient, in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenour of these our letters, that then ye commit the said person to ward, unto such time, as you have certified us of his misbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you also search, or cause search to be made, from time to time, whether any book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters; and the same book to receive into your hands, and to use as in these our letters we have appointed.

And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay towards the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to the order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday; these are to will and command you to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the said book; and if any shall refuse so to do, to punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our displeasure. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 25th

of December, the third year of our reign. By the king. To the most reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, the archbishop of Canterbury. In calce hæc nomina habentur, Thomas Cantuarien'., R. Ryche, Canc'., Wm. Seint John, J. Russel, H. Dorsett, W. Northampton. Inscriptio hæc est.

Nos vero affectantes ex animo ejusdem domini nostri regis literis et mandatis obtemperare, volentesque pro nostro erga regiam celsitudinem officio in demandatis negotiis omnem nostram curam et solertem adhibere diligentiam, vobis pro parte suæ majestatis districte præcipiendo mandamus harum serie, quatenus receptis præsentibus, cum omni qua poteritis celeritate et diligentia maturis, dilectos filios nostros decanum, canonicos, et præbendarios ecclesiæ Christi Cantuarien'., necnon rectores, vicarios, curatos, plebanos, ac syndicos et iconicos[s] quarumcumque ecclesiarum parochialium nostræ diœceseos Canturien'., moneatis, hortemini[t], et præcipiendo mandetis, quatenus ipsi et eorum quilibet vel singuli omnes et singulos libros in eisdem literis regiis specifice nominatos, nobis aut nostro in hac parte commissario vel deputato infra palatium nostrum Cantuarien'., infra novem dies monitionem et intimationem vestras eis fiendas proxime sequentes, realiter afferant, adducant, et penes nos vel nostrum deputatum hujuscemodi relinquant, et deponant. Ceteraque omnia et singula in dictis literis descripta perimpleant, exequantur, et sedulo fieri curent, quatenus eos et eorum quemlibet contingunt, vel concernunt, sicque vos et vestrum alter sedulo exequatur, sincere perimpleat, et diligenter obediat; quæ ad vestram in hac parte functionem

[s] ["Forte, œconomos." Wilkins.]

[t] ["Hortelis." Cranm. Reg. which is evidently an error of the transcriber of the document.]

pro congrua executione literarum prædictarum dignoscuntur pertinere, omnibus mora, dilatione, conniventia, et fuco penitus remotis, prout eidem domino nostro regi sub vestro incumbente periculo obtemperare et respondere velitis, et vult vestrum alter. Et quid in hac parte feceritis, et exequi curaveritis, id totum et omne nobis, quam citissime significatum iri non postponatis. Dat'. in manerio nostro de Lambithe, decimo quarto die mensis Februarii, anno Domini millesimo quingentessimo quaddragesimo nono, et regni dicti invictissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Edwardi Sexti quarto, et nostræ consecrationis decimo septimo[u].]

NUMBER XLIII.

THE ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER TO MARTIN BUCER, INVITING HIM OVER INTO ENGLAND.

[*Thomæ Cranmeri, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ad Martinum Bucerum Epistola.*]

Buceri Scripta Anglic[v].

Gratiam et pacem Dei in Christo. Legi tuas literas ad Johannem Halesium, in quibus tristissimos Germaniæ casus commemorans, te in tua urbe verbi ministerio vix diutius præesse posse scribis. Gemens igitur Prophetæ illud exclamavi, "Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui salvos facis sperantes in te a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ." Nec dubito, quin Deus hos et similes piorum gemitus exauditurus sit: et veram doctrinam, quæ hactenus in vestris ecclesiis syncere propagata est, et conservaturus et defensurus sit, adversus omnes diaboli et mundi furores. Interim sævientibus fluctuum procellis, in portus

[u] ["Forsan decimo octavo." Wilkins.]

[v] [Bucer. Script. Anglic., pp. 190, 1. ed. Basil. 1577.]

confugiendum est iis, qui vela in altum tendere non possunt. Tibi igitur, mi Bucere, portus longe tutissimus erit nostrum regnum, in quo Dei beneficio semina veræ doctrinæ feliciter spargi cæperunt. Veni igitur ad nos, et te nobis operarium præsta in messe Domini. Non minus proderis catholicæ Dei ecclesiæ cum apud nos fueris, quam si pristinas sedes retineres. Adde, quod adflictæ patriæ vulnera absens melius sanare poteris, quam nunc possis præsens. Omni igitur semota cunctatione, quamprimum ad nos venias. Ostendemus, nobis præsentia Buceri nihil gratius aut jucundius esse posse. Sed cave, ne quid ex itinere incommodi accipias. Nosti quos habeas
117 vitæ insectatores: eorum manibus ne te commiseris. Est istic mercator quidam Anglus Richardus Hils, vir pius et summa fidelitate præditus, cum quo de tota itineris ratione te conferre velim. Præterea, Deum æternum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, toto pectore oro, ut in ira misericordiæ recordetur, et afflictæ ecclesiæ calamitates respiciat, et lucem veræ doctrinæ apud nos magis magisque accendat: apud vos vero jam multos annos præclare lucentem, non extingui patiatur. Is te quoque, mi Bucere, regat, et servet et incolumem ad nos traducat. Bene et feliciter vale. Londini, 2 Octob. anno 1548.

Tui ad nos accessus cupientissimus,

THOMAS CRANMERUS ARCHIE. CANTU.

NUMBER XLIV.

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS PUBLISHED BY PAULUS FAGIUS.

In Folio.

LEXICON Chaldaicum, authore Elija Levita; quo nullum hactenus a quoquam absolutius editum est. Omnibus

Hebraicæ linguæ studiosis in primis et utile et necessarium. Cum præfatione triplici, una Hebraica ipsius authoris Eliæ, a Paulo Fagio Latine reddita. Reliquis duabus Latinis ab eodem præfixis; una ad lectorem. Altera ad D. Wolfg. Capitonem.

Sæpher Tehillim: hoc est, Psalterium, cum Commentario R. David Kimhi, Hebraice excusum Isnæ, anno minoris supputationis a creatione mundi.

Commentarium Hebraicum R. David Kimhi in decem primos Psalmos Davidicos, cum versione Latina e regione: pro exercitamento omnibus Hebraicæ linguæ studiosis: quibus ad legenda Hebræorum Commentaria animus est. Per Paulum Fagium.

Thargum: hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia, ex Chaldæo in Latinum versa: additis in singula fere capita succinctis Annotationibus. Authore Paulo Fagio. Pentateuchus, sive V. libri Moysis. Consilium et utilitatem editionis hujus Chaldaicæ ex præfatione ad lectorem intelligere poteris.

Collatio præcipuarum, quæ in usu sunt, Translationum V. Testamenti, in præcipuos S. Scripturæ locos: in quibus cum interpretum, tum commentatorum mira est varietas. Ex qua non tam ipsas variationis causas, quam quis interpretum, ac expositorum, cum veterum, tum recentiorum, vel a scopo veritatis, longius aberrarit, vel ad illum proprius accesserit; ex ipsa veritate Hebraica pulchre cognoscere licebit. Authore Paulo Fagio.

Opus inabsolutum, partim propter illorum temporum difficultates; partim propter exilium, et obitum præmaturum optimi atque doctissimi viri paulo post subsequentem.

In Quarto.

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Opusculum recens Hebraicum, a doctissimo Hebræo

Elija Levita Germano, grammatice elaboratum. Cui titulum fecit, Thisbites. In quo DCCXII. vocum, quæ sunt partim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ, Græcæ, et Latinæ; quæque in dictionariis non facile inveniuntur; et a Rabbinis tamen Hebræorum in scriptis suis passim usurpantur, origo, Etymon et verus usus docte ostenditur, atque explicatur, per Paulum Fagium, in gratiam studiosorum linguæ sanctæ, Latinitate donatum.

Sententiæ vere elegantes, piæ mireque cum ad linguam discendam, tum animum pietate excolendum utiles, veterum sapientum Hebræorum, quas Pirke Avoth, id est, Capitula, aut, si mavis, Apoththegmata, Patrum nominant; in Latinum versæ, scholiisque illustratæ, per Paulum Fagium.

Exegesis, sive expositio, dictionum Hebraicarum literalis et simplex, in quatuor capita Geneseos, pro studiosis linguæ Hebraicæ. Cujusdam scriptum Judæi, ad Christianismum conversi ante annos CC. In quo obiter ostendit causas aliquot, propter quas multi Judæi, etiam si veritatem agnoscant, ad fidem tamen nostram accedere verentur.

Sententiæ Morales, ordine alphabeti, Ben Syræ, Vetustissimi autoris Hebræi, qui a Judæis Nepos Hieremiæ prophetæ fuisse creditur: cum succincto commentariolo, Hebraice et Latine.

Tobias Hebraice; ut is adhuc hodie apud Judæos invenitur. Omnia ex Hebræo in Latinum translata, in gratiam studiosorum linguæ sanctæ.

Sæpher Æmuna, id est, Liber Fidei, Hebraice impressus Isnæ, anno CCCII. minoris supputationis a creatione mundi.

Liber Fidei, pretiosus, bonus et jucundus, quem edidit vir quidam Israelites sapiens et prudens, ante multos annos, ad docendum et comprobandum in ea argumentis

sufficientibus et evidentibus, quod fides Christianorum, quem habent in Deum Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, atque alia, perfecta, recta, et indubitata sit, collocata super fundamentum legis, Prophetarum et Hagiographorum. Ideo vocavit nomen ejus Sæpher æmuna, i. e. liber fidei, seu veritatis; ad illuminandum in eo oculos cæcorum, et ad ducendum in viam rectam errantes. Translatus ex lingua Hebræa in linguam Latinam. Opera Pauli Fagii.

Precationes Hebraicæ, quibus in solennioribus festis Judæi cum mensæ accumbunt, adhuc hodie utuntur: et quo modo, ordine et ritu dicant. Ex quo videre licet vestigia quædam ritus veteris populi, quem et Christus Salvator in SS. cœna sua, uti eam evangelistæ, præsertim Lucas, describunt, in quibusdam observavit.

Parvus tractatulus ex libello Hebraico excerptus, cui nomen est Sæpher æmuna, id est, liber fidei, Judæi cujusdem ad Christianismum conversi ante annos CC. In quo obiter ostendit causas aliquot, propter quas multi Judæi, etiam si veritatem agnoscant, ad fidem nostram accedere verentur. Per P. Fagium translatus.

Sæpher Midoth, id est, Liber virtutum Germanice compositus, Hebraicis tamen characteribus exaratus.

Grammatica Heliæ Levitæ Hebraice, excusa Isnæ. 119

Compendiaria Isagoge in linguam Hebræam, autore Paulo Fagio.

Prima quatuor capita Geneseos Hebraice, cum versione Germanica e regione, Hebraicis tamen characteribus exarata, eaque juxta usitatam Judæorum interpretationem, ad verbum translata, una cum succinctis in fine adjectis scholiis, et ratione legendi Hebræo-germanica.

Tredecim fundamenta fidei Judæorum: quæ composuit R. Mosche filius Majemon. Hebraice excusa, absque ulla vel loci vel temporis notatione præfixa, aut subscripta.

In Octavo.

Nomenclatura Hebraica, authore Helia Levita Germano grammatico. In gratiam omnium tyronum ac studiosorum linguæ sanctæ.

[NUMBER XLIV*.

TO MARTIN BUCER.

C.C.C.C. MSS. CXIX. p. 27. Original.

Quanto dolore animum meum vulneravit Fagii nostri mors, Bucere doctissime, non est nunc instituti mei narrare, ne vulnus tuum jam, ut opinor, tum theologiæ tuæ medelis, tum ipso temporis progressu aliquo modo curatum, refricare videar. Quin potius impræsentiarum tecum communicare decrevi, quibus curationibus me ipsum consolatus sum; non quod prudentia tua mea consolatione indigeat, (novi enim animi tui moderationem et æquitatem), sed ut his sæpius repetendis et mecum revolvendis ægritudinem meam quodammodo discuterem. Primum sic cogitabam, humanum quidem fuit, cum amicus noster gravi morbo diu multumque cruciaretur, *συμπαθεῖν* condolere, et collachrymari. Nunc vero, postquam omnibus miseriis defunctus, a bello ad pacem, a fluctibus ad portum tranquillissimum, ab ærumnis ad felicitatem perpetuam translatus est, illius statum deplorare, invidi esset, non amici. "Sanctorum enim animæ in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum." Et Psalmista ait, "Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus." Quum enim Deum vera pietate hic noster coluerit, et contulit industriam et operam suam ad studia literarum propaganda, nihil est causæ cur non speremus, eum vitam æternam quam hic tanta diligentia inchoaverit, jam agonothetæ gratia, nactum esse. Optarem quidem, (si sic Deo placuisset), ut diutius in hoc curriculo nobiscum versari potu-

isset. Sed quum benignissimo Patri nostro visum sit, eum in aliam meliorem et eruditiorem scholam evocare, debemus ei gratulari, quod Paulus Fagius ad Christi et divi Pauli consuetudinem, et ad sanctissimum collegium angelorum, prophetarum, et apostolorum evocatus sit.

His aliisque rationibus ego animum jacentem excito, inducoque in spem cogitationemque meliorem. Eas autem ad te scribens commemoro, non quod tibi his opus sit, sed potius, ut his similibusque fomentis dolores fœminæ optimæ uxoris Fagii nostri lenias et mitiges. Et ne angoribus se dedat ut horteris, magnopere a te peto quæsoque.

"Ploratur lacrymis amissa pecunia veris,"

dixit poeta quidam. Quare ut hac in parte ego illam aliquo pacto recrearem, mitto ad eam per hunc tabellarium viginti septem libras monetæ nostratis. Quam quidem summam etsi adhuc a quæstore regis pro stipendio Pauli Fagii non acceperim, brevi tamen me accepturum spero. Interim, ut viduæ dolorem aliquo modo levarem, de meo hanc pecuniam numerare visum est. Debebantur quidem illius marito pro stipendio quinquaginta libræ, sed tres decedunt a summa pro impensis in regia diplomata, &c., viginti autem a me numeratæ sunt. Quod tu adhuc literas a regia majestate commendatitias ad academiam Cantabrigiensem, et stipendium tuum in præsentia non acceperis, imputabis non negligentiæ meæ, sed consiliariorum et quæstorum fere omnium occupationibus, quos hoc comitiorum tempore publica negotia sic distrahunt, ut privatas causas tractare non vacet. Interim tamen si quid desideres, significes oro, et ego omni cum diligentia illud ad te mitti curabo. Vale. Lambethi, ultimo Novembris. [1549.]

Tuæ paternitatis amantissimus,

T. Cant.]

[NUMBER XLIV.]

DR. COX, THE CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, HIS ORATION AT THE CONCLUSION OF PETER MARTYR'S DISPUTATION.

P. Martyris &c. [defens. doctr. vet. de Eucharistiæ sacram. p. 723. ed. 1562.]

Viri Oxonienses, peregimus quatuor dimidiatos dies in excutiendis duabus quæstionibus, de transubstantiatione scilicet, et reali præsentia corporis Christi in sacramento. Magno fuit nobis oblectamento hæc disputatio, atque utinam per tempus licuisset omnia, quæ hic dici possent, audivisse. Quod optabamus, id successit; ut quieta esset disputatio. Auditores ita etiam sedati, spero veritatis imbibendæ avidi. Qui fabulam peragebant, et utrinque disserebant, suo officio diligentissime perfuncti sunt, nec meritis laudibus fraudandi. Viri nostri, hoc est, Angli et Oxonienses, præterquam quod conscientiæ suæ negotium egerunt, etiam haud minimum decus huic academiæ attulerunt, quod in tanta causa non subterfugerint, quo minus palam testarentur, pro eruditionis suæ modulo, et dono a Dei benignitate sibi impartito, et quid animi in hisce controversiis haberent, et quibus rationibus et authoritatibus huc perpellerentur. Pulcherrime sane sibi datam provinciam obierunt. Cæteri vero docti et boni viri, qui in iis tantis rebus tacuerunt, nescio quo pacto, suo silentio negationis notam sibi inusserunt. Petrus autem, et merito Petrus, propter constantiæ suæ firmitatem; Martyr et merito Martyr, propter innumera, quæ nunquam non profert de veritate testimonia, multam apud nos, et apud pios omnes inire debet hoc tempore gratiam. Primum, quod immensos labores exantlarit, in substinendo disputationum onere. Nam si ne Hercules quidem contra duos, quid Petrus solus contra quoscunque? Deinde quod disputationem instituerit, vanos vanorum hominum

sermones repressit, qui de eo invidiosa atque odiosa sparserant: nimirum aut nolle, aut non audere sua defendere. Postremo, quod summorum magistratuum, atque adeo regiæ majestatis, expectationi optime responderit, dum 120
non solum Christi doctrinam, ex ipsis vivis fontibus Dei propinaverit academiæ, sed neque quenquam, (quantum in ipso situm fuit), fontes aut turbare, aut obstruere permiserit.

Auscultavimus nos hanc Christianam velitationem, quæ veritatis indagandæ atque investigandæ causa, est suscepta. Qui quidem status, in omni disputatione, tanquam unicus scopus, ad quem omnes collinent, perpetuus esse debet. Hanc scrutari oportet omnes, quibus sincera religio cordi est. Quid enim aliud vult, scrutamini Scripturas, nisi e scripturis veritatem indagate? Cæterum de hisce controversiis sententiam ferre, et litem prorsus dirimere, modo non decrevimus. Tum autem decernetur, cum regiæ majestati, et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ proceribus visum fuerit.

Quod si ego, quem vestrum cancellarium pro vestra humanitate adlegistis, aliam nunc personam non gererem, (aliam enim regia authoritas jam mihi imposuit), optatissime vellem in his propositionibus fidei meæ rationem reddere. Non enim me pudet evangelii Christi, neque veritatis, quæ ex verbo ejus omnibus lucet: quod quidem alias, cum dabitur opportunitas, facere non detrectabo. Interea vero, vos, peregrinos et alienigenas, siqui sunt modo exhortor, ut domum vestram revertamini. Nolite perpetuo peregrinari in patribus et conciliis, tanquam in patria vestra. Nolite existimare illa esse vestra principia. Nolite hallucinari in probabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis. Quænam principia habuerunt patres? Quæ concilia? Quam turpiter in multis lapsi sunt patres? Quam fæde errarunt concilia? Errorum hic nolo meminisse, nolo hanc movere camarinam. Et tamen patres atque concilia de-

bent esse principia disputationum? Fuerunt antehac hæretici, qui negarunt, vel partem, vel totam Scripturam. Sunt et hodie libertini, qui eadem insania laborant; ii nostra Christianorum principia negant, et conculcant. Qui verbum Dei in altissima specula constituunt, et in summa veneratione habent, hincque tantum vitam et salutem petunt, principia tenent firmissima, solidissima, atque sanctissima. Interim tamen ecclesiæ, et piorum patrum saluberrima testimonia non rejiciunt, imo amplectuntur, et venerantur, tanquam radios Spiritus sancti, caliginem oculorum nostrorum aliquo pacto illustrantes.

Quare, obsecro, per vestram salutem, et per Dei misericordiam, tam juvenes, quam senes, ut duo præstare velitis. Prius, ut nunc demum ponatis illas controversias, quæ ecclesiam Christi multis sæculis inutili concertatione turbarunt, et dilacerarunt, de transubstantiatione, et nescio qua carnali præsentia. Nullus est rixandi finis. Hæ sunt diaboli pædicæ, quibus nos perpetuo involvit, et a vera pietate remoratur. Nos vero uti pios decet Christianos, illud imprimis imo in universum spectemus, quid Christus fecerit, quid nobis faciendum præceperit. Cogitemus sacrosancta et tremenda illa Christi mysteria esse, illa subinde ad salutem nostram usurpemus, ad illa cum timore et tremore accedamus; ne unquam indigne veniamus, et ad judicium et condemnationem nostri accipiamus. Alterum est, ut ad verbi Dei studium concedatis. Ad hunc scopum omnia vestra tela dirigatis: huc omnia studia referatis; sive philosophica, sive mathematica, sive rationes medicas, sive quæcunque alia, huic, tanquam reginæ, ancillentur. Hinc omnem fidem petite: hinc religio stabiliatur atque solidetur. "Cœlum et terra transibunt, ver-
121 bum autem Domini manet in æternum." Hoc, tanquam Lydio lapide, omnes controversiæ examinentur, atque definiantur.

Porro, unum est, quod vos omnes admonere debemus, nimirum, ut vale dictis universis nugis papisticis, superstitionibus, et simulato Dei cultu, veritati disquirendæ diligentem operam detis, aut saltem, ne impedimento sitis, quo minus veritatis studiosi in negotio pietatis progrediantur. Scimus enim, et compertum habemus, nonnullos nimis esse inquietos, et turbidos, et præpostero zelo incitatos, ad remorandum veritatis progressum. Scimus aliquos patris sui exemplum perniciose sequi, dum discordiarum semina passim spargunt, mendacia fingunt. Scimus falsos et odiosos rumores circumferri. Scimus homines vanos maledictis agere, cum non possint veris promovere causam suam, ita irritabilis est mala consuetudo contra veritatem.

Verum, ut finem faciam, si ullo veritatis amore afficimini, sedatis animis illam exquirite, ardentibus precibus a Deo Opt. Max. illam postulate; amica et candida collatione illam eruite; ferveat in vobis Christiana charitas. "Infirmum in fide, assumite. Debent enim," inquit Paulus, "firmiores imbecillitates infirmorum sustinere, et non sibi placere. Unusquisque proximo suo placeat in bonam ædificationem." Cavete Satanæ technas, qui vobis insidiatur, ne acquiescatis sermonibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut "deliretis circa quæstiones et pugnas verborum; ex quibus oriuntur invidiæ, contentiones, blasphemiæ, suspiciones malæ," &c. Possumus ex authoritate vobis imperare, et pervicacibus meritum supplicium comminari, malumus tamen pro dilectione nostra erga vos, rogare et exhortari. Quare "si qua consolatio in Christo, si quod solatium dilectionis, si qua societas spiritus, si qua viscera miserationis, implete gaudium nostrum." Gaudium nostrum est, quod videmus multos in hac academia in bonis literis et pietate insigniter adolescere. Gaudium nostrum est, quod videmus vos adeo modestos et ad imperium

paratos. Implete ergo gaudium nostrum, hoc est, veritatem multis jam seculis, veluti in specu Trophonii, dilitescentem, eruite. Veritatem adeptam, sincera fide excipite: exceptam autem probis moribus exornate. "Sic lucebit lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent patrem vestrum, qui est in cœlis." Cui omnis gloria in secula. Amen. Dixi.

NUMBER XLV.

DR. TRESHAM'S EPISTLE TO HIS RELATION OF THE DISPUTATION BETWEEN HIMSELF AND PETER MARTYR AT OXFORD.

Præclarissimis viris et eisdem heroibus longe honoratissimis regiæ majestatis consiliariis, Gulielmus Treshamus, theologiæ doctor, salutem et faustum in rebus gerendis successum.

Foxii MSS x. VERITAS ut cunctis rebus mira dignitatis eminentia præpollet, (prudentissimi ac multo excellentissimi viri), utpote quæ suos cultores vere liberos efficit, summaque ac nun-
122 quam intermoritura donat ingenuitate: ita nos illam in omnibus et super omnia præferre, venerari, sequi, ac integram et illæsam omni tempore servare pro virili oportet. Quod cum ita sit, cumque perspexissem illam a temerario quodam, et plane deploratæ salutis homine indignissime tractatam, ac summis affectam injuriis, non solum ejusdem defendendam causam libenter, (ut par erat), suscepi; sed et machinas adversarii, quas in ipsam expugnandam paraverat, evertere ac prorsus confringere sedulo molitus sum: et nisi vehementer fallor, quod in ea parte contendebam, præstiti. Verum enimvero, ne vestræ celsitudini admodum prolixus videar, ut quem ego hoc loco per veritatis hostem innuo, designem: senex quidam delirus est, subversus, im-

x [Harl. MSS. 422. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 1–2, b. British Museum.]

pudens, errorum magister insignis, Petrus Martyr Vermilius. Is e patria sua primum fugam faciens ad Germanos, dum apud illos vigeret hæretica pravitas, se contulit, certe ut libidini licentius indulgeret, et suo potiretur adulterio. Cæterum restaurata illic per Carolum Cæsarem religione, ad nos statim transvolavit. Postremo Oxoniam veniens summa vitæ integritate ad tempus simulata, tandem occasionem, (ut putabat), nactus opportunam, virulenta pestilentis doctrinæ seminaria proposuit. A quibus cum plurimi plurimum abhorrerent, Richardus Smythus, theologiæ apud Oxonienses professor, malum hunc seminatorem publice reprehendit, et ejusdem impia dogmata improbaturus audacem hunc athletam ad concertandum provocavit. Una in scholis convenerant, tempus dabatur idoneum: ingens auditorum turba confluxerat. Urgebat ad luctum Smythus. Non audet pseudomartyr congredi. Rem prorsus rejicere puduit, disputare vero piguit. Hinc ad cavilla itum astute est. Ac primum questiones non nisi suo modo proponi voluit; concessit Smythus. Tum vero Petrus decem dies sibi dari petit, quibus se contra Smythum ad certamen armare possit. Quæ enim prius ad decem menses palam docuerat, et argumentis confirmare in publicis prælectionibus conatus est, jam respondere volenti Smytho, et partem adversam etiam imparato defendere cupienti, eadem disputando tueri veritus denegavit, neque quicquam penitus agi volebat, nisi decem dies, quibus sese pararet concederentur. Dabantur tandem; sed Smytho, qui dolum tum olfecerat, rem ægre ferente. Deinde nominantur judices utriusque consensu. Dies disputationi præscriptus. Interim Petri, aut certe cujuspiam ejus asseclarum, (ut conjicere licet), industria, apud magistratus suggestionibus minus sinceris actum est, ut ejusmodi disputationes non haberentur. Qua Petri arte totum eludebatur negotium.

Postea vero elapsis jam aliquot mensibus, ubi aberant prælectores, nec quisquam de disputationibus cogitabat, egregius iste pugil prorumpit subito, et ad certamen provocat. Quæstiones priores palam disputare vult, arbitratus tum neminem adesse, qui negotium contra eum susciperet. Quo tempore quia adversus illum stare volui, cum cæteri, me multo validiores, haud idem eo saltem tempore faciendum putarent, in me præ cæteris excandescit, in me durius invehitur, mordaxque caninos infigit dentes, ac, quantum potest, infamat, editoque libello proponit, quasi in multis ab eo inter disputandum superatum. Quæ cum conspicarer, maxime autem, cum causam Dei erroribus et mendaciis Petri scandalizari viderem; existimavi operæ pretium, et perquam necessarium facturum me, si ab hujusmodi contumeliis et Christi causam et meipsum pro
123 viribus defenderem, ac scriptis declarem, quam sit hic in scribendo falsarius, quam male intellectis abutatur scripturis, quam patres invitos ad suum institutum trahat, quam suis facile percutiatur et confodiatur telis, quam debilibus dum sua roborare vult, innitatur principiis, quam absurda nonnunquam fateri non vereatur, quamque passim peccet omittendo quæ dicta, et quæ non erant dicta adjiciendo, quo videlicet lectores Christiani veritatem sine fucis percipientes ab hac peste cavcant, nec quicquam adhibeant fidei, cernentes illum errorum spiritu impulsum, ut nos Deo permittente, velut triticum cribraret, utque qui probati sint manifesti fiant.

Quamobrem hic mearum partium esse judicavi, primum, ut rem omnem quo ordine diebus illis, quibus cum eo agebam, gesta fuerit plane et simpliciter legentibus ob oculos ponerem, nec quippiam prorsus meis insererem, nisi quod exemplaribus notariorum, vel ipsius Petri libello expresse contineretur. Deinde, quoad illam partem disputationum, quæ inter illum et me ultro citro-

que habita est, annotationes quasdam elucubravi, quibus ea omnia quæ in illum jam dixi, vera esse contester. Quod si quis roget, Quorsum ista? aut quid opus nova scribere? Cur non ista inter disceptandum potius deprompta sunt, et in adversarium congesta? Dicam cum Augustino, "Neque sum angelus, neque propheta, ut qui omnia ex tempore proferre atque regerere poteram." Præterea, in disputationibus ipsis non erant hujusmodi inversiones, non adjectiones novæ, non omissiones, non tot ab illo insertæ, ut nunc sunt, falsæ sententiæ. Sed nec ullæ prorsus tum erant calumniose annotationes in margine scriptæ. Quæ omnia detegere palamque facere pernecessarium duxi. Sed et ipse Petrus antagonistas suos, quos pro libidine vocat malevolos, ad scribendum provocat, ac pollicetur hoc si fecerint, quemadmodum tunc ausus fuit viva voce congredi: ita et nunc se comparare ad ea quæ scripserint, ut respondeat.

Has itaque lucubrationes vobis, (insignissimi heröes), quos Christus præcipuos sub potentissimo rege nostro Edouardo reipub. judices constituit, exhibendas esse censui, nihil prorsus ambigens eam esse vestram in omnes veritatis studiosos benignitatem, eam æquitatem, eam veri judicii certitudinem, ut sine omni personarum acceptione justam causæ conditionem velitis semper attendere, et neque ad dexteram neque ad sinistram ulla occasione ducti, quovismodo a veritate declinare: non ignorantes in illum finem vobis concessam esse potestatem, tum a summo judice Deo, tum ab ipsa regia majestate, apud quam pro vestra in [omnes humanitate, imo pro vestra in] Christum charitate agere dignemini, quo mihi indigenæ, ac genuino regis nostri subdito Christi causam, quoad possum, curanti tantum in evulgando hoc disputationum ac annotationum volumine efficere liceat, quantum Petro Martyri, extraneo, veritatis adversario, audere hactenus fuerit impune per-

missum. Rem sane justam, ni fallor, postulo. Neque profecto in scriptis his est, unde pius quispiam offendatur. In impios autem ut durius agamus exposcit veritatis ratio, quæ nequaquam charitati refragatur. Durius enim contra errones obstinatos egerunt patres, nec illis unquam pepercerunt, quin veluti Christi hostes verbis factisque contemnerent, atque acerbissimis reprehensionibus persequerentur. Johannes Baptista Pharisæos incredulos viperarum vocavit progenies. Christus ipse malos illos Judæos mendaces appellavit, et diaboli filios. Sed et Petrum ipsum a morte obeunda dehortantem, minusque
124 in hoc sapientem quæ Dei sunt, Satanam taxando nuncupavit. Unde certo edocemur nos posse, citra charitatis præjudicium, adversarios in causis religionis severis ac mordacibus verbis impetere atque perstringere.

Denique, haud temere hoc quicquid est opusculi evulgo, sed summæ vestræ prudentiæ et eximio candori, qui illi, regum omnium pulcherrimo flori jam sese auspicatissime diffundenti, a consiliis estis, humilis supplexque ipsum offero, obnixe vos exoratos habens, ut cum privilegio ad Christi honorem ac multorum utilitatem divulgetur. Id quod vestræ dominationes ab illa lucis aurora, nimirum serenissimo rege nostro Edouardo, jam a paterno somno orbem illustri virtutum omnium lumine spargente, facile spero obtinebunt, et cum gratia consequentur. Hanc auroram splendidissimam felicissime procedere atque in perfectum diem crescere, optimaque optimi patris vestigia imitari, faciat Deus Optimus Maximus, qui et illum unicum nostrum decus et præsidium, vosque sub ipso moderatores reipublicæ primarios, aliosque illius studiosos universos diuturnissime incolumes servet.

NUMBER XLVI.

THE SENTENTIOUS SAYINGS OF MASTER MARTIN BUCER UPON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

1. So plainly, so faithfully, and also so warily as can be possible, we ought to speak of the mysteries of the holy supper, even as we ought to do of all other Christ's mysteries; to the end, that the children of God may most clearly perceive what Christ doth mean, and the adversaries to have as small occasion as can be, either to pervert, or else to dark and make dim the truth of Christ. Foxii MSS.

2. These things we cannot better attain than by the godly and right expounding of the words of the Holy Ghost, not allowing any false significations of them; both certainly affirming the things which be agreeable unto this mystery, and also denying the things which be contrary thereunto.

3. We must certainly acknowledge that the Holy Ghost most clearly, most faithfully, and most warily, hath described all the sacraments of our salvation.

4. But the Holy Ghost, by Christ's own mouth, by the mouth of the apostles, and by the Scripture, delivereth unto us the sacrament of the Lord's supper, even as he doth all other sacraments, by the words and form of delivering, giving, and receiving.

5. And three things acknowledgeth herein to be given and taken; bread and wine, being the signs of the body and blood of the Lord, and assurance of the new testament, and remission of our sins.

6. For when he had taken bread and wine, and given 125
thanks, he gave them to his disciples to be eaten and drunken, and said, moreover, that by these signs he gave therein his body that was offered for us, and likewise his blood which was shed for us: saying also, that by this

blood the new testament of grace was assured, and the forgiveness of sins purchased.

7. And he defineth or describeth the right use and receiving of this sacrament to be that partaking of the body and blood of Christ, whereby we, being many, are one bread and one body, (as many of us as be partakers of one bread and one cup of the Lord). This body doubtless is that body whereof Christ is the head, and into the which we are baptized: for by the regeneration we are made members of his body, flesh of his flesh, bone of his bones, and so we be one flesh with him; 1 Cor. xii., Ephes. v.

8. That fellowship, which we have with the Father and the Son, and with all the saints, whereof St. John speaketh, 1 John, first chapter of his epistle, is given and taken in the Lord's supper rightly administered and received. That unity also which we have with the Father and the Son, and with all the saints, for the which the Lord prayed, (John xvii.), by the which Christ is in us, as the Father is in him, and we in them, (I mean in the Father and the Son), is given and received in the same supper rightly administered, whereof the Lord also speaketh: "he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him;" John vi.

9. This is the partaking and the unity of an heavenly regeneration, of a new creature, of the high mystery of God, which cannot be understood and known but by faith, even as faith is perceived and felt by his effects, as by judgment, will, and by the new heavenly and godly works.

10. All sensible and worldly imaginations, all fancying of joined or continual places, are to be put away from this participation and unity, which in the word of God is known to be marvellous, and with reverence to be pondered and discussed by the new man's living, as by his effects.

11. The Holy Ghost thought it not enough to declare unto us, how that we be endued with the spirit of Christ by his merits, but he doth publish also that we do live by his intercession and working. He furthermore assureth us that we have him with us, that he dwelleth in our hearts, and that we receive him in the holy supper. These be the things which we ought to tell openly and to fortify.

12. These are metaphors and borrowed speeches, like as other whereby we expound the matters of regeneration. For unto such matters, as the natural man perceiveth not, can no proper names be given, but such translation of words as the Holy Ghost doth use, and there cannot be devised more proper, more meet for the purpose, nor more famous words than they are.

13. It is not meet therefore that we should attempt to 126
expound these metaphors with our own proper words, whereof we be altogether destitute in matters of regeneration, neither is it convenient that we should deface their perfection with more slender metaphors, and with such gear as be of kindred to our natural reason.

14. We must beware that with no superstitious, stately eloquence, we do make dark the brightness of the Lord's commandment unto such as have their eyes lightened on every side by faith. We must in like manner take heed we diminish not the force and majesty of Christ's sacraments set forth by the Holy Ghost, rather of us to be believed, than by our natural reason to be out-searched; as by the exposition rather proceeding of our own imaginations, than of the very word of God, and of the nature of his sacraments.

15. The Word is made flesh, that there might be both God and man in one substance, and such as was a very earthly man, which died, rose again from the dead,

ascended into heaven, remaineth in the heavens, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, which governeth and fulfilleth all things, and in the sight of all the world he shall come again in the clouds to judge the quick and the dead. And they all must needs receive their own bodies again. All these things truly do so far pass the reach of man's wit, that of necessity we must lay hold of them by faith.

16. Faith, because she is practised and fortified in the daily use of these things, causeth them clearly and manifestly to appear, even as she doth make all the other mysteries of Christ, to such as doth perfectly believe; which things should be made dark unto us, if we would suffer ourselves to make inquiry of them according to the trade of our own reason, following her natural principles.

17. Christ our Lord is for ever both God and man, he is the head of all the saints, and the first begotten among the children of God: wherefore we must so mark with our minds, and express in words the properties of the natures, that by no manner of imaginations we separate the unity of substance.

18. There is nothing better agreeth with itself than doth the word of God, so that whatsoever the Scripture speaketh of Christ's being among us, of the receiving of him, of his abiding and dwelling in us, and eating of him, agreeth altogether, and is consonant with these evident Scriptures, openly declaring that he hath forsaken the world, that he is in heaven, yea, and that he hath a very body, and therefore limited and bounden in one place.

19. When we therefore entreat of the mystery, either of the supper of the Lord, or of Christ's plain presence with us, (for why should we not say that he is present, which dwelleth in us, and is in the midst of us), it is to no purpose to lay against the presence of him such places of

Scripture as declare Christ to have departed from this world, to be in heaven, and to be very man, having a very 127
body, and therefore such a body as is bounded in a place, which may not be placed in all or many places at one time.

20. For Christ's presence, whether it be offered or declared, either in the word only or else in the sacraments, is no presence of place, neither of senses, nor of reason, nor yet no earthly presence, but it is a spiritual presence, a presence of faith, and an heavenly presence: forasmuch as we are conveyed into heaven by faith, being placed in Christ. So that we lay hold upon him and embrace him in his heavenly majesty, albeit he be here offered and declared after a sort unto us in the glass and dark speaking of sensible words and sacraments.

21. The antichrists make the simple people to believe by these words, that we receive and have Christ here present after some worldly fashion, that is to say, either inclosed with the bread and wine, or else that he is present under their accidences, so that there he ought to be honoured and worshipped.

22. Let them therefore that be apt to learn be taught that there is no presence of Christ in the supper, but only in the lawful use thereof, and such as is obtained and gotten by faith only. As for the other sort, bid them adieu, as the blind guides of the blind, and that planting, which our heavenly Father hath not planted: for such as hear not God's word, are not born of God.

23. We must turn away from their deceits and crafts, from which we ought verily to withdraw ourselves, howbeit they cannot be avoided otherways than by the true expounding of God's word; yea, and that but only of them, whom the Lord himself hath taught by the ministration he hath committed to us.

24. The good men moreover hearing, that Christ in

the sacrament is presently given, received, and had, do imagine a certain presence of place, and many times they fancy also, that God himself is bounded in a place, having a body, even as he were a man.

25. They must therefore be continually taught that these heavenly mysteries do pass all men's capacities, and that they must be perceived and known in the only word of God, so that all worldly fashions must be far from our minds, because the word of God declareth Christ to be a very man, having the body of a man, in the which body he departed this world, and was carried into heaven; he may not therefore by no worldly manner be sought for in this world, but after such sort as he offereth himself, being in heaven, to be received of us: which things are not known by sense and reason, but by faith.

26. As for these heavens, because they be above all the heavens, I dare not by the predicament of our reason discuss what they be, but by the words of the Scripture. But the Scripture describeth them not by the distance of places, but by the majesty of God and his blessedness,
128 openly declaring that such heavenly bliss hath not come into the heart of man.

27. I do not perceive what further knowledge the holy Fathers would give, writing of the proper place of Christ's body in heaven, but that we should observe the property of both the natures in Christ. So that as it is the property of the godly nature "to be in every place, and to fulfil all things, even by his substance," so it is the property of the nature of man to be limited in place and state, not to be spread abroad in many, or in all places at once. These things agree with the Scripture, albeit we place not Christ's body in heaven after the manner of the fourth book of Aristotle's Naturals. Yea, let us hardly keep ourselves in such things that the Scripture

do speak of the heavens, and of Christ's sitting in heaven.

28. I have a conscience in so high mysteries to allow such kind of speaking as is not taught in the Scripture, though such be much used, yea, and that by the authority of the holy Fathers, for to what point through such speaking the devil and antichrist hath brought us, we all lamentably complain.

29. Wherefore with reverence, and in a true meaning, I will understand the sayings of the holy Fathers as touching the mutation of the signs. I will never grant their sayings so to be taken, as to much strange from God's word, and after such sort as men might now-a-days be overthrown with antichrist's doctrine into the idolatry, which of all other is most detestable.

30. So likewise, if any thing may be found that the holy Fathers have written of Christ placed in heaven more than the Scripture doth certainly teach, I will not without reverence refuse it, nor yet with any man contend therein, for I have nothing to say that such writing is contrary to any place of Scripture. I do but only desire that no necessary doctrine be made thereof, and that I may be suffered to abide in the plains of God's written word.

31. But they will say, that a man well expert in faith, when he heareth that Christ is present in the holy supper, and is given, received, and had with the bread, cannot refrain but imagine such a presence of Christ in the bread as is there placed, or else like to such a thing as hath a place.

32. I cannot see how the words of the Holy Ghost ought to be reformed because of the weakness of our understanding, either that we should allow such utterance of words, whereby it might appear that the Holy Ghost had not uttered the matter circumspectly and strongly

enough, yea, and that most aptly and effectually, as well to the edifying of faith, as to the putting away of all errors.

33. These now be the words of Christ: "Where two or three be gathered in my name, there am I in the midst
129 of them." In the name of Christ we assemble together at the Lord's supper rightly ministered. In the world we be, yea, and somewhere placed, and wheresoever we be Christ is among us, which notwithstanding is not in the world, and also dwelleth in our hearts. But we cannot perceive nor attain it, neither by our sense, nor by reason, but by faith: for how can the head be away from his body? Wherefore I define, or determine Christ's presence, howsoever we perceive it, either by the sacraments, or by the word of the gospel, to be only the attaining and perceiving of the commodities we have by Christ both God and man, which is our head reigning in heaven, dwelling and living in us. Which presence we have by no worldly means, but we have it by faith, and take the fruit thereof when it is offered us in the word, and in the sacraments. But the force thereof we feel in all our parts and powers, what time by the spirit of Christ they be sanctified and renewed unto obedience and godly life.

34. He is called present by some knowledge of perceiving him, even as one may be called present with another; and so we do say, that they be here present whom we know by hearing or by sight to be present: but now the thing which we know by faith is much more certain than any thing we can know by sense or reason. Why may not we then say that Christ our head is present with his members, when we know by faith that he both liveth and dwelleth in us?

35. They say, that the holy Fathers expound the Scriptures recording the Lord's presence, that Christ by his

Godhead, by his majesty, and by his providence, is present with us, yet living in this world. Truth it is, but the Lord saith, "I am with you unto the world's end;" and Paul affirmeth, that "Christ liveth and dwelleth in our hearts;" yea, and the holy Fathers themselves declare, that we have Christ present in the sacrament of baptism, and in the meat and drink of the altar, which call that presence carnal that is known by our senses, and is set over against the presence which we have by faith.

36. Faith truly embraceth Christ both God and man, and keepeth him present; which by his Godhead is not only present in the congregation of his saints, and in his members, but is also present in every place. But some cannot be contented, unless we grant that we have his body and blood really, carnally, and substantially present in the supper.

37. Wise and good men will eschew all uncertain words in every talk and speaking, how much more are they to be avoided in Christ's sacraments? Moreover, in the treatise of Christ's sacraments we may justly refuse such strange words as be not used in the Scripture, unless they may be perfectly applied for the declaration of Christ's truth; for such uncertain words doth more darken the true doctrine, and therefore we must not meddle with them, except there be some consideration of the using of them.

38. I would wish these words, "realiter" and "sub- 130
stantialiter," to be altogether refused, neither to be allowed in reasoning to or fro; because we shall seem to grant their contraries, and to say that Christ is received counterfeitly and accidentally, if we deny him to be received in the supper really and substantially.

39. If the matter so require that these words be brought into reasoning, I would, for the maintenance of Christ's

truth against the adversaries, among the children of God, define these words "realiter" and "substantialiter," as if one would understand by the presence of the Lord really and substantially, that he is received "verily indeed by faith," and his substance is given in the sacrament; but if he would interlace any worldly presence with these words, I will deny it, because the Lord is departed this world.

40. I can never admit or allow these words, "carnally" and "naturally," because they bring in a meaning that he is received with our senses.

41. Hereby I think it evident, agreeable to the holy Scripture, and according to the reverence we owe to God and his Scripture, and toward the ancient Church, that we should frame ourselves to the words of the Lord, of his apostles, and of the ancient Church, and to say that there is given and received the body and blood of the Lord, that is to say, very Christ himself both God and man, but he is given with the word and the signs, but received with true faith, and that he is given and received to the end that we may move and live more perfectly in him, and he in us.

42. And I think it an easy thing to make answer, when they say that the thing which is already, cannot be received, and that he which cometh to the Lord's supper, and hath not Christ in himself, receiveth not Christ there, but he receiveth death. Truly Christ must be given and received of us, till nothing of ours be left in us, but he all things in us, and we wholly in him, and no part in ourself. And we say that the partaking of Christ, which we have in baptism, is strengthened and augmented in the Lord's supper. But ye will say the same is done what time the gospel being read, or heard, is received by faith. So it is indeed, neither hath the Lord's supper,

or giveth, any other thing else, but that he hath left therein things visible, for the visible words of Christ be applied therein. And they are not without force and effect to the saints, because they be applied by the Lord's ordinance, all whose words and ordinance have life and spirit.

43. Wherefore I trust, that hereby men may perceive what I believe as concerning the giving, ministering, receiving, and partaking of the Lord's body and blood in the supper, which doth agree right well with the Scripture, and with the doctrine of the ancient Church. So that after this manner I acknowledge Christ, that is to say, the partaking of his salvation, to be given and taken in the holy supper.

44. If I be inquired, who giveth and ministereth the 131
Lord's body, (I mean the lively participation of these things and of Christ wholly), I say, that Christ which is in the midst of his, whose words these be, "Take and eat," is the chief and principal giver of his own self, and the minister doth like service to him herein when he giveth himself, even as he doth when he giveth himself in the preaching of the Gospel, and in baptism. And for this ministration sake Paul justly doth write, how he by the Gospel had begotten the Corinthians unto the Lord, and had written Christ in their hearts, and that he had travelled in birth of the Galatians.

45. As touching the use of bread and wine herein, if I be demanded, I will answer that they be "signs exhibitive," that is to say, such signs as do give the things signified, by the which signs the Lord doth give himself, being the celestial bread of everlasting life, after the same manner as he gave his disciples the Holy Ghost by the sign of breathing of his mouth, and likewise as by the laying on of his hands, he gave both bodily health and ghostly

health: like as he gave sight by the clay made of his spittle, and as he did give circumcision of the flesh, and in such sort as he giveth regeneration by baptism.

46. We have an everlasting life through the faith we have in the love that God the Father hath toward us. This faith hereunto leaneth, is preserved, and increased. Forasmuch as Christ, God's Son, giveth himself with all his merits unto us, liveth in us, delivering us from our sins, shall raise us from the dead, and bring us to a perfect heavenly and blessed life: for this cause, that is to say, for the nourishment of this faith, it was the Lord's pleasure to use herein the signs of meat and drink, and give his flesh spiritually to be eaten by the sign of bread, to be eaten bodily; and his blood spiritually to be drunk, by the sign of wine to be drunken bodily, and so, (as it is before said), he giveth in the supper the same partaking of himself by the signs, and by his words, which in the sixth of John by words only he hath set out.

47. If I be demanded, what manner of joining may be betwixt the glorified body of Christ and there determinately placed, and the corruptible bread here in earth, contained in a sensible place; I answer, even such as is betwixt the regeneration and the dipping in the water, and as is betwixt the Holy Ghost and the breath of Christ's mouth, which I do call the "joining in the covenant." Forsomuch as they that with a true and lively faith be partakers of these signs bodily, spiritually receive in deed and assurance, with an increase of the partaking of the Lord's body and blood, so they be members of Christ, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, and thereby they grow more and more into the perfection of the same.

48. Whosoever therefore maketh these signs of Christ's presence beside the use that the Lord hath appointed

them unto, (which is to be eaten and drunken in this sacrament), bringeth men into abominable rage and madness to set up idolatry. Neither receiveth he any thing at all of that food which the Lord giveth to his, that taketh 132
in hand to eat and drink these sacraments without a lively faith in Christ, but receiveth death and damnation to himself.

49. Such as be altogether ungodly, say I, that in the holy supper they receive nothing of Christ: such as have faith, and yet make no difference of this meat, (as certain of the Corinthians, which were blamed of the apostle, did), as I cannot deny them to receive Christ in the supper through the faith which they have, even so I will not say that they have eaten Christ, if so be that they do not rightly practise their faith by the religious difference-making of so high mysteries, which is the special eating of this meat. For such are like unto them which taking meat into their mouths, either chew it not, or else, let it not down, or, when it is let down, digest it not, so that in a little while, or soon after, they vomit it up again.

50. If I be inquired as concerning the Lord's words, "This is my body," what thing is demonstrated or shewed here, I say, that to the senses it is bread, but to the mind or understanding it is the Lord's body, even as in all speeches wherein insensible things are exhibited or given by sensible signs. So that the meaning is, the thing which by this sign I give unto you, is my body which is delivered for you. As the Holy Ghost speaketh of the circumcision, saying, "This is my covenant," that is to Gen. xvii.
say, the thing that by this sign I ordain unto you, is my covenant to be observed betwixt me and you, &c. After such sort are we wont to speak of the signs which do signify or betoken a thing, albeit they do not exhibit the thing they betoken, as when we do say of the emperor's

image, "This is the emperor that subdued France," that is to say, he is represented by this image.

51. I object or say against transubstantiation, "This cup is the new testament;" "This," that is to say, circumcision, "is my covenant;" and, "The word is made flesh:" we may not conclude and determine either the "cup" or the "circumcision" to be changed into a covenant, and the "word" to be changed into flesh. We may not therefore determine and conclude by these words of the Lord, which in giving of bread did say, "Take, this is my body," that there is a change of the bread into the Lord's body. For there is no manner of such speaking, no not in all the Scripture, that do shew such an alteration called a "transubstantiation," as the papists do imagine. For without sure authority of the Scripture, no article of the faith may be ordained.

52. And so I think it evident, that three things are given and received in the Lord's supper of them that rightly communicate at the Lord's table. First, bread and wine, nothing in themselves changed, but that they are by the words and the ordinance of the Lord made all only the signs. Secondly, the self body and blood of the Lord, that by these we may the more perfectly communicate in the participation of the regeneration, or rather to have the more perfect partaking of these, or else, that they may be of more perfection in us. Thirdly, the establishing of the new testament of the forgiveness of sins, or of us by election to be made the sons of God.

133 53. I call the signs, after the mind of Irenæus, an "earthly thing." The partaking of the Lord to be as the effect thereof, I call the establishing of the new testament, the "heavenly thing," and therefore to be laid hold upon only by faith, and not to be wrapped in with any worldly imaginations.

54. And forasmuch as in the supper we be not all only admonished of one Christ, and of the partaking of him, but also we do receive him, I had leaver yet say, according to the Lord's words, "Take and eat," &c. that in the bread and the wine the body and blood is given, and that they signify the Lord. So that the bread here, is as well a sign of the Lord's body, exhibitive I mean, which giveth the thing signified, as to be but a bare sign. Wherefore certain of the Fathers have well used herein the word of "representing;" for truly I think we must most chiefly express the thing that is here most principal; for this word "accipite" is altogether a word of giving or delivering.

The Lord give us grace that we may all speak one thing to the edifying of the faith among us. Amen.

Subscribed,

MARTIN. BUCERUS,

D. Professor theologiæ Cantabrigiæ.

[NUMBER XLVI*.

"MOREOVER, for so much as the king at that instant hearing the muttering of certain rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said, the Lord willing, hereafter), and also being credibly informed by divers, that through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administering the sacraments, and careless contempt of Boner, bishop of London, not only many of the people within the city of London, and other places of his diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God in frequenting the divine service then stablished and set forth by the authority of parliament: but also that divers other, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his diocese often frequent the popish mass, and other

foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm, he thought it therefore good, (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleness), to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the said bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet judgments to deal with him for the same.

"Whereupon the xi. day of August[y], an. 1549, they sent a messenger for him, and upon his appearance, made first declaration of such informations and complaints as had been theretofore made against him. And then after sharp admonitions and reproofs for his evil demeanours in the premises, they delivered unto him from the king, for his better reformation and amendment, certain private injunctions to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas in the first branch of the said injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Paul's Cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing, (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour so required), they farther delivered unto him in writing such articles to intreat upon in his sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid. All which injunctions and articles, for the farther manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth."

"*Certain private injunctions and articles given to Boner by the Council.*

"Forasmuch as we are advertised, that amongst other disorders of our subjects, at this present there be divers of our city of London, and other places within your

[y] ["Foxe says erroneously 'the 11th day of August,' misled by an incorrect copy of a document in Boner's Register." — Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 844. ed. Lond. 1843–48.]

diocese, which being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto common prayer and to the holy communion, being now a time when it were more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sorry so we do understand, that through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching, and instructing our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed; for where heretofore upon all principal feasts, and such as were called 'majus duplex,' you yourself were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole parliament have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days, to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of others: and forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers, as well in London as in other places of your diocese, do frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our realm, and contemneth and forbeareth to praise and laud God, and pray unto his majesty after such rites and ceremonies, as in this realm are approved and set out by our authority: and further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said city of London and other places of your diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people: of the which things, you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority, and cure of a bishop doth appertain; we therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of

Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle, the lord protector, and the rest of our privy-council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and eftsoons peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straitly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed, that there may appear no negligence on your behalf, upon such pain as by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise as shall seem to us for quality of the offence reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these injunctions following:

1. "First, ye shall preach at Paul's Cross in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three weeks, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed: and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting in your sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living: and ye shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at Paul's Cross, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not let you.

2. "Secondly, you yourself in person shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England principal feast, or "majus duplex," and at all such times as the bishops of London your predecessors were wont to celebrate and sing high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in Paul's, for the example of all other, except sickness do let.

"3. Thirdly, ye shall yourself, according to your duty and the office of a bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the common prayer and service in the church, or do not come unto God's board and receive the communion at the least once a year, or

whosoever do frequent or go unto any other rite or service than is appointed by our book, either of matins, evensong, or mass, in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese, and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you and punished according unto the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your diocese according to our said book and none other.

4. "Fourthly, ye shall both by yourself, and all your officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done, (as appertaineth to your office), all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, and to the authority given you in that behalf.

5. "We have heard also complaints, that the church of Paul's and other churches of London are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the glass as other buildings and ordinances of the same, than they were heretofore wont, and that divers and many persons in the city, of malice denieth the payment of their due tithe to their curates, whereby the curates are both injured and made not so well able and in manner discouraged to do their duties. The which thing also our will and commandment is ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

6. "And forasmuch as all these complaints be made as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the city, see, and principal place of your diocese, and none other where for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us."———Boner. Reg. fol. 220 verso. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1304. ed. Lond. 1583.]

[NUMBER XLVI**.

R. V. DOMINO JOANNI HOPPERO, EPISCOPO GLOCESTRIENSI. VIDETUR HUIC INSCRIPTA, QUAMVIS IN ΑὐΤΟΓΡΆΦΩ AUTHORIS NULLUM NOMEN SIT APPOSITUM.

Inter Epistt. ad calc. Locorum comm. Pet. Martyris, p. 1085. ed. Tigur. 1587.

REVERENDE, ac in Christo Jesu dilectissime, literis quas ante paucos dies ad me dedisti, priusquam nunc respondere statueram, sed gravibus multiplicibusque negotiis fui adeo impeditus, ut neque meæ voluntati, neque tuo fortasse desiderio nisi modo satisfacere licuerit. Quare hanc dilationem, quæ tua est humanitas atque prudentia, boni æquique consulas. Quæ de controversia inter te, atque reverendum Dominum Londinensem orta, quo ad vestes ministrorum ecclesiæ, literis consignasti et legi, ut rogaveras, et quanta cum attentione potui per angustiam temporis consideravi. Quod ideo dico, quia tuum scriptum non nisi una nocte retinere potui. Nuntius enim per quem ipsum acceperam, postridie ejus diei summo mane, Cantabrigiam hinc discessit, quo tu monueras, ut per eundem, quæ legissem ad Dominum Bucerum transmitterem. Quod et diligenter et sine mora effeci, eo brevi spatio quod tum dabatur, universam causam ita mecum sum complexus, ut primum non mediocrem voluptatem ceperim de tuo singulari et ardenti studio quo niteris, ut ad castam simplicemque puritatem Christiana religio denuo aspiret. Quid enim omnibus piis optabilius esse debet, quam ut omnia paulatim resecentur, quæ parum aut nihil habent quod ad solidam ædificationem referri possit? Et potius redundare ac superflua quodammodo esse a piis animis judicantur? Equidem ut de me ipso dicam, ægre patior ab ea simplici puraque consuetudine avelli, qua tu nosti Argentinæ diu nos omnes usos esse, ubi vestium discrimina quo ad sacra erant sublata, morem illum uti candidiorem et apprime resipientem apostolorum ecclesiam,

Usus vestium in Anglicana Ecclesiæ.

maxime omnium semper probavi. Atque rogo Deum immortalem, ut et ibi quam diutissime conservetur, et ubicunque restituitur ecclesia Christi, tandem recipiatur. Vides itaque quod in summo et in præcipuo capite abs te non dissentio, sed ut id quod conaris, locum habeat, vehementer cupio. Accendit hoc meum desiderium partim quod in ritibus quam proxime vellem ad sacras literas accedere, atque meliorum temporum ecclesiæ imitationem persequi, partim quod animadverto papæ sectatores adhuc his reliquiis conari speciem saltem missæ instaurare, atque in illis plus inhærere, quam natura indifferentium rerum exigat.

Non tamen eo ista me adducunt, neque etiam rationes abs te illatæ, ut statuam usum hujusmodi vestium exitiosum esse, aut natura sua verbo Dei contrarium, quem omnino *ἀδιάφορον* arbitror, non ignarus quod ea quæ sunt indifferentia, quandoque usurpari possint, quandoque vero debeant removeri. Præfocatum comedere per sese indifferens est, attamen ejus usum interdum convenit seponere, interdum vero illo vescendum est liberrime. Atque hoc pacto licet, ut dixi, retinendum vestium in sacris discrimen haud putem, impium nihilominus esse nequaquam dicerem, ita ut quoscunque viderem illum usurpare, damnare audeam. Certe si persuasum id haberem, nunquam cum ecclesia hic in Anglia communicassem, in qua discrimen hujusmodi adhuc est conservatum. Nam licet, ut dixi, parum illud approbem, attamen video quandoque in his indifferentibus, nonnulla quamvis molesta sint et onerosa, quo ad non aliter liceat ferenda esse, ne si pro illis acerbius quam oporteat contendatur, id et progressui Evangelii sit impedimento, et quæ natura sua sunt indifferentia, nostra vehementi contentione doceantur esse impia. Quæ nisi fallor, duo gravissima secum apportant incommoda. Nam si pateremur evangelium prius et propagari et altas radices agere, melius fortasse atque facilius persuaderentur homines ut hos externos appa-

ratus removerent. Dum quis ægrotat et paulatim convalescit, ægerrime patitur levicula et inepta quædam a se removeri, tam in cibo quam in potu, attamen is idem sanitate recuperata ea per seipsum ut incongrua parumque utilia rejicit. Si Anglia in capitibus de religione maxime necessariis prius bene diligenterque, instituta et confirmata fuerit, quantum mihi videre videor, non indigne denique feret, hæc utcunque supervacanea removeri. At nunc quando mutatio in capitibus necessariis de religione inducitur, atque id tanta cum difficultate, si etiam illa quæ indifferentia sunt ut impia prædicemus, adeo fere omnium animi a nobis alienantur, ut doctrinæ solidæ atque concionibus necessariis attentos et patientes auditores amplius non se præbeant. Multum citra controversiam Anglia tua tibi debet, quandoquidem prædicando atque docendo non vulgariter laborasti. Et vicissim tu magnum tibi ex eadem Anglia favorem magnamque authoritatem conciliasti, per quam multa utiliter ad gloriam Dei poteris efficere. Tantum id caveas, ne impestivis nimisque acerbis concionibus tibi ipsi obstaculo fias. Non tamen hinc colligas me sentire, nunquam pro asserenda veritate scripturarum et dogmatum, ministro evangelii contendendum esse: non hoc ego assero, qui quotidie in disputationibus et publicis et privatis, in gravissimis controversiis, pro religione me oppono. Sed hoc dico, quod hæc quæ minoris momenti sunt, non deberent per nostram contentionem impedimento esse, neque pluris facienda sunt, ut aut induci aut inducta confirmari possint. Deinde si pergamus hæc indifferentia quasi perniciosa et impia dissuadere, permultas ecclesias non ab evangelio alienas damnamus, et innumeras quæ antiquitus ut laudatissimæ celebrantur, nimis acerba taxamus. Non me latet ecclesiarum authoritatem sive præsentium sive præteritarum non eo debere valere, ut illis verbi Dei veritas prematur, nam ea etsi fractus orbis illabatur, inconcussa et immota permanere debet, sed propter

ἀδιάφορα id minime faciendum esse contendo, vel ut damnentur, vel ut de eis minus honeste loquamur. Et quia te animadverto arbitrari, hæc nequaquam esse indifferentia, jam rationes quibus hoc tibi persuades forte utile fuerit expendere. Ideo eas ut compendio agam quemadmodum tu facis, ad duo capita præcipue redigam. Primum dicis Aharonis sacerdotium non esse revocandum, ad quod ista discrimina vestium pertinere videntur. Nam cum habeamus Christum sacerdotem, cæremoniæ Aharonis abrogatæ sunt, neque salva pietate rursus accersiri debent. Alterum fundamentum est tuarum rationum: hæc antichristi esse inventa, cumque non tantum a papa, sed ab omnibus ejus commentis nos alienos esse oporteat, vis etiam differentias et ornatus ministrorum abjiciendos: cum hi sint duo tui præcipui arietes, primo loco de illis videbimus. Deinde quoque addendum erit si quid aliud præter hæc memoria suggeret, pro tua opinione confirmanda, esse abs te allata. In lege seu Aharonico sacerdotio, fuerunt sacramenta quibus Deo placuit obsignare promissiones Christi venturi, quæ omnia novi fuisse abrogata, et Christum jam datum, non dandum credendum esse, cumque aliæ promissionum divinarum σφραγίδες ab ipso Domino sub evangelio traditæ sint, panis inquam vinum et aqua, nos antiquas notas minime debemus repetere. Fuerunt nihilominus ibi aliquæ actiones ita comparatæ, ut sacramenta proprie dici non possint, faciebant enim ad decorum, ad ordinem et aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua et ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia, ego et revocari et retineri posse judico. Quis non videt apostolos pro pace et convictu credentium faciliori mandasse gentibus, ut a sanguine ac præfocato abstinerent? Erant hæc citra controversiam Aharonica, si generaliter omnia quæ in lege fuerunt, complecti volueris. Decimas quoque hodie in infinitis locis institutas esse ad alendos

Veterum cæremoniarum distinctio.

Act. xv. 23.

ministros ecclesiæ, nemo nostrum ignorat. Psalmos et hymnos cani in sacris cœtibus non facile monstrabis ex literis Novi Testamenti, quod in veteri fuisse factum manifestissime constat. Mitto quod Ambrosius dum interpretatur Epistolam ad Corinthios priorem capite decimo quarto apertissime dicit morem a Paulo ibi traditum prophetandi, a synagogis desumptum, in nostras ecclesias fuisse transfusum. Adhæc si diligentius inspicerem atque considerarem, quod tempus minime patitur, non pauca possem invenire, quæ nostra ecclesia ex Mosaicis decretis mutuata sit, idque jam inde a primis temporibus. Utque hoc non omittam, dies habemus festos in memoriam dominicæ resurrectionis, nativitatis, pentecostes et mortis Christi, num omnia ista erunt abolenda, quia sunt vestigia legis antiquæ? Ex his omnibus jam arbitror te videre non ita omnia sacerdotii Aharonici sic esse abolita, ut nihil eorum vel retineri vel usurpari possit. Neque mihi statim dixeris, aperietur jam fenestra omnibus abusibus, aquæ lustrali, suffitui, atque aliis infinitis id genus, quia respondebunt adversarii, modum in his quæ revocant et retinent, esse constituendum, ut non oneretur cœtus fidelium hoc rerum genere, neque ibi cultus aut vis religionis collocetur, ut in aqua lustrali et suffitu factum vidimus. Denique Christiana libertas cavendum ne periclitetur, ut etsi qua restituta fuerint, non ita reponantur, quasi necessaria sint ad salutem consequendam. Sed ita oportet quæ sunt hujuscemodi tolerare, ut quando visa fuerint minus utilia seponantur, ut jam sum testatus mihi videri de hoc vestium discrimine hodie agendum, illud enim revera sepositum voluissem, verum quando non successit id quo ad meliora dentur ferre statui. Utinam ecclesiæ quæ sunt in Germania, hoc uno dispendio suam pristinam libertatem redimere possent, licet omnibus modis optem ut nihil superfluum eis obtrudatur. Sed jam aliud argumentum expen-

Vers. 26.

Dies festi passionis, resurrectionis, &c.

damus, quo videbatur non licere harum vestium usum, quod a papæ tyrannide fuerint inventæ. Hic ego non video quomodo firmiter statuatur, nihil nos usurpare posse quod in papatu sit consuetum fieri. Cavendum profecto est, ne Christi ecclesiam nimia servitute premamus, ut nihil usurpare valeat, quod papæ fuerit, certe majores nostri receperunt idolorum templa, et converterunt in sacras domos, in quibus Christus coleretur, atque reditus consecratos diis gentium, ludis theatri, et virginibus vestalibus, tulerunt ad alendos ministros ecclesiæ, cum hæc prius non modo antichristo, sed diabolo inservierint. Quin et carmina poetarum quæ dicata fuerant musis atque diversis diis, vel fabulis agendis, in theatro ad deos placandos, quando commoda et pulchra veraque fuerint ecclesiastici scriptores usurpant, atque exemplo id apostoli qui Menandrum, Aratum, et Epimenidem citare non est dedignatus. Atque id in ipsa divina Scriptura, quam tradebat, et ea verba quæ alioquin prophana erant, divino cultui adaptavit, nisi fortasse dicere velis, minus ad cultum Dei facere verba illius descripta in sacris literis, quam verba visibilia quæ in sacramentis versantur. Quis præterea non intelligit, vinum consecratum fuisse Baccho, panem Cereri, aquam Neptuno, oleam Minervæ, literas Mercurio, cantum Musis vel Apollini, et alia permulta hujus generis invenire poteris apud Tertullianum "de corona militis," ubi versatur fere in hoc eodem argumento, quibus tamen omnibus nos uti libere non veremur, tam in sacris quam in prophanis usibus, tametsi vel dæmonibus vel idolis dedicata fuerint? Neque statim concedo has indumentorum diversitates a papa suum ortum habuisse, quandoquidem legimus in historia ecclesiastica Joan. Apostolum Ephesi gestasse petalum seu laminam pontificalem. Et de Cypriano martyre testatur Pontius diaconus, quod cum esset mox capite plectendus, birrum dederit carnificibus,

Papistica qua tenus repudianda.

dalmaticam vestem diaconis, et steterit in lineis. Præterea vestis candidæ ministrorum ecclesiæ Chrysostomus facit mentionem. Atque Christianos cum ad Christum accessissent, veteres testantur mutasse vestem, et pro toga induisse pallium, de quo cum irriderentur ab ethnicis, Tertullianus libellum eruditissimum de pallio scripsit. Neque te latere puto illis qui baptismo initiabantur fuisse traditam albam vestem. Apparet itaque priusquam esset papæ tyrannis, discrimina nonnulla vestium fuisse in ecclesia verum esto, fac ista esse a papa inventa, non mihi persuadeo papatus impietatem esse tantam, ut quicquid attingit omnino reddat contaminatum et pollutum, quo bonis et piis usui sancto non possit concedi. Jam existimo te intelligere quid ego vel de Mosaicis ritibus vel de papisticis sentiam, aut revocandis aut retinendis. Quare his ita breviter annotatis, de duobus præcipuis capitibus tuarum rationum: nunc ad id venio, quod ipse quoque fateris, omnia humana inventa non illico damnanda esse, alioquin humanum inventum est, ut mane potius quam a prandio communicemus. Et humanum inventum fuit, ut pretia rerum divenditarum in primitiva ecclesia ponerentur ad pedes apostolorum. Fatebor una tecum vestes illas humanum inventum esse, et per sese non ædificare, sed a nonnullis putabitur conducere ut ad tempus ferantur, nam id fortassis efficiet ut evitentur istæ contentiones quibus majores fructus ac uberiores commoditates periculum est ne impediantur, ac ne ut fieri videmus statim ab evangelio animi hominum avertantur. Mitto quod illi qui hæc defendunt, prætexere poterunt aliquam honestam justamque significationem a scripturis non alienam. Ministri ecclesiæ sunt angeli et nuntii Dei ut Malachias testatur: et angeli semper fere albis apparuerunt vestibus induti, quomodo privabimus ecclesiam hac libertate ut non possit suis actionibus et ritibus

Act. iv. 37.

Non omne inventum humanum damnandum.

Mal. iii. 1.

aliquid significare, modo id fiat ut ibi non statuendo cultum Dei, modeste atque paucis, ut populus Christi cæremoniis non oneretur, et ne meliora impediantur? Dicas præstent se angelos, non id significent? audio. 1 Cor. xi. 5. At idem potuisset Paulo responderi, quando statuebat ad Corinthios ut mulier esset operto capite et vir aperto, rationem quippe significationis tantummodo urget, nam quispiam illi ex ecclesia Corinthia respondere potuisset, præstet se vir caput mulieris et mulier subjectam viro se factis et vita demonstret, non id signis declarare contendant. At vidit apostolus et hoc utiliter fieri, ut non tantum recte vivamus, sed etiam verbis et signis de officio admoneamur. Quod si datur hinc infirmis occasio errandi, moneantur ut hæc indifferentia credant, concionibus doceantur ut cultum Dei in hoc situm non judicent.

Non modo res sed et sæpe signa retinenda.

An autem oculi astantium propter vestium discrimen avertantur a rebus seriis cogitandis, non ab omnibus forte judicabitur verum. Primum enim respondere poterunt adversarii, id non eventurum si absque luxu et admodum simplices atque in sacris hactenus usitatæ fuerint illæ vestes, quas adhibebunt, nam usus et utilitas admirationem auferunt, quin et fortasse respondebunt verisimile esse, ut illa permoti admiratione quæ seria sunt magis attente cogitent, ad quem finem sacramentorum symbola videntur esse reperta, ut vel ex ipso aspectu ac sensu ad cogitandum de divinis rapiamur. Neque illico tyrannidem induci arbitror, si quid in ecclesia indifferens suscipiatur agendum, et a multis constanter servetur. Hodie sic administramus eucharistiam tempore matutino, ut a prandio nolimus in sacro cœtu synaxim habere, at quis dicet hoc esse tyrannicum, quod voluntate atque consensu pari omnes facimus? Mihi sane, ut sæpius jam commemoravi, magis placeret, ut solum quæ Christus gessit et apostolis tradidit, ageremus. Verum si aliqua indifferentia sunt

adjecta, non hac de causa, nunc velim acrius contendere, præsertim cum videamus eos per quos evangelii lux, multum promota est in Anglia, et adhuc magis promoveri potest, se nobis opponere. Agnosco quidem tecum omne "quod non est ex fide, peccatum esse," verum ut in actionibus tranquillam conscientiam habeamus, id potissimum facere videtur, quod in apostolo scriptum est ad Titum: "omnia munda mundis." Et ad Timoth., "omnis creatura Dei bona est," non autem requiritur necessario, ut in sacris literis expressam mentionem exhibeamus singularum rerum quas usurpamus, id satis est in universum fide cognoscere, indifferentia non posse illos qui pura synceraque agunt mente atque conscientia contaminare. Hæc tibi paucis perstrinxi de controversia quam mihi proposuisti, ex qua toto pectore tibi opto ut te feliciter explices. Quæque scripsi oro ut boni consulas, nam si vel meliora vel dilucidiora potuissem respondere, tuæ petitioni fortasse magis satisfecissem, verum quia non omnibus de his commode ac expedite scribere detur, mihi te oportebit ignoscere. Scies præterea me semper esse paratum, si aliter fuero edoctus, veritati cedere. Neque sententia quam modo exposui recens est animo meo persuasa, sed jam inde ab initio cum ad evangelium animum applicavi, discriminibus his vestium non utendum censui, verum illorum usum si cætera, quæ nobis a verbo Dei præscribuntur, salva manerent, neque impium neque perniciosum per sese, aut sua natura esse putavi. Oro Deum optimum maximum, ut te una cum tota tua familia per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum salvum et incolumem servet: mea conjux te plurimum salvere jubet, atque simul mecum optimæ uxori tuæ salutem impertit. Vale. Oxonii, 4. Novemb. 1550. De divortio nil rescribo, partim quoniam tu ipse rem in aliud tempus differs, partim quoniam optime scio, te nosse quid ego

Rom. xiv. 23.

Tit. i. 15.

1 Tim. iv. 4.

cum Argentinensi ecclesia et omnibus aliis in Christo fratribus sentiam.

NUMBER XLVII.

BISHOP HOPER TO THE CLERGY OF HIS DIOCESE OF GLOUCESTER.

To the glory of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

FORASMUCH as of all charges and vocations, the charge of such as be appointed to the ministry and function of the church is the greatest; it is to be provided and foreseen, that such as be called and appointed to such vocation and office be such as can satisfy the said office, which may be done, as St. Paul saith, two manner of ways. The one if they be of sound doctrine, apt to teach, and to exhort after knowledge, and able to withstand and confute the evil sayers. The other, if their life and manners be unculpable, and cannot justly be blamed: which consisteth in this; if the minister be sober, modest, keeping hospitality, honest, religious, chaste; not dissolute, angry, nor given to much wine, no fighter, no covetous man, such as governeth well his own house, and giveth an example of virtue and honesty unto others. For as the godly life and conversation of the parson, or doctor, doth no less avail in the reformation of others than the doctrine itself; so likewise they, who have no respect nor regard what evil, mischievous, and devilish example of life outwardly appeareth to be in them, cannot have in them any just authority to reform or correct the faults of others. For by what just means canst thou reprehend 134
and blame any other in that fault wherein thou thyself art to be blamed? Or by what occasion canst thou preach chastity, or desire to have the same in another man, when

E MS to privato.

as thou thyself, despising both God and holy matrimony, dost either nourish or keep a whore, or concubine at home in thy house, or else must defile other men's beds? Neither is he any thing less to be ashamed that will persuade others to live in sobriety, he himself being drunk. Wherefore what authority shall he obtain or get unto himself and his ministry, which is daily seen and marked of men to be a common haunter of alehouses and taverns, of whores, cards, dice, and such-like.

Hereby shall you perceive and know, how that the old priests and pastors of Christ's church did by their truth and gravity subjugate and bring under the hardnecked and stiff, stubborn Ethnics, and caused them to have the same in fear: insomuch that the wicked emperor Julian caused the priests of the pagans to order their lives according to the lives of the others. But look what authority and reverence the old severity and graveness of the pastors and priests did bring unto them at that time, even as much shame and contempt, (or else a great deal more, as I fear), doth the lechery, covetousness, ambition, simony, and such other corrupt manners, bring unto most priests, pastors, and ministers, that be now in our days, of all men. Wherefore, I being not forgetful of my office, and duty towards God, my prince, and you, do desire and beseech all you, for Christ's sake, who commanded that your light should so shine before men, that they seeing and perceiving the same, might glorify the Father which is in heaven.

Give your diligence, well-beloved brethren, together with me, so that the dignity and majesty of the order of priests, being fallen in decay, may not only be restored again, but that first and principally the true and pure worshipping of God may be restored; and that so many souls being committed to my faith and yours, may, by our wholesome doctrine

and cleanness of conversation, be moved unto the true study of perfect charity, and called back from all error and ignorance; and finally, to be reduced and brought unto the high bishop and pastor of souls, Jesus Christ, and to the intent ye may the more easily perform the same, I have, according to the talent and gift given me of the Lord, collected and gathered out of God's holy word a few articles, which I trust shall much profit and do ye good. And if that any thing shall be now wanting or lacking, I trust, by the help of your prayers and good counsel, they shall be shortly hereafter performed. Let every one of you therefore take good heed to approve yourselves faithful and wise ministers of Christ; so that when I shall come to visit the parishioners committed to my cure, and come from God and the king's majesty, ye be able not only to make answer unto me in that behalf, but also unto our Lord Jesus Christ, judge both of the quick and the dead, and a very strait revenger of his church. Thus fare you well unto the day of my coming unto you.

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HOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER, TO SIR WILLLAM CECYL SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE grace of God be with you, Amen. Since my coming down, I have been at Worcester, gentle Mr. Secretary, and thought not to have departed thence till I had set things in a good order, as near as I could. But the negligence and ungodly behaviour of the ministers in Gloucestershire compelled me to return, except I should leave them behind as far out of order as I should find the other, to whom I am going unto. I have spoken with the greatest part of the ministers, and I trust within these six days Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

to end for this time with them all. For the love of God cause the Articles, that the king's majesty spake of, when we took our oaths, to be set forth by his authority. I doubt not but they shall do much good. For I will cause every minister to confess them openly before their parishioners. For subscribing privately in the paper, I perceive, little availeth. For, notwithstanding that, they speak as evil of good faith, as ever they did before they subscribed. I left not the ministers of Gloucestershire so far forward when I went to London, but I found the greatest part of them as far backward at my coming home. I have a great hope of the people. God send good justices, and faithful ministers in the church, and all will be well.

For lack of heed corn so passeth from hence by water, that I fear much we shall have great scarcity this year. Doubtless men that be put in trust do not their duties.

The statute of regrators is so used that in many quarters of these parts it will do little good: and in some parts, whereas license by the justices will not be granted, the people are much offended, that they should not, as well as other, bag as they were wont to do.

God be praised, yet all things be quiet, and I trust so will continue. Thus desiring God to continue you long in health to his pleasure, fare ye well: and for God's sake do one year, as ye may be able to do another. Your health is not the surest: favour it as ye may; and charge it not far. Ye be wise and comfortable for others; be so for yourself also. I pray you let God be the end whereunto ye mark in all your doings; and if they for lack of knowledge then happen otherwise than ye would, the thing ye sought shall partly excuse your ignorance, that may happen to miss men in weighty affairs. If ye see the means good, and yet evil follow of them, content yourself with patience: for the second cause, when God will, be it

never so like to bring forth the effect, misseth her purpose: as ye know by wise men's counsels, that ruled in commonwealths before you. God give his grace to look always upon him, and then with mercy let him do his holy will.

Glouc. 6 July, 1552.

Yours with my daily prayer,
JOHN HOPER,
Bishop of Worcester.

To the right honourable my singular friend,
sir William Cecyl, knight, one of the king's
majesty's chiefest secretaries.

Another of the same Bishop to the same Person. 136

THE grace of God be with you for ever, Amen. I have written herewith long letters to the council; yet not so long as the matter contained in them doth require. I trust it will be your chance to read them, that the matter may be the better understood. You know I am but an evil secretary, do the best you can they may be well taken. It is truth that I write, and God's cause. Let God do as his blessed pleasure is with it. I have sent the matters, that these two canons, Johnson and Jolliffe, dislike, in writing, whereby ye may understand what is said of both parties. The disputation Mr. Harley can make true relation of, and how unreverently and proudly Jolliffe used both him and me. Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Forasmuch as my jurisdiction ceaseth until the letters patent be past for both churches, these shall be to pray you to obtain the king's majesty's letters for my warrant in the mean time. For in case I do not at this time take account of the clergy in Worcester and Gloucestershire, how they have profited since my last examining of them, it will not be well. Also such as I have made superintend-

ants in Gloucestershire, if I commend not myself, presently, there well doings, and see what is evil done, I shall not see the good I look for. Ah! Mr. Secretary, that there were good men in the cathedral churches! God then should have much more honour than he hath, the king's majesty more obedience, and the poor people better knowledge: but the realm wanteth light in such churches, whereas of right it ought most to be. I suppose ye had heard that there should be a great spoil made in this church here: for what can be so well done, that men of light conscience cannot make, by suggestion, to appear evil? Doubtless, the things done be no more than the express words of the king's majesty's injunctions commanded to be done: and I dare say there is not for a church to preach God's word in, and to minister his holy sacraments, more godly within this realm. But, Mr. Secretary, I see much mischief in men's hearts by many tokens, and such as speak very fair meaneth craftily, and nothing less than they speak. I have too good experience of it.

Thus God give us wisdom and strength, wisely and strongly to serve in our vocations. There is none that eateth their bread in the sweat of their face, but such as serve in public vocation. Yours is wonderful, but mine passeth. Now I perceive private labours be but plays, nor private troubles but ease and quietness. God be our help. Amen. I pray you send me my jurisdiction as soon as may be.

Worcester, 25 October, 1552.

Yours, and so will be while I live, with my prayer,

JOHN HOPER,

Bishop of Worcester.

Postscript. When that I perceived my request for jurisdiction made before unto you, upon further deliberation I

thought it good to unrequest that again; praying you to make no mention of it: and thereupon wrote the letters 137
anew. The cause is, I send for a president, to see the jurisdiction, how it is given in the like state as I am, which pleaseth me not. Therefore, good Mr. Secretary, let it pass till I write unto you again.

[NUMBER XLVIII*.

"REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI GEORGIO DEIO CICESTRENSI EPISCOPO, ET COLLEGII REGII CANTABRIGIÆ PRÆPOSITO, VICEPRÆPOSITUS, ET SENIORES REGII COLLEGII, S. D. P.

"Nec expectata nobis, nec usitata tibi literarum tuarum severitas, inscriptarum vicepræposito, sed scriptarum (ut videtur) ad nos omnes, animos nostros valde fregit. Itaque communiter respondendum esse putavimus communi, vel expostulationi, vel (ut molissime loquamur) exhortationi tuæ. Complectemur autem paucis, ut dominatio tua plane intelligat, nihil magis nos invitos facere, quam a te cum dissentire cogimur. Quanquam a te non dissentimus, ne tibi quidem respondemus, sed illorum criminationibus, qui tuam mentem per se placatam, et tranquillam falsis rumoribus, quasi quosdam turbine, contra nostros salutares causas, et cogitationes excitaverunt. Primum missas dominatio tua dimissas arguit, et nos confitemur. In eo recessum esse dicis ab institutis nostræ domus, et nos largimur. Sed easdem missas solitarias, ut erant, et solivagas recedere didicimus a pietate nostræ religionis, nec tuam dominationem de eo dubitare credimus. Equidem institutiones regiæ non dubitant quarum præscriptio de missis non videtur nobis permissum, nisi quibus intexta sit corporis et sanguinis Christi communicatio, quæ cum in una possit uberrime dispertiri, multitu-

dinem ociosam, nec (ut usurpabatur) satis piam summovimus. Neque nobis ipsi fuimus authores hujus rei, sed voces ad nos ex aula permanaverunt tam plenæ fidei, et authoritatis, ut tua dominatio si præsens adfuisset, eas repudiare nec potuisset, nec voluisset. Quare nullum in hoc negotio peccatum nostrum ostenditur, qui mature potius, quam sero, cum laude, potius quam cum ignominia, cum primis, potius quam cum postremis, regiorum edictorum sententiam, et sermone, et exemplo sancitam, quantum licet, imitamur: manifesta vanitas illorum coarguitur, qui temere nos, et præter leges hæc tentavisse dominationi tuæ renunciaverunt. Sed novum est, et legis de eo verba non extant. Equidem novitatis invidiam rei salubritas tollit. Neque nos tam alte stertimus, ut cæteros fere possit omnes, nos non possit excitare veritatis vox, nec tam superbi sumus, ut tales doctores recusemus, quales in hac causa dati sunt, nec tam nullis judiciis sumus, ut literas ibi legis, et apices expectemus, ubi legis mens qualis sit appareat, ac legislatorum voluntas cujusmodi sit non ignoretur. Sed interim authoritas institutorum nostræ domus atteritur, ac etiam fides in periculum nostra venit. Equidem in aures tuæ dominationis ita videmus insusurratum esse, sed æquitas tua, si præsens rem cognosceret, facilime nos liberaret. Nec enim quascunque minutias edictorum nostrorum, si communis noster consensus aut immutaverit, aut inflexerit, gratuitum in eo perjurium versatur, quomodo tua dominatio nimis truci vocabulo posuit. Sed vel publicus quidam error est, si inscitia nostra sit, vel etiam communis quædam laus est, si correctio sit in eo cujuscunque perversitatis. Itaque cum pugnare videremus multis modis hanc missarum solitariarum frequentationem cum rescriptorum regiorum formulis, incidimus hanc in angulos correpentem, et sevocatam ad se pietatem, et tenebras obsolescentium errore

vetustatis decretorum nostrorum, recentium luce regiorum oraculorum perfudimus. Inquo non perjuri, sed pii, non dissipatores, sed custodes nostrarum constitutionum fuisse videmur. Nec tibi sane ipsi aliter videremur, si præsens ista vidisses, non absens audisses. Objicis missas &c. De missis respondemus. Ad cætera tacendum est, quoniam nihil a te de illis positum est. Aliud nominas, non nostrum grande peccatum, sed grande mendacium illius, qui id ad te attulit, diputari a nobis impie, et turbulente, cum gravissima tenerarum conscientiarum vulneratione, et singulari nostræ domus infamia. Vehemens, et horribilis oratio, sed quam academiæ libertas respuit, modestia nostrorum hominum refutat. Nam ut omnia cujusque generis in disputationibus nostris libere possint inquiri, regium in hoc diploma nobis indultum pro nobis causam dicit, quod hac perscriptione ad academiam nostram est, ut veritatis quærendæ causa omnes omnium controversiarum angulos excutiamus, modo pertinacia nostris sermonibus absit, adsit lenitas. Nos vero nec anxietatis causam infirmis conscientiis, nec infamiæ nostro collegio dedimus, sed nostram ad veritatis iter allaborantem assiduitatem, si vel indoctorum hominum impudentia, vel impudentium hominum inscitia falsis maledictis ad hujusmodi pravitatem detorserit: dominationis tuæ charitatem, doctrinam, et mansuetudinem obtestamur, nec cogamur aliena vitia præstare, ne plus credas alienis, quam tuis, aut paucis, quam omnibus. Quod dominatio tua requirit, ut reponantur ea quæ loco mota sunt: equidem adeo dominationem tuam amamus, et reveremur, ut omnino tua in potestate futuri simus. Sed rursus tanta sapientia dominationem tuam esse cognoscimus, tanta doctrina, tanta pietate, ut ista si propius aspiceres, et oculis tuis, non alienis: certo sciamus voluntatem te tuam esse commutaturum. Quapropter agnoscimus (ut par est) in hac

causa te judicem, sed appellamus. Quemadmodum inquis? a te absente, ad præsentem, ab ignaro rerum nostrarum, vel non recte in illis instituto, ad scientem, et plane videntem qua via in his omnibus processum sit. Interim vindicias secundum libertatem petimus, post, quæ præsens sentias, ad ea sic nos accommodabimus, ut nec reverentiæ, nec officii partes in nobis ullas desideraturus sis. Vale, et dominationem tuam diutissime incolumem nobis servet Jesus Christus. Cantabrigiæ 28. Maii, c collegio regio."]

[G. Haddon, Epist. pp. 169–175. ed. Lond. 1567.]

NUMBER XLIX.

A POPISH RHYME FASTENED UPON A PULPIT IN KING EDWARD'S REIGN.

Foxii.MSS.

THIS pulpit was not here set,
For knaves to prate in and rail:
But if no man may them let,
Mischief will come of them, no fail.

If God do permit them for a time
To brabble and lie at their will,
Yet I trust or that be prime,
At their fall to laugh my fill.

Two of the knaves already we had,
The third is coming as I understand,
In all the earth there is none so bad,
I pray God soon rid them out of this land.

Prouder knaves was there never none,
So false they are, that no man may them trust:

But if God do not send help soon,
They will lay all in the dust.

All Christian men at us now laugh and scorn,
To see how they be taking of high and low,
But the child that is yet unborn
Shall them curse all on a row.

Now God speed thee well,
And I will no more mell.

The answer to the enemy.

A rope is a fit reward for such rash reapers,
As have strowed this church against the king's preachers.

The pulpits are now replenished with them that preach the truth,
And popish traitors banished, which seemed to you great ruth.
But if you and the friars were clean out of this land,
This realm to the last years full firm and sure should stand.

When such as with you trust shall all lie in the dust,
And rise thereout again unto perpetual pain,
With them that laugh and scorn either at high or low,
Had better not been born such evil seeds to sow.

Ye pray God speed them well, and ye will no more mell;
Forsooth ye have said well; but if ye may be known,
Ye are like for to be taken and quartered like a bacon,
And of your friends forsaken, for these seeds ye have sown.

Like as the last year traitors were known,
By standing in the fields with weapon and swords,
So this year their treason is sown
In traitorous bills and railing words.

Some of their carcases standeth on the gates,
And their heads most fitly on London bridge.
Therefore, ye traitors, beware your pates,
For if ye be found, the same way must ye tridge.

God save the king's majesty long for to reign,
To suppress all rebels, and truth to maintain.

Privati MS.

An old song of John Nobody.

I.

In December, when the days draw to be be short,
After November, when the nights wax noisome and long;
As I past by a place privily at a port,
I saw one sit by himself making a song.
His last talk of trifles, who told with his tongue,
That few were fast i' th' faith, I feigned that freak,
Whether he wanted wit, or some had done him wrong.
He said, he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

II.

John Nobody, quoth I, What news? thou soon noteand tell,
What manner men thou mean, that are so mad.
He said, These gay gallants, that will construe the gospel,
As Solomon the sage with semblance full sad,
To discuss divinity they nought adread.
More meet it were for them to milk kye at a fleyke.
Thou liest, quoth I, thou losel, like a lewd lad.
He said, he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

III.

Its meet for every man on this matter to talk,
And the glorious gospel ghostly to have in mind,
It is sooth said that sect, but much unseemly scalk,
As boys babble in books, that in Scripture are blind:
Yet to their fancy soon a cause will find.
As to live in lust, in lechery to leyke.

Such caitiffs count to become of Cain's kind.
But that I little John Nobody durst not speak.

IV.

For our reverend father hath set forth an order,
Our service to be said in our seignor's tongue:
As Solomon the sage set forth the Scripture,
Our suffrages and service with many a sweet song.
With homilies and godly books us among,
That no stiff, stubborn stomachs we should freak.
But wretches nere worse to do poor men wrong,
But that I little John Nobody dare not speak.

V.

For bribery was never so great, since born was our Lord, 139
And whoredom was never less hated, since Christ harrowed hell:
And poor men are so sore punished commonly through the world.
Thus would it grieve any one, that good is, to hear tell.
For all the homilies and good books, yet their hearts be so quel,
That if a man do amiss with mischief they will him wreak.
The fashion of these new fellows, it is so vile and fell,
But that I little John Nobody dare not speak.

VI.

Thus to live after their lust, that life would they have,
And in lechery to like all their long life;
For all the preaching of Paul, yet many a proud knave
Will move mischief in their mind both to maid and wife;
To bring them in advoutry, or else they will strive,
And in brawling about baudery, God's commandments break.
But of these frantic ill fellows few of them do thrive,
Though I little John Nobody dare not speak.

VII.

If thou company with them they will currishly carp, and not care,
According to their foolish fantasy, but fast will they nought.
Prayer with them is but prating; therefore they it forbear.
Both almsdeeds, and holiness, they hate it in their thought.
Therefore pray we to that Prince, that with his blood us bought,
That he will mend that is amiss. For many a man full freak
Is sorry for these sects, though they say little or nought,
And that I little John Nobody dare not once speak.

VIII.

Thus in no place this Nobody in no time I met,
Where no man then nought was, nor nothing did appear;
Though the sound of a synagogue for sorrow I sweat,
That Hercules through the echo did cause me to hear.
Then I drew me down into a dale, whereas the dumb deer,
Did shiver for a shower, but I shunted from a freak.
For I would no wight in this world wist who I were,
But little John Nobody, that dare not once speak.

NUMBER L.

JOHN A LASCO'S LETTER FROM EMBDEN, SIGNIFYING THE DANGEROUS CONDITION THEY WERE IN, AND THE PERSECUTIONS THEY EXPECTED.

Clarissimo viro domino Sicilio, a consiliis et libellis supplicibus illustrissimi domini protectoris: domino et fratri meo observandissimo.

S. Cum mihi ad alios scribendum istuc esset, facere non potui quin ad te quoque scriberem, vir clarissime, memor videlicet illius, quod te mihi istic delegerim, cui mea omnia nota præ aliis esse velim. Volui itaque tibi de meo huc reditu significare: nempe me felicissimo itinere, gratia Domino, usum: et me ex Anglia in Frisiam Orientalem, intra triduum, trajecisse. Navis præfectum a domino protectore nobis additum habebamus, virum optimum et fidelissimum, qui dominum comitem Bremam usque est sequutus, ut certi aliquid, opinor, ab illo vobis adferat. Ego quæ scio ad dominum Cantuariensem omnia perscripsi, ut illustrissimo domino protectori exponat: quæ tibi quoque incognita non fore puto. Scripturus alioqui eadem ad te omnia, si non id parum necessarium, adeoque et supervacaneum esse judicarem. Nos hic crucem certissimam expectamus, et ad eam perferendam mutuo nos in Domino cohortamur, cum invocatione nominis sancti sui, ut per patientiam et fidem, ferendo, superemus omnia: quæcunque in nos permittere ille volet, ad nominis sui gloriam, et nostri probationem: certi illum curam nostri habere, et ita potentem esse, ut omnes omnium hostium phalanges, quicunque sint tandem illi, unico oris sui verbo sternat momento uno; et rursum ita bonum, ut ne pilum quidem temere e nostro capite detrahi patiatur, etiamsi nos totus mundus impetere conetur. Tamque nobis male velle non possit unquam,

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. [Lansdowne 140 MSS. ii. No. 30. British Museum. Original and holograph.]

quam mater infanti suo, quam denique oculi quisque sui pupillæ male velle non potest: imo vero, quam non potest non esse perpetuo Deus, laudandus in omnibus quæcunque in nos permittit: cum nihil in nos alioqui nisi nostro ipsorum bono, inque nostram adeo salutem, permittat. Huic igitur nos totos committimus, et cum omni tolerantia expectamus quidquid in nos permittere ille velit. Si nos hinc pelli contingat, scis quinam sit animus meus. Quod si quid tu interea de mea istic vocatione intellexisti, quemadmodum ad te ex Jermouth scripseram, aut si quid te adhuc intelligere posse putas, quæso te, vir integerrime, ut mihi per amicum hunc et fratrem meum, Robertum Legatum, gentilem vestrum, civem nostrum, significare velis. Germania fere tota, præter Saxonicas, (quas vocant), et maritimas civitates, ac principes aliquot, interimizat. Helvetii legatos Cæsaris, qui ad repetendum ducatum Sabaudiæ venerant, finibus suis non auditos, ut dicitur, excedere jusserunt. De me plura hic Robertus noster; vale. Uxorem tuam, dominum Czechum nostrum, dominum Morosinum diligenter salvere jubeo: meque vobis omnibus totum ex animo commendo. Raptim. Æmdæ, nona Aprilis, anno 1549.

Tui studiosissimus,
JOHANNES A LASCO,
manu propria.

Cuperem scire num fructus aliquid attulerit, mea illa nondum absoluta ad herum tuum admonitio, quam tibi a domino Florentio nomine meo traditum esse non diffido: et num putes illam mihi porro absolvendam esse. Doctori Turnero multam ex me salutem dicito, quæso.

NUMBER LI. 141

A LASCO'S REQUEST, THAT THOSE OF HIS CHURCH MIGHT HAVE A WARRANT FROM THE KING'S COUNCIL, THAT THEY MIGHT NOT BE DISTURBED FOR NOT COMING TO THEIR PARISH CHURCHES.

Clarissimo viro domino Guilhelmo Cecilio, secretario regio dignissimo ad manus.

RURSUM perturbantur quidem e nostra ecclesia tam in majore, quam in minore Sudwerk, vir clarissime, et carceres illis intentantur, nisi ad suas parœcias veniant. Faciunt autem id non pastores ipsi, sed ædiles; qui præfecti ecclesiarum vocantur. Qua de re cum domino reverendissimo cancellario heri egi. Et ille jussit, ut cum tua humanitate agerem, ut ipso præsente in senatu hodie a prandio res per tuam humanitatem proponeretur: pollicitusque est, se nobis adjumento esse futurum in senatu, ut mandatum in scripto ad omnes parœcos et ecclesiarum præfectos in Sudwerk et sancta Catharina obtineamus, ne nostri ab illis deinceps, hac in parte, molestentur. Sed ejusmodi mandatum obtineri oporteret, quod per nos illis offerri, qui nostros molestant, et demum per nos etiam adservari possit: ne deinceps novis rursum mandatis impetrandis, si forte ita incidat, molesti semper et senatui ipsi regio, et tuæ humanitati esse cogamur. Venturus eram ipse ad tuam humanitatem, sed per gravissimum capitis dolorem profecto non licuit. Mitto tamen ad tuam humanitatem hunc fratrem nostrum, qui est unus e senioribus nostræ ecclesiæ. Oroque ut illum benigne audiat et absolvat. Commendo me diligentissime humanitati tuæ.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. [Lansdowne MSS. ii. No. 94. British Museum. Original and holograph.]

Tuæ prestantiæ addictissimus,

[Novemb. 1552.] JOANNES A LASCO,
manu propria.

NUMBER LII.

MICHAEL ANGELO, PREACHER TO THE ITALIAN CONGREGATION, HIS COMPLAINT AGAINST SOME OF HIS FLOCK, WITH A LIST OF THEIR NAMES.

Clarissimo domino Sycilio, serenissimi regis Angliæ, &c. a secretis; Michael Angelus Florius Florentinus, Italorum concionator.—S. D.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Cum diebus elapsis meam tibi enarrarem inopiam et necessitatem, ac meorum Italorum impietatem, mihi imposuisti, ut eorum Italorum nomina, quos opus erat ut con-
142 venires, tibi significarem, et idcirco in calce harum mearum reperies, et cum absque interturbatione seriorum negotiorum tuorum hos omnes, una vel separatim, convenire poteris, mihi non exiguum præstabis favorem, ut te facturum spero. Hi omnes polliciti sunt reverendissimo Cantuariensi, mihi omnia necessaria providere, et ab eis de mense Januarii accepi tantum, quinque libras. At postquam viderunt et audierunt me tam aperto marte adversus papæ dogmata, hypocrisim et tyrannidem concionantem, ac eorum incredulitatem et duritiam cordis arguentem, me omnino desereruerunt. Sed hoc fere nihil est. Non enim ipsi impudentes erubescunt ore vipereo mihi et evangelio Christi, (quod sincere annuntio), detrahere; et, quo ausu nescio, (cum omnes habeant privilegia libertatis, quemadmodum veri et naturales Angli, et juraverint eamet servare mandata, quæ servare tenentur Angli omnes), quotidie audiunt missas; quas si audirent Angli, pœnas luerent. Et cur isti, ut merentur, non corriguntur? Et si ipsi quotidie nova privilegia, et novas immunitates a serenissimo rege petere non verentur, et nonnunquam obtinent, cur illis non præcipitur, ut faveant evangelio, et abrenuntient papæ, et dogmatibus ejus? In Scriptura divina ju-

bentur rebelles Deo, legibus, et judicibus sanctis, interfici sine misericordia : ut patet Deut. xiii. et xvii. Eliseus ille tam Deo gratus propheta, jubente ipso Deo, inunxit Jehu in regem ad hoc, ut et domum Achabi prorsus extirparet, ac sacerdotes omnes Baal interficeret. Jure igitur optimo possunt et debent hii omnes, cum adversentur et evangelio, et hujus tam sancti regis sanctionibus, nempe piis. Tuæ prudentiæ et pietati hoc meum negotium committendum jure existimavi, cum sis vere unus ex his, quibus ait Dominus et Servator noster Christus, "Elegi vos de mundo, ut eatis, et fructum afferatis, et fructus vester maneat." Certus igitur sum, quod nihil eorum omittes, quæ ad Dei gloriam, evangelii laudem, et meam salutem pertinere agnosces. Vale.

Italorum nomina,

D. Carolus Rinuccinus.
D. Guido Cavalcanti.
D. Batista Cavalcanti.
D. Bartholomeus Fortini. } Florentini omnes.

D. Azalinus Selvagus.
D. Benedictus Spinola.
D. Antonius Bruschetto. } Januens.

D. Christoforus Mediolanensis.

D. Batista Burrone, Mediolanensis.

D. Marcus Antonius Erizo.
D. Evangelista Fonte. } Veneti.

D. Petrus Ciampante. Lucensis.

D. Nicolaus de Nale.
D. Andreas de Resti. } Ragusienses.

143 NUMBER LIII.

MICHAEL ANGELO ENDEAVOURS TO APPEASE THE SECRETARY, GREATLY OFFENDED WITH HIM FOR A GROSS MISCARRIAGE.

Clarissimo viro, ordinis equestris, domino Gulielmo Sycilio, serenissimi regis Angliæ, &c. a secretis, Michael Angelus Florius, S. P. D.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Subodoratus hisce diebus elapsis miram illam tuam charitatem, qua me pie complecti solebas, magnitudine labis, qua nunc me commaculari contingit, victam fuisse; teque adversus me ita excanduisse, ut me scelerosis omnibus indignitate excellere judicares. Quæ cum animo mecum volutare cepissem, arbitrabar consultum fore, si ad te scriberem, remque omnem, ut se habet, non ut quorunque impudentium lutulenta ora evomere ausa sunt, panderem. Sed pendebat animus, et in diversa trahebatur. Nam verebar ne vehementius in me sevires, audito meo nomine, quod tam pæminosum apud te factum est. Verum cum rem altius mecum perpenderim, prorsus mutavi sententiam, tum quia misantropos non es, tum etiam quia ea opinio, quam de tua pietate, prudentia, doctrina et mansuetudine concepi hactenus, falsa non me lactavit spe. Idcirco his meis ad te litteris provolare audeo, faterique te non injuria me scelerosum vocitasse, quia exsurgentibus quibusdam nebulis de limosa concupiscentia carnis meæ, et obnubilantibus cor meum, per abrupta cupiditatum cecidi, ac præceps cecidi in cænum, voraginem et gurgitem libidinis et immunditiæ carnis, relicto Deo, cujus ira invaluit super me. Sed ut memineris, obsecro, amplissime domine, me ex eodem Adamo genitum, ex quo David, ac plerique electi Dei, qui ejusdem criminibus obnoxii fuere. Ex humo, non ex suamet substantia, ut quidam falso opinati sunt, Deus hominem condidit, non ex durissimo lapide

aut chalybe. Quod quidem si perspectabis illum procliviorem aptioremque ad malum reddidit. Si enim naturam nostram humanam sic Deus condidisset, (quod impossibile est), ut nunquam peccasset, melior ipso Deo fuisset, (quod absit), quia natura quæ potest peccare, sicut et non peccare, si semper vinceret, illi naturæ præponenda esset, quæ ideo non peccat, quia impassibilis est. Age dic, ex terræ limo conditus quis non peccat? Et si bonos omnes suos esse velit Deus, non tamen illis potestatem peccandi adimit. Et quisquis naturam nostram quam diligentissime inspexerit, cum Christo filio Dei fatebitur, "Neminem præter unum Deum bonum." In me igitur in hujus criminis fæcem prolapso naturam, amplissime domine, attende, in te vero, et in aliis ab hac peccati sorde mundis, gratiam Dei, non naturæ virtutem, laudato. Qui peccantes omnes odisse quærit, neque profecto seipsum diligit. Et si quoscunque reos mortis damnari contendit, neminem vivere patietur. Quis unquam electorum Dei tam mundus ab omni labecula criminis fuit, cui non opus fuerit quotidie rogare Patrem, ut illi sua remittat debita? Nonne omnes habent, quod plangant, et reprehensione conscientiæ, et mobilitate peccatricis naturæ? Et sicut unicuique propter sua peccata Dei misericordia est necessaria, ita uniuscujusque proprium est errantium omnium misereri.

Hæc perspicua comperies in unigeniti filii Dei illo recto 144
sanctoque judicio, ab eo a Phariseis petito adversus mulierem in adulterio deprehensam; qui et legem adulteram damnantem comprobavit, et judices cæterosque omnes terrendo ad misericordiam revocavit. Quærit Deus Optimus Maximus, ut regna subvertantur erroris, non errantes ipsi, et eos ubique jubet spiritu mansuetudinis instaurendos esse, non odio et persecutione perdendos. Qui igitur vehementi errantes prosequitur odio, eos perdere, non sanare conatur. Sed video hic te corrugare frontem, audioque

dicere, "Num frustra instituta sunt potestas regis, vis gladii cognitoris, ungulæ carnificis, arma militis, disciplina dominantis, et severitas boni patris?" Non utique, sed habent ista omnia modos suos causas, rationes, et utilitates. Non enim ordinationibus hisce humanarum rerum adversatur remissio, nec contrariatur indulgentia. Quod si fieri contingeret, nobis non attulisset Christus suæ dulcedinem gratiæ, nec tam piis elogiis mansuetudinem commendasset, sed Veteris Testamenti severiorem legis vindictam comprobasset. Sed quid audeo docere Minervam, et noctuas ferre Athenas? Nonne hæc omnia in sacris didicisti literis? Nonne fides, nonne pietas, non hæc tandem ipse te Deus edocuit, cum te viti, quæ est vita nostra, Christo Jesu Servatori nostro inseruit? Moses, cui legitur facie ad faciem Dominus esse locutus, missus ad gentes, et ad fratres suos, ire nolebat, et ad aquas contradictionis quam graviter Deum offenderit, Dei ipsius testimonio, novimus omnes. Aaron, Dei altissimi sacerdos idololatriæ Israelitarum consentiens, ex auro et monilibus fœminarum eorum vitulum fabricavit; illi aram extruxit, ac holocausta immolavit: cui sane facinori simile nec oculus mortalium vidit, nec auris audivit. Jonas propheta præceptum sibi, ut Ninivitis prædicaret, irrupit, ut ad alium locum pergeret, quo missus non fuerat. David rex et propheta, vir utique secundum cor Dei, plus æquo veneri indulgens, uxorem rapuit alienam, et virum illius interfici curavit. Simon Petrus, cui Dominus pollicitus erat claves regni cœlorum, cum juramento ipsum Dominum suum negavit. Nec tamen ille piissimus Deus terræ chasmata aperiri jussit, ut vivi absorberentur hi qui legem suam violaverunt: ut suo exemplo doceret omnes, rigorem judicii pietate et clementia frangere.

Defervescat igitur minax tua illa indignatio et formidabilis ira adversus me; demitte furorem, vir integerrime,

misericorditer me prolapsum corripe, et cum dilectione saluti meæ consule, et prospice. Cujus auxilio, consilio, et favore nitar, si tu, qui omnium sacra anchora es, (et numinis loco te habent omnes), me prorsus tuo destituas auxilio? Quo fugiam extra regnum istud, ut vitare possim, quia aut carne mea et sanguine meo satientur hostium evangelii dentes et ora, aut veritatem illius ipse negare cogar? Non veluti primi parentis Adami est hoc peccatum meum, ut non vetustate, prudentia et pietate sanctorum Dei deleri possit. Cave, obsecro, ne Satanas, per imaginem quasi justæ severitatis, crudelem hanc tibi adversus me suadeat sævitiam. Clamabis fortassis, me indignum esse hoc tuo favore et auxilio. Fateor, sed recorderis, rogo, Deum indignos justificare et servare. Pietas igitur commoveat te, ut velis mihi famulo tuo pereunti opitulari, cujus salus tibi in manu est. Vale, et bene fortunet Christus Optimus Maximus quod in manibus est, 10 Kal. Februarii.

NUMBER LIV. 145

THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD PROCURE THE KING'S LETTERS PATENTS FOR A FRENCH PROTESTANT TO SET UP A FRENCH PRINTING PRESS.

Clarissimo viro domino Guilhelmo Cecilio, regiæ majestatis secretario dignissimo, domino et fautori observantissimo.

TAMETSI ejusmodi nunc sit valetudo mea in eo luctu meo, in quo me Dominus, adempta mihi altera mei parte, uxore inquam mea, constituit, ut neque mihi liceat, neque etiam magnopere libeat multa ad multos scribere, vir clarissime; tamen fratribus et amicis id a me postulantibus negare non potui, ut in fratris hujus gratiam, qui has perfert, Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

paucis te, pro tua in me benevolentia meaque in te observantia, interpellarem. Est vir pius et veræ religionis studiosus totius ecclesiæ nostræ Gallicæ testimonio; cuperetque instituere typographicam Gallicam, in usum earum insularum, quæ subsunt majestati regiæ. Ut Anglica, quæ ad religionem pertinent, omnia, Gallice versa, pro insulis illis excudat. Hac itaque in parte tuo patrocinio juvari postulat; et a me petiit, ut se tuæ humanitati commendarem, ut tuis auspiciis diploma regium in eum usum obtinere possit. Te igitur oro, vir præstantissime, ut illi hac in parte tua authoritate adesse velis; cum mea, tum vero multo magis promovendæ religionis causa. Plura non permittit valetudo. Commendo me tuæ humanitati officiosissime. Londini, 24 Augusti. 1552.

Tuæ humanitati addictissimus,

JOANNES A LASCO.

NUMBER LV.

VALERANDUS POLLANUS, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE STRANGERS' CHURCH AT GLASTENBURY, CONCERNING THE STRANGERS WEAVERS FIXED THERE.

Vere nobili viro ac D. D. Gulielmo Cecilio, equiti aurato, regii consilii secretario, D. ac patrono suo colendissimo.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. [Lansdowne MSS. ii. No. 54. British Museum. Original and holograph.]

S. P. Cum his Petrus Wolfus, vir honestus ad vos proficisceretur, putavi non ægre laturam D. T. si de rebus nostris pauca significarem. Alteras literas, quæ ad Cornishium et reliquos procuratores pertinebant, hodie propter absentiam Cornishii tradidi regio ministro M. Poais cum Fermario Hyeto, præfecto hujus oppidi, et aliis officiariis, præsente D. Clerco, generoso, qui est unus ex iis, qui præsunt, ut dicunt, "justices of peace." Atque hic

generosus, cum Latine et Gallice nosset, pro sua humani- 146
tate interpretem egit, tum mei libelli supplicis exhibiti D D. consil.; tum nostri pacti cum D. duce Somerseti. Viderunt itaque consentire per omnia, et id D D. consil. significant per literas, atque illud etiam, quantas commoditates ex his hominibus speretur. Has literas ipse mecum feram, cum literis eorum qui præsunt rationibus hujus oppidi, quos expectamus ad proximum diem Jovis. Interea id te scire volui, ut pro tua pietate memor sis horum hominum, quibus non video qua ratione impresentiarum possit prospici, quod pascua attinet, nisi damarium nobis concedatur utendum fruendum, cum hortorum parte aliqua, tantisper dum alia pascua tradantur. Atque ita decreverat D. dux, imo etiam fecisset jam, nisi Cornishius ille nobis præripuisset turpissima fraude, cum sciret D. ducem aliter decrevisse ante mortem D. Spelt.

Rogamus igitur T. D. per Christum, ut hujus memor, si quisquam agat apud D D. consil. de pascuis aut de hoc damario, imprimis horum hominum rationem haberi cures. Quod si feceris, dignum tua pietate facies, et nos tibi æternum devinxeris. Præterea id T. D. scire cupio, quam turpiter Cornishius nostris insidiatus sit statim post meum hinc discessum, cujus tamen hortatu ego istuc profectus eram. Venit, atque affirmans se habere literas a D D. consiliariis, primum blandis verbis, deinde minis nostros cogebat, ut sibi pannos, quos haberent confectos, darent. Ipse vero ex me audierat oppigneratos omnes. Et ut non fuissent [inde] mihi quod hic moliebatur. Rogamus itaque ne huic quidquam posthac committatur nostrarum rerum: cum neque nos, nec quod justum est, aut æquum, amare possit. Hæc vera esse ex hoc homine, et ipso M. Poais melius possit T. D. cognoscere.

Hic Petrus Wolfus, Brabantus, multa passus est, et est homo dignus, cui boni faveant. Puto eum T. D. quoque

notum. Rogo illum adjuvares. Condonabit T. D. quod tam familiariter agam, tamque inornate. Sed ornare res ipsa negat, nec fert festinus nuncii abitus. Ego T. D. me et meæ ecclesiæ causam commendo. Dominus Jesus T. D. servet, ac augeat. Glasconii, 3 Novemb. 1551.

L. S.

T. D. observantissimus
Valerandus Pollanus, superintendens peregrinorum ecclesiæ Glascon.

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NUMBER LVI.

THE SUPERINTENDENT EARNESTLY DESIRES THAT ONE CORNISH MIGHT NOT BE SET OVER THE STRANGERS THERE, WHO HAD ALREADY DEALT SO ILL WITH THEM.

Vere nobili viro ac domino D. Gulielmo Cecillo, equiti aurato meritissimo, supremi concilii regii secretario, domino, ac patrono colendissimo. In aula.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. [Lansdowne MSS. ii. No. 68. British Museum. Original and holograph.]

S. P. Etsi mihi non dubium est T. D. probe memorem esse sermonis nostri postremi de Cornishio, ac deinceps ejusdem per literas commonefecerim: de eadem re tamen iterum et tertio appellare nec pudet, nec piget, quoniam ita res exigit. Obsecro, per Christum, ne id moleste feras, neque rem istam parve estimes.

Cum enim, qui præesse debent aliis, ipsos integros ac justos imprimis esse oporteat; tum qui hominibus istis optimis, ac propter Christum tantum extorribus præfuturi sunt, eos ipsos sane quam integerrimos ac justissimos esse oportet, ni perire honestiss. viros velitis, atque alio avertere maxima commoda, quæ ab ipsis ad rempub. perventura erant. In Cornishio porro, nunquam hi nostri homines, textores, inquam, illi peregrini, vel hilum integritatis et justitiæ, vel candoris deprehenderunt, aut experti

sunt. Quapropter illorum precibus solicitatus T. D. supplex oro, velis ita causam ipsorum D. D. consil. exponere ac commendare, ne Cornishius, quod jam ab ipsis contendit, assequatur, ut hominibus istis præficiatur. Mirari satis non possumus, quanam fronte id jam audeat, posteaquam adeo nuper turpiss. suam perfidiam ac malevolentiam prodiderit: nec ignorent, quam ægre illum feramus omnes, qui etiam idem quod nunc petimus, a D. duce postulaturi eramus. Causas autem, et cætera, quæ ad hanc rem pertinebunt, ne diutius T. D. meis literis obtundam, ex hoc tabellario, M. Stephano Le Provost, qui est diaconus meus in ministerio ecclesiæ, plenius cognosces. Obsecro per Christum ut id velis, atque illi fidem habeas.

Omnes nostri, qui T. D. pietatem ac fidem sæpius laudari audierunt, se totos ac sua omnia tibi commendant. Nec dubito fore commendatiss., quos Christus ipse commendat. Itaque desino. Dominus Jesus T. D. suo spiritu semper magis magisque augeat, ac bonis omnibus exornet. Glasconii, Somerset. 9 Novemb. anno 1551.

T. D. observantiss. clientulus,
Valerandus Pollanus, superintendens
ecclesiæ peregr. Glascon.

NUMBER LVII. 148

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT SETTLEMENT OF THEIR AFFAIRS.

Ornatissimo viro, ac D. D. Gulielmo Cicello, equiti aurato, senatus regii secretioris secretario, domino et patrono colendiss.

S. P. Quid in negotio bonorum virorum decreverint rationum præsides, etsi ab ipsis non dubito te intellec- Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

[Lansdowne MSS. ii. No. 69. British Museum. Original and holograph.]

turum : nolui tamen committere, ut hac in parte dignam tua benevolentia observantiam in me desiderares. Res porro sic habet. Optimus hic vir ac vere generosus D. Dyer, ut est veræ pietatis amantiss., ita sane nostram causam, quantum potuit, juvit et promovit. Nihil tamen impetratum est, præterquam quod nostris facta est potestas in damarium ducendi vaccas, donec de pascuis satis sit factum D. ducis pacto. Triginta etiam domos jusserunt quamprimum instaurari : ac pecuniam numerarunt, qua æs alienum dissolveremus, contractum hoc toto tempore, quo tam parce a D. ducis ministris numeratum fuit. Sed in tempus futurum parum liberaliter prospectum est. Vix enim ad bimestre tantum constituerunt, quantum satis sit ad quinque hebdomadas. Omitto quod cum jam lanæ desint, nec quidquam numerarunt hac causa, in brevi nostris hominibus ne cessandum sit, non parum metuendum sit. Crowckius obtulit suas : sed pretio iniquiore, quam possimus sustinere. Nam multo æquiore possumus a nostris vicinis emere, puta 24*s*. quod ille 32*s*. æstimat. Ita nos affligit, et hactenus afflixit penuria pecuniæ. Unica spes reliqua est in D. Dyer, quem longe æquiorem expectamus, modo ad nostrorum usum lanæ ipsius sint accommodæ. Nam præter pretii moderationem, illud etiam addit, quod longum solutionis tempus nullo fœnore compensari velit. Dominus illi rependat. Utinam huic bono et pio viro D. D. consiliarii pios homines potius commendassent. Nimis enim metuo, ne cupiditas Cornishii insatiabilis nostris fraudi sit. Nam quod damarii partem retinet, ac usum communem cum nostris, id nullo jure ac nulla causa, vel in speciem honesta, facit : cum sciat vix satis esse ad alenda 30 paria vaccarum : et cum sibi peteret a D. duce, non ignoraverit antea D. ducem nostris decrevisse, id quod tum, parum religiose, negavit. Sed testati sunt Crowckius, Robertus Hyet, et Richardus Poais ita ha-

bere. Proinde non possumus in eo acquiescere, nisi totum damarium nostris hominibus liberum sit, tamdiu fruendum, donec singulis tradantur quinque acræ prati, vel quantum satis erit ad alendas duas vaccas per integrum annum, sicuti pacto D. ducis constat.

Sed de hoc et aliis plura et certiora, cum venero. Tantum hoc oro T. D. ne sinas offendi D. D. consil. magnitudine sumptuum in domuum instaurationem. Nam ea res nihil hactenus ad me pertinebat. Certe magnæ erant hic ruinæ. Sed mirari satis non possum tantos sumptus esse, cum tam parum sit præstitum, id quod ipsi D. præsides suis oculis viderunt. Nostri hinc multum damni acceperunt. Nam cum angustissimi habitarent, non poterant Anglas ad nendum, Anglos ad alia sua artificia, commode ad se recipere. Ipsimet non poterant tantum operæ 149
præstare, quantum alioqui fecissent. Hincque adeo cum vivendum interea esset, contraxerunt æs alienum ducis, super quam sperassent, majus. In quo sane opus erit V. æquitate, ne istis hominibus tam multa debita imputentur, quandoquidem non ipsorum culpa factum est, sed negligentia ministrorum D. ducis. Boni enim viri nihil magis metuunt quam æs alienum. Quod si semel, cum domibus et pratis promissis, numeraretur quantum opus est ad hanc susceptionem totam, extra omnem metum esset, quin facile possent omni ære alieno ducis sese liberare.

De me etiam nihil est constitutum, qui totis 15 mensibus sumptus incredibiles, et labores incomparabiles pertuli, nec obolum accepi. Est enim mihi familia ampla, quæ vix etiam satisfacit negotiis istorum hominum; quorum causa multæ ac variæ profectiones hoc anno suscipiendæ fuerunt. Si possem impetrare 50^{lib}. stipendii, ego pro omnibus sumptibus, et laboribus præteritis, contentus essem. Nam ne parum esset negotii, jam etiam imposuerunt inspectionem operarum in dom. instaurationem.

Sed spero T. D. hac in parte favorem suum non denegaturam apud D. D. consil. Quod si sentiam, nihil vereor quin totum hoc institutum nobis sit futurum laudi, propter maximas commoditates, quas omnes huic regno sentient evenisse intra triennium, Domino Jesu bene secundante, uti hactenus cæpit. Is T. D. omni felicitate sua beet. Glasconii, 27 Novemb. 1551.

T. D. addictiss. clientulus,
VALERANDUS POLLANUS.

Condonet mihi T. D. quod tam incondite scribam. Non vacat aliter, per tam multas occupationes, uti testis erit hic generosus dom. meæ diligentiæ et sedulitatis, tum in ecclesiasticis, tum in oeconomicis nostrorum rebus procurandis.

NUMBER LVIII.

MR. CALVIN'S ADVICE FOR THE RECTIFYING SOME ABUSES IN OUR CHURCH AND UNIVERSITY, RELATING TO THE ALIENATION AND MISUSE OF THEIR REVENUES.

A monseigneur, monseigneur le duc de Sommerset.

Sir W. H. H[icke's] MSS.

MONSEIGNEUR, je ne vous scaurois assez remercier du receueil tant humain, que mon homme a trouve envers vous : non seulement a ce qu'il vous a pleu prendre la poine d'offrir mes livres au roy ; mais de tout le reste, en quoy vous pouviez declairer une singuliere affection d'amitie, que de vostre grace vous aviez desia assez monstree cy devant. Quant a l'enfant que vous avez receu a vostre service, je n'eusse poynt prins la hardiesse de vous en escrire ; si non
150 que j'eusse pense, qu'il avoit adresse de plus grand bien comme aussion s'y attendoit. Mais d'aultant plus en suis je oblige a vous, quant je voy que ma faveur a valu quelque chose en cest endroict. Mais pource que tout ce, que j'eu scaurois escrire seroit bien maigre au pris de ce que est en

mon coeur, et aussi que vos bienfaictz meritent j'ayme mieulx me depporter de vous en faire plus long propos. Seulement je vous prie, monseigneur, de me tenir tellement du tout vostre, que si j'avois moien de vous faire de bons services, il ne tiendroit pas a m'y employer, que vous n'eussiez approbation d'un meilleur vouloir, que je ne le puis exprimer. Je vous eusse faict ces excuses plus tost, ou bien remerciemens, s'il vous plaist les tenir pour telz: n'eust esté le desir que ce gentilhomme avoit de vous presenter mes letteres. En quoy aussi j'appercois l'amitie que vous plaist monstrer envers moy, quant ceux qui meritent bien d'avoir acces envers vous, esperent estre tres bien venus par le moien de mes lettrez.

Cependant, monseigneur, je ne cesseray de vous recommander ce qui vous est de soy assez cher et precieux: cest que vous procuricz tous jours, et mettiez poine, que Dieu soit droictement honore et servy. Sur tout qu'il se dresse meilleur ordre en l'eglise, qu'il ny est pas encore. Car a ce qu'on dit, il a grand faulte de doctrine pour le simple peuple. Combien qu'il ne soit pas ayse de recouvrer gens propres et idoines pour faire ceste office; toutefois a ce que j'entens, il y a deux grandz empeschemens, ausquelz il seroit necessaire de proveoir. L'un est, que les revenus des Universitez, qui ont esté fondez pour nourrir les escholiers, sont mal distribuez en partie. Car plusieurs sont nourris de bourses, qui font profession manifeste de resister a l'evangile. Tant s'en fault, quilz donnent esperance de maintenir ce qui aura esté la edifie a grande poine et travail.

Le second mal est, que le revenu des cures est distraict, et dissipe: en sorte qu'il n'y a point pour nourris gens de bien, qui seroient propres a faire l'office de vrays pasteurs. Et par ce moien on y mest prestres ignorans, qui emporte une grande confusion. Car la qualité des personnes engen-

dre un grand mespris de la parole de Dieu. Et puis quant ilz auroient toute l'authorite du monde, il ne leur chault guere de s'acquiter. Je vous prie doncque, monseigneur, pour faire tousiours advancer en mieulx la reformation, et luy donner fermité permanente a ce qu'elle tienne: qu'il vous plaise employer toutes vos forces a la correction de cest abus. Je croy bien, qu'il n'a pas tenu a vous, que les choses n'ayent esté mieux reglees de prime face. Mais puis qu'il est bien difficile d'avoir du primier coup, un estat si bien dresse qu'il seroit a desirer, il reste de tousiours insister pour parfaire avec le temps ce que est bien commencé.

Il ne doit pas faire mal a ceux qui tirent aujourdhuy profit du bien des eglises, que les pasteurs ayent nourriture suffisante: veu que chascun se doit efforcer de les nourrir du sien propre, quant ilz n'auroient poin de quoy du publicq. Mesme ce sera leur profit de s'en acquiter. Car ilz ne peuvent pas prosperer en fraudant le peuple de Dieu de la pasture spirituelle, en ce qu'ilz privent les eglises de bons pasteurs. Et de vostre part, monseigneur, je ne doubte pas, quant vous aurez fidelement traivaille a reduire ces choses
151 en ordre, que Dieu ne multiplie d'aultant plus ses benedictions en vous. Mais pour ce que je me tiens asseure, que vous estes si bien affectionne de vous mesme, qu'il nest pas besoing en faire plus longue exhortation, je feray fin: apres avoir supplie nostre bon Dieu, qu'il luy plaise vous conduire tousiours par son esprit, vous augmenter en tout bien, et faire que son nom soit de plus en plus glorifie par vous.

Ainsi, monseigneur, je me recommande bien humblement a vostre bonne grace. De Genesve, ce 25 de Juillet, 1551.

Vostre tres humble serviteur,

JEHAN CALVIN.

NUMBER LIX.

SIR JOHN CHEKE TO DR. PARKER UPON THE DEATH OF MARTIN BUCER.

I HAVE delivered the university's letters to the king's majesty, and spoken with the lords of the council and with my lord of Canterbury for Mrs. Bucer. I doubt not but she shall be well and worthily considered. The university hath not done so great honour to Mr. Bucer, as credit and worship to themselves; the which if they would continue in, as they cease not to complain, they might be a great deal better provided for, than they think they be. But now complaining outright of all other men, and mending little in themselves, make their friends, rather for duty towards learning, than for a desert of the students, shew their good wills to the university. Howbeit if they would have sought either to recover, or to increase the good opinion of men, they could not have devised wherein by more duty they might worthily be commended, than in following so noble a man with such testimony of honour, as the child ought to his father, and the lower to his superior. And although I doubt not but the king's majesty will provide some grave learned man to maintain God's true learning in his university, yet I think not of all learned men, in all points, ye shall receive Mr. Bucer's like; whether we consider his deepness of knowledge, his earnestness in religion, his fatherliness in life, his authority in knowledge. But what do I commend you to Mr. Bucer, who knew him better, and can praise, whom ye knew, trulier?

MSS. C.C.C.C. Vol. intit. Epist. Viror. illustr. [a]

[a] [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxix. p. 79.]

I would wish, that that is wanting now by Mr. Bucer's death, they would by diligence and wisdom fulfil in themselves: and that they herein praised in other's labour to obtain themselves. Whereof I think ye be a good stay to some unbridled young men, who have more knowledge in the tongues, than experience what is comely, or fit for their life to come.

I pray you, let Mr. Bucer's books and scrolls unwritten be sent up and saved for the king's majesty, that he, choosing such as shall like him best, may return the other without delay, except Mrs. Bucer think some other better thing to be done with them, or she should think
152 she should have loss by them, if they should not be in her ordering.

I do not, Mr. Parker, forget your friendship shewed to me aforetime, and am sorry no occasion serveth me to shew my good will; but assure yourself, that as it lieth long and taketh deep root in me, so shall the time come, I trust, wherein ye shall understand the fruit thereof the better to endure and surelier to take place, which may as well shortly be, as be deferred; but good occasion is all. The Lord keep you, and grant the university so much increase of godliness and learning, as these causes may compel unwilling men to be ashamed not to do for them. From Westminster, 1551. Mar. 9.

Your assured,

JOAN CHEKE.

NUMBER LX.

PETER MARTYR TO BUCER CONCERNING THE OXFORD ACT, ANNO 1550.

Quibus artibus instituerint disputationem theologicam in comitiis Oxoniensibus.

S. D.

Ad tuas prolixas literas, mihique eo nomine suavissimas, brevi hac mea epistola rescribo: partim, quod tabellarius citius reditum aggressus est, quam ego speraveram; partim, quod res, de qua me vis cogitare, non est præcipitanda, sed potius quam diligentissimo examine opus habet. Curabo itaque ut quam primum, si certus homo, cui recte possim literas dare, se offerret, quid ea de re sentio, rescribam. Gaudeo itaque vehementer disputationes istas hunc habuisse successum, quem sua providentia Deus illas habere voluit. Vix enim mihi polliceor, cum non adessent visitatores, aut ulli graves judices, potuisse magnum fructum ex illis, vel ad scholam, vel ad ecclesiam redire. Non quasi de viribus, donisque tibi divinitus collatis, quicquam dubitem, aut bonitati causæ diffidem, sed quod istorum consilium videam. Satis est illis pugnasse, qui postea mendacia spargunt. Nunquam desunt. Et diabolus omnia curat efferri, et per sua membra honorificentissime amplificari. Quare non miror, si Christus ab initio disputationes apostolicas miraculis confirmavit. Utinam quandoque dignetur istos obfirmatos, suaque cordis duritie gehennæ addictos, eadem potentia coercere, qua per Paulum Elymam magum repressit: quando non possunt alia ratione adduci, ut veritatem, instar magorum Pharaonis, non oppugnent, et suis præstigiis offuscare nitantur.

Ex Bibliothec. C.C.C.C.

Quid mihi acciderit, in nostris comitiis, paucis accipe.

Sunt creati baccalaurei theologiæ, quos ego de more præsentavi: cumque illis, ut fit, disputandum esset publice,
153 respondentem papistam constituerunt. Opponentes item papistas, quæstionemque disputandam, maximo silentio suppresserunt: cum soli eam inter se communicassent. Totamque id fiebat, ne illam ego possim cognoscere. Cumque ad eam publicandam exstimularentur, dicebant, ad me non pertinere: satis esse, ut eam disputaturi inter se nossent. Denique pridie ejus diei, quo disputandum erat post meridiem secunda hora, ut arbitror, questionem publicarunt, et ad valvas templi affixerunt. Volebant autem defendere suam beatam transubstantiationem, atque corporis Christi impanationem. Utque me arbitrum recluderent, alium, ut loquuntur, patrem sibi deligunt doctorem Chedzeum. Ibi opponentes omnia mea produxissent argumenta. Respondens, ut visum esset, diluisset. Opponentes se dixissent esse contentos allata solutione. Pater loco meo suppositus omnia vehementer approbasset. Mihi vero ea die aut nullus locus dicendi datus esset: (nam postremæ omnium ad noctem istæ disputationes habendæ erant, postquam jurisperiti suas partes egissent: nam illi doctorem ea die inaugurabant): aut siquid mihi dicere licuisset, in ipsa ferme nocte dicendum erat, omnibus jam auditoribus, et fessis et abeuntibus. Comitia soluta fuissent, et undique victoriam conclamassent, quasi suam causam Oxonii pulcherrime defendissent. Fuitque tanta hominum turba in his comitiis, ut vix credi possit. Quotquot enim poterant, undique literis acciverant. Aderant inter alios capellanus, ut vocant, Wintoniensis, doctor Seton, et capellanus episcopi Dunelmensis.

Istæ sunt adversariorum technæ. His fraudibus pugnare volunt. Sed nescio quo modo, ex insperato noster vicecancellarius, sive quod timuerit aliquam turbam sive aliqua

alia de causa, quæ me latet, interdixit, ne illa die theologi disputarent. Ego aderam paratus in arena consilium capere, fretus Domini auxilio, quod in eo articulo maximæ necessitatis, et os et linguam esset daturus.

Hæc ideo scripsi, ut nostrorum antagonistarum artes intelligas, et nequid ab iis simplici animo fieri credas.

Fuit eo tempore hic mecum vester vice-cancellarius afflicta valetudine: visus tamen est nonnihil recreari. De te multum locuti sumus: et ille inter alia sibi pollicebatur, quod si per valetudinem ei licuisset Cantabrigiæ esse, cum illa inter te et Yungum acciderunt, potuisset illum hominem facile ad modestius agendum adducere. Cupio illum restitutum, cum tibi, ut video, optime velit, et religionem candide amplectatur. Uxor mea, Deo gratia, convaluit, quod mihi et commodum est et jucundissimum; et quod ita tibi sit gratum, ut scribis, ingentes ago gratias. Agnetem tuam, Nicolaumque salutes, et tuum illum socium, qui nobiscum fuit, meo, uxoris, et Julii nomine, qui omnes, una cum domino subdecano, et domino Carowo, te cum primis magna salute impertiunt. 20 Septembr. 1550. Oxonii. G. Haddon.

Tuus in Christo,

PETRUS MARTYR.

NUMBER LXI. 154

PETER MARTYR TO BUCER CONCERNING THEIR REVIEW OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

Censura libri Communium Precum.

S. D. Hoc tempore nil mihi potuit, aut optatius aut jucundius, evenire, quam ut censuram tuam viderem libro- Ex Bibliothec. C.C.C.C.C.[c]

[c] [C. C. C. C. MSS. No. cxix. p. 106.]

rum sacrorum. Quare, quod eam ad me dignatus sis mittere, gratias immortales ago. Jam rogatus fueram, ut ipse quoque annotarem, quodnam mihi de eo videretur. Et cum, propter ignotam mihi linguam, fuisset data versio D. Cheeki legenda, ut potui de ea colligere, annotavi quæ digna correctione visa erant. Sed quia in versione mihi tradita, complura deerant, ideo multa præterii, de quibus in meis annotationibus nihil dixi. Hæc deinde cum de tuo scripto deprehendissem, in ejusmodi libro contineri, mihi doluit; quod jam ante duos aut tres dies meam censuram reverendissimo, qui me pro ea urgebat, attulissem. Cæterum hoc demum remedium adhibui: quæ de tuo scripto cognovi defuisse in meo libro, summatim collegi: et cum eadem, quæ tu reprehendisti, mihi quoque non ferenda viderentur, ea in breves articulos redegi: exposuique reverendissimo, qui jam sciebat hæc ad D. episcopum Eliensem te scripsisse, me in his omnibus capitibus, quæ illi offerebam, in articulis notata, consentire tecum, ut mutarentur.

In prioribus autem adnotationibus omnia ferme, quæ te offenderunt, a me fuerant adnotata. Exemplum quidem ad te nunc mitterem: sed non habeo ita descriptum, ut illud possis legere. Tantum sum miratus, quomodo præterieris de communione ægrotorum id reprehendere, quod statutum est, si eo die fiat, quo in Dominico habetur cœna Domini, tum minister partem ciborum secum deferat, atque ita communionem in domo ægrotantis administret. Qua in re id me offendit, quod ibi non repetunt, quæ præcipue ad cœnam Domini pertinent; cumque, ut tu quoque sentis, arbitror, verba cœnæ magis ad homines, quam aut ad panem, aut ad vinum pertinere. Monui omnino mihi videri, ut coram ægroto, et simul cum eo communicantibus, omnia, quæ ad cœnam Domini necessario requiruntur, et dicantur, et agantur. Et sane

mirandum est, quomodo ea, conspectu ægroti, verba dicere graventur, cui maxime utilia sunt, cum inutiliter eadem repetere velint, quando inter communicandum in templo vinum in poculo deficere contigerit, cum homines qui adsunt, et sacramenta sumunt, illa jam audiverint. Hæc sunt, quæ putavi alicujus momenti, et cur omiseris, non satis intelligo. In omnibus autem, quæ censuisti emendanda, tuæ sententiæ scripsi. Et gratias Deo ago, qui occasionem suppeditavit, ut de his omnibus episcopi per nos admonerentur. Conclusum jam est in hoc eorum colloquio, quemadmodum mihi retulit reverendissimus, ut multa immutentur. Sed quænam illa sint, quæ consenserint emendanda, neque ipse mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quærere ausus sum. Verum hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi, D. Checus indicavit; si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere, ut quæ mutanda sint mutentur, rex per seip- 155
sum id faciet; et cum ad parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ majestatis authoritatem interponet.

De Wintoniensi jam actio quarta in judicio habita est; neque dum respondet, alio spectat, quam ut se a contumacia purget. Verba ejus a papisticis hominibus, ut docta et acuta prædicantur: a veris autem et sanis judicibus, vafra, subdola, aliena a causa, et, ut uno verbo dicam, sophistica. Quod mihi etiam fit verisimile, cum illum in rebus theologicis non aliter agere animadverterim. Verum quicquid sit, causa omnino existimatur casurus.

Quæ de Hoppero ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira. Certe illis auditis obstupui. Sed bene habet, quod episcopi meas literas viderunt, unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Et illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus et piis nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, inquam, mihi gravissime talia inter evangelii professores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere; suæ fidei confessionem edidit, qua rursus

multorum animos exacerbavit. Deinde queritur de consiliariis, et fortasse, quod mihi non refertur, de nobis. Deus felicem catastrophen non lætis actibus imponat.

Doctor Smithus, quondam Oxonii professor, qui me de votis monasticis præteritajam æstate lacessivit, nunc librum, Anglice scriptum, contra dominum Cantuariensem edidit de re sacramentaria. De quo, cum lingua mihi sit ignota, nequeo judicare. Sed tamen sensum ejus, et ineptias, brevi cognoscam. Nam scribit se etiam sub prelo habere, quæ contra me de eadem re composuit. Quanquam hæc ego vel parum vel nihil moror, cum a Satanæ atque papæ mancipiis nihil nisi mendacia expectem. Peccata nostra me terrent, atque pertenuis evangelii fructus: necnon ex altera parte Cæsaris successus, quem severissimam Dei virgam esse video. Et inter hæc mala nostris peregrinorum ecclesiis vacat nugari.

Est enim inter illas de templo a rege concesso exorta magna contentio: adeoque sunt animi eorum implacabiles, et eo exarserunt, ut eorum dissidium per concilium regium sit dirimendum. Precor Deum ut res non male juxta merita cadat.

Multo antea voluissem discedere: sed hodie tandem abeundi facultatem impetravi. Scriptum tuum Petro Alexandro tradam, ut id tibi, cum ipsum perlegerit, remittat. Tibi vero interim, et omnibus tuis, cuncta salutaria et felicia precor, una cum Julio, qui vos plurimum salvere jubet. 10 Jan. 1551. Ad Lambeth.

Tuus in Christo,

Petrus Martyr.

Clarissimo et eruditissimo D. D. Martino Bucero, theologiæ professori regio, mihi plurimum observando, Cantabrigiæ.

NUMBER LXII. 156

THE ARCHBISHOP'S LETTER TO PROCURE WOLF, THE PRINTER, A LICENSE TO PUBLISH HIS BOOK.

After my very hearty commendations. These be to signify unto you, that Rayner Wolf, at my desire, hath fully finished the printing of my book, for answer to the late bishop of Winchester's, written against mine of the doctrine of the Sacrament. And forasmuch as both printing and selling of any matters in the English tongue is prohibited by a proclamation set forth, unless the same matter be first allowed by the king's majesty, or six of his majesty's privy-council, as you shall more plainly perceive by the proclamation, which herewith I send unto you; therefore I heartily pray you to be a suitor to the king's majesty, or to the privy-council, that Mr. Rayner may have license for the printing and selling of my said book accordingly; and the same so obtained to send me with convenient speed. For in the beginning of the term I think it were very necessary to be set forth, for the contentation of many which have had long expectation of the same. As soon as I shall receive advertisement when the king's majesty will be at Hampton Court, I will come thither to see his grace, and do my duty towards the same. Thus fare ye heartily well. From my manor at Croydon, the xxixth of September, 1551. Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.]

Your loving friend,

T. Cant.

To my very loving friends, Mr. Cecyl, one of the king's majesty's two principal secretaries; or to Mr. Cheke.

NUMBER LXIII.

ARTICLES WHEREUNTO WILLIAM PHELPS, PASTOR AND CURATE OF CIRENCESTER, UPON GOOD ADVISEMENT AND DELIBERATION, AFTER BETTER KNOWLEDGE GIVEN BY GOD'S GRACE AND GOODNESS UNTO HIM, HATH SUBSCRIBED, CONSENTED, AND AGREED, WILLINGLY, WITHOUT FORCE, COMPULSION, AND ALL MANNER OF IMPULSION, AND IS WILLING AND DESIROUS TO SET FORTH THE SAME TO HIS PARISHIONERS, FOR THE BETTER EDIFYING OF THEM, AND DECLARATION OF HIS NEW AGREEMENT TO GOD'S VERITY AND HOLY WORD.

Foxii MSS.[d] FIRST, that the holy word of God doth acknowledge, confess, maintain, avouch, hold, and defend, that in the holy sacrament and communion of Christ's precious body and blood, the very substance, matter, nature, and con-
157 dition of bread and wine to remain after the words, (as they be commonly called), of consecration, as verily and truly as they were in substance and matter bread and wine before: although that the use of the bread and wine in the sacrament be changed. For whereas before it was common bread and common wine, now by the virtue of God's word it is made the sacrament of the precious body and blood of Christ, and a seal, confirmation, and augmentation of God's mercy and gracious promise to all men that receive it in the faith of Christ Jesus, with hatred of sin, and intent, purpose, and mind, to live always a virtuous life. And that is the very transubstantiation and change, that God delighteth in, in the use of the sacraments, most, that we should earnestly and from the bottom of our hearts, be converted into Christ, and Christ's holy commandments, to live a Christian life, and to die from sin, as he gave us example, both by his life and doctrine; and meaneth not, that the bread and wine should in substance be turned or

[d] [Harl. MSS. 425. Plut. lxv. E. fol. 71; British Museum. Original.]

converted into the substance of his body and blood, or else that the substance of the bread should be taken away, and in the place thereof to be the substance, matter, and corporal presence of Christ's corporal, holy, human, and natural body.

Item, That the same holy word of God doth confess, hold, defend, acknowledge, and maintain, that the very natural, substantial, real, and corporal body of Christ, concerning his humanity, is only and solely in heaven, and not in the sacrament and communion of his precious body and blood. But whosoever worthily, with true repentance, and lively faith in the promise of God, receiveth that holy sacrament, receiveth sacramentally by faith all the mercies, riches, merits, and deservings that Christ hath deserved and paid for in his holy blood and passion. And that is to eat Christ and to drink Christ in the holy sacrament, to confirm and seal sacramentally in our souls God's promises of eternal salvation: that Christ deserved for us, not in nor by his body eaten, but by and for his body slain and killed upon the cross for our sins: as St. Paul saith, Col. i., Eph. i. 3, Heb. ii. 7, 8, 9, 10.

As for the eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood, really, corporally, materially, or substantially, it is but a carnal and gross opinion of man, besides and contrary to the word of God, and the articles of our faith, and Christian religion: that affirmeth his corporal departure from the earth, placeth it in heaven above at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, and keepeth, retaineth, holdeth, and preserveth the same corporal body of Christ there, till the general day of judgment, as the word declareth: "From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

And that heretofore I have been in the contrary opinion, and believed myself, and also have taught other to believe

the same, that there remained no substance of bread and wine in the sacrament, but the very selfsame body and blood of Christ Jesus, that was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, I am with all my heart sorry for mine error, and false opinion, detesting and forsaking the same from the bottom of my heart, and desire God most heartily, in and for the merits of his dear Son's passion, to forgive me, and all them that have erred in the false opinion by and through my means, praying them in the tender compassion and great mercies of God
158 now to follow me in truth, verity, and singleness of God's most true word, as they were contented to follow me in error, superstition, and blindness, and be no more ashamed to return to the truth, than they were ready to be corrupted by falsehood. If the holy apostle St. Paul, and the great clerk St. Augustine, with many more noble and virtuous members of Christ's church, were not ashamed to return, acknowledge, and confess their error and evil opinions; what am I, miserable creature of the world, inferior unto them both in knowledge, holiness, and learning, that should be ashamed to do the same? Nay, I do in this part thank and rejoice from the bottom of my heart, that God hath revealed unto me the truth of his word, and given me leave to live so long to acknowledge my fault and error: and do here before you protest, that from henceforth I will, with all diligence, study, and labour, study to set forth this mine amended knowledge and reconciled truth as long as I live, by the help of God in the Holy Ghost, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate, to whom be all honour for ever and ever. Amen.

Subscribed and confirmed 29 of April, 1551, in the presence of John, bishop of Gloucester, and divers others there present.

NUMBER LXIV.

THE ARCHBISHOP TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL CONCERNING THE BOOK OF ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

After my very humble recommendations unto your good lordships. I have sent unto the same the book of articles, which yesterday I received from your lordships. I have sent also a schedule inclosed, declaring briefly my mind upon the said book: beseeching your lordships to be means unto the king's majesty, that all the bishops may have authority from him to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said articles. And then I trust that such a concord and quietness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as else is not to be looked for many years. God shall thereby be glorified, his truth shall be advanced, and your lordships shall be rewarded of him, as the setters forward of his true word and gospel. Unto whom is my daily prayer, without ceasing, to preserve the king's majesty, with all your honourable lordships. From my house at Ford, the 24 of this present month of November. [1552.] Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Your lordships' ever to command,

T. Cant.

To my very good lords of the king's majesty's most honourable council.

159 NUMBER LXV.

THE ARCHBISHOP NOMINATES CERTAIN PERSONS FOR AN IRISH ARCHBISHOPRIC.

To my very loving friend sir William Cecyl, knight, one of the king's majesty's principal secretaries.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

THOUGH in England there be many meet men for the archbishoprics of Ireland, yet I know very few that will gladly be persuaded to go thither. Nevertheless I have sent unto you the names of four, viz. Mr. Whitehead of Hadley, Mr. Turner of Canterbury, sir Thomas Rosse, and sir Robert Wisdom; which, being ordinarily called, I think, for conscience-sake, will not refuse to bestow the talent committed unto them, wheresoever it shall please the king's majesty to appoint them. Among whom I take Mr. Whitehead, for his good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and politic wisdom, to be most meet. And next him Mr. Turner, who, besides that he is merry and witty withal, "Nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum;" and in the lively preaching of him and his word declareth such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation. There is also one Mr. Whitacre, a man both wise and well-learned, chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, very meet for that office, if he might be persuaded to take it upon him.

I pray you commend me unto Mr. Cheke, and declare unto him, that mine ague, whether it were a quotidian or a double tertian, (whereof my physicians doubted), hath left me these two days, and so I trust I am quit thereof: notwithstanding my water keepeth still a high colour. Now the most danger is, that if it come again this night it is like to turn to a quartan. However the matter

chance, the most grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in such matters as I have in hand according to my will and desire. This "terrenum domicilium" is such an obstacle to all good purposes. Forasmuch as I perceive that the king's majesty's progress is altered, I pray you send me the gests of the latter end of his progress, from this time unto the end, that I may from time to time know where his majesty shall be; whom I beseech Almighty God to preserve and prosper in all his affairs, with his most honourable council, and all his court. From my manor of Croydon, the 25th of August, 1552.

Your own assured,

T. CANT.

NUMBER LXVI. 160

THAT MR. TURNER, INTENDED FOR THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ARMAGH, WAS COME UP TO COURT.

To my loving friend sir William Cecyl, knight, one of the king's majesty's principal secretaries.

AFTER my very hearty recommendations, now at the last, against his will, Turner is come up unto the court. He preached twice in the camp, that was by Canterbury: for the which the rebels would have hanged him; and he seemed then more glad to go to hanging than he doth now to go to Armachane, he alleged so many excuses, but the chief is this, that he shall preach to the walls and stalls, for the people understand no English. I bear him in hand "yes;" and yet I doubt whether they speak English in the diocese of Armachane. But if they do not, then I say, that if he will take the pains to learn the Irish tongue, (which with diligence he may do in a year or two), then both his person and doctrine shall be more acceptable, not only

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland. I commit him to your cure, praying you to help him to have as ready a dispatch as may be, for he hath but a little money.

I have sent the book of articles for religion unto Mr. Cheke, set in a better order than it was, and the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked. I pray you consider well the articles with Mr. Cheke, and whether you think best to move the king's majesty therein before my coming; I refer that unto your two wisdoms.

I pray you let me have your advice unto whom I might best write concerning Rayner Wolfe; for I wot not to whom I might write but to my lord of Northumberland. The ever living God ever preserve you in this life, and in the life to come. From Croydon, the xixth of September, [anno 1552.]

Your assured friend,

T. CANT.

NUMBER LXVII.

161 WHEREIN THE ARCHBISHOP JUSTIFIES HIMSELF AND THE REST OF THE BISHOPS AGAINST THE CHARGE OF COVETOUSNESS.

To my loving friend sir William Cecyl, one of the king's majesty's principal secretaries.

Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

AFTER my most hearty commendations and thanks, as well for your gentle letters as for the copy of the pacification, and for your good remembrance of the two matters which I desired you not to forget, the one concerning the bishop of Cologne's letters, and the other, Mr. Mowse: for whom eftsoons I give you my most hearty thanks.

As for your admonition, I take it most thankfully,

as I have ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends, accounting no man so foolish as he that will not hear friendly admonishments. But as for the saying of St. Paul, "Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationem," I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary: for I took not half so much care for my living, when I was a scholar of Cambridge, as I do at this present. For although I have now much more revenue, yet I have much more to do withal; and have more care to live now as an archbishop, than I had at that time to live like a scholar. I have not so much as I had within ten years past by one hundred and fifty pounds of certain rent, beside casualties. I pay double for every thing that I buy. If a good auditor have this account, he shall find no great surplusage to wax rich upon.

And if I knew any bishop that were covetous, I would surely admonish him, but I know none, but all beggars, except it be one, and yet I dare well say he is not very rich. If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise him better than you. To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which neither I can carry away with me, nor tarry long with them. If time would have served, I would have written of other things unto you, but your servant making haste, compelleth me here to cut off the thread; beseeching Almighty God to preserve the king's majesty, with all his council and family, and send him well to return from his progress. From my manor of Croydon the xxist of July, [1552.]

Your own ever,

T. Cant.

NUMBER LXVIII.

PURCHASES MADE BY THE ARCHBISHOP.

Extracted out of K. Edward's Book of Sales, anno regni regis Edwardi Sexti primo.

The name of the purchaser.	*The sum of money for the purchase.*	*The lands.*	*The yearly value of the lands.*	*The rent reserved.*	*The time of the issues.*	*The test of the patent.*
Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuar.	In consider. promis. dom. R. H. VIII. et perform. test. sui, ac in escamb. maner. et parc. de Mayfeld in com. Sussex. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in com. Midd. Hertf. Kant. Buck. et Ebor. ac pro summa v^{c}. iv^{l}. viii^{s}. iv^{d}.	Rect. de Whalley, Blackborne et Rachdale in com. Lanc. nuper monastio sive abbie de Whalley in eodem com. Lancastr. modo dissolut. dudum spectan. et pertinent. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in com. Lanc. Kant. Surr. London, Bangor, &c.	cccclxxix^{l}. 2^{d}. ob.	lv^{l}. xiv^{s}. vi^{d}. q.	A festo S. Michael. arch. a^{o}. xxxvii^{o}. H. viii^{vi}.	Test. xxxi^{o}. die Augusti.
Thomas Cranmer archiepiscopus Cantuar.		Maner. de Sleford in com. Lincoln, et maner. de Middleton Cheny in com. Northam. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in com. Northam. et Lincoln.	x^{l}. vi^{s}. iv^{d}. xv^{l}. iv^{l}. xv^{s}. viii^{d}.	Nichil.	A festo Annunc. B. Marie Virgin. ultimo prædicto.	
Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuar.	iv^{c}. xxix^{l}. xiv^{s}. ii^{d}. Et in complement. Testi dom. regis H. VIII. et in consider. servicii.	Scit. nuper prioratus de Arthington in com. Ebor. ac diversa alia maneria terr. et ten. in com. Ebor. Not. et Kant.	v^{l}. viii^{s}. iv^{d}. li^{l}. xvii^{s}. iv^{d}. xv^{l}. vii^{l}. x^{s}. x^{l}. xvi^{s}. i^{d}. ob.	xii^{s}. vi^{l}. i^{d}. xxxiii^{s}. iv^{d}. xvi^{s}. viii^{d}.	A festo S. Michaelis arch. ultimo præterito.	Test. vi^{to}. die Junii.

[NUMBER LXVIII.] 163

AN INSTRUMENT OF THE COUNCIL, SWEARING AND SUBSCRIBING TO THE SUCCESSION AS LIMITED BY THE KING.

EDWARD,

We whose names be underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the king's majesty our most gracious sovereign lord's earnest desire and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesty's realms and dominions; and having seen his majesty's own device touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesty's presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesty's own hand: and by his highness delivered to certain judges, and other learned men to be written in full order: Do, by his majesty's special and absolute commandment, eftsoons given us, agree, and by these presents signed with our hands, and sealed with our seals, promise by our oaths and honours to observe, fully perform and keep, all and every article, branch and matter contained in the said writing delivered to the judges and others, and subscribed with his majesty's hand in six several places; and all such other matters, as his majesty by his last will shall appoint, declare, or command, touching or concerning the limitation of the succession of his said imperial crown. And we do further promise, by his majesty's said commandment, never to vary or swerve during our lives from his said limitation of his succession: but the same shall to the uttermost of our powers defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter, (which God forbid), vary from this agreement or any part thereof,

MSS. D. Wil. Petyt.

we and every of us, do assent to take, use and repute him for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realm, and to do our utmost to see him or them, so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishment, according to their deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely. Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. J. Suffolk. W. Northampt. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntingdon. Pembroke. E. Clynton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. T. Cheyne. R. Ryche.

John Gate. William Petres. Joan Cheek. W. Cecyll. Edward Mountagu. John Bakere. Edward. Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Gosnald.

These are the names with which this instrument is signed: but there be no seals.

164 *The king's own writing, directing the succession.*

My devise for the succession.

MSS. D. Wil. Petyt. For lack of issue for my body, to the lady Frances' heir males, if she have any such issue before my death. To the lady Jane, and her heir males. To the lady Katherine's heir males. To the lady Mary's heir males. To the heirs males of the daughters which she shall have hereafter. Then to the lady Margaret's heir males. For lack of such issue to the heir males of the lady Jane's daughters. To the heir males of the lady Katherine's daughters, and so forth till you come to the lady Margaret's daughters' heirs males.

If after my death, their male be entered into eighteen years old, then he to have the whole rule and governance thereof.

But if he be under eighteen then his mother to be governess, till he enter eighteen years old.

But to do nothing without the advice and agreement of six, parcel of a council to be pointed by my last will, to the number of twenty.

If their mother die before their entry into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the council. Provided, that after he be fourteen years all great matters of importance be opened to him.

*** After the most active search, the Editor regrets to have to state that to the present time he has been unable to meet with the original, or even a copy of "the Injunctions of the king's visitors to the dean and chapter of Canterbury," referred to at p. 15. of this volume.

WHARTON'S OBSERVATIONS

ON THE FOREGOING MEMORIALS.

[VOL. II.]

Page 141, med. [1, l. 8.] "One of the very first things that was done in king Edward's reign, in relation to the church, was, that the bishops, &c. should be made to depend entirely upon the king and his council, &c. and should take commissions from him for the exercise of their office and jurisdiction, and those to last only during the king's pleasure.—In this I suppose the archbishop had his hand.—And therefore he began this matter with himself,—petitioning for such a commission,—which was granted to him, Feb. 7, 1546."] This matter was not now first begun or done. The archbishop and all the bishops of England had taken commissions from king Henry in the very same form, "mutatis mutandis," in the year 1535.

Page 161, med. [50, l. 2]. "An English exile, naming himself E. P. in queen Mary's days published again the archbishop's book against 'Unwritten Verities,' and prefixed to it a preface of his own.——I will add one passage taken out of this book, about the middle, whereby it may be seen what a clergy was now in England.—He makes a

heavy complaint against the frequent practice of beastly sins in the priests, adultery, sodomy, &c. and that they never were punished. 'And in my memory,' (as he proceeds), 'which is above thirty years, and also by the information of others, that be twenty years older than I, I could never learn that one priest was punished.'"] These exiles are a sort of men who generally write with passion and prejudice against their own country; so that ordinarily little more credit is to be given to their information, than to the intelligence of deserters from an army. I am sure he hath shamefully belied the clergy of England in accusing them of the frequent practice of such beastly sins, and then affirming that he could never learn that one priest was punished for it in the space of fifty years before that time. It is true, that crimes of incontinence, as such, especially in the clergy, were then cognoscible and punishable only by the ecclesiastical law, and in the spiritual courts; but rapes were, then as well as now, in clergymen as well as laymen, triable and punishable at common law. And of this the laity took such malicious advantage, immediately before the reformation, that they were wont to pretend all acts, and even indications of incontinence in clergymen, to be so many rapes, and to indict them as such: insomuch that scarce any assizes or sessions passed at that time, wherein several clergymen were not indicted of rapes, and a jury of laymen empannelled to try them, who would be sure not to be guilty of shewing overmuch favour to them in their verdicts. Neither was the ecclesiastical authority then so remiss, (as is pretended), as not to have punished any one priest for incontinence within the space of fifty years before: if I had my papers by me, I could produce examples of many incontinent clergymen punished and deprived by their ordinaries within that time. About this very time wherein this preface was

wrote, Dr. Weston, although otherwise a man of great note and interest among the popish party, was deprived of the deanery of Windsor, for a single act of incontinence; and about twenty years before this, Stokesly, bishop of London, is by John Bale reported to have deprived John lord abbot of Colchester, for an horrible act of incontinence. Indeed I know Bale to have been so great a liar, that I am not willing to take any thing of that kind upon his credit; however, his testimony may serve well enough against such another foul-mouthed writer as this E. P. seems to have been.

Page 161, l. 11. ab imo. [52, l. 6]. "The archbishop supplied the city of Canterbury with store of excellent learned preachers, Turner, the two Ridleys, Becon, &c."] Turner never was preacher in ordinary at Canterbury, but at Chartham, near Canterbury. He is said indeed afterwards in this history to have been one of the six preachers of the church of Canterbury; which may be true: yet to preach there three or four sermons in a year, upon so many holidays, is not a sufficient ground to say, that that city was supplied with such or such preachers.

260 Page 164, in imo. [57, l. 30]. "The university of Cambridge laboured under great suspicions of being spoiled of its revenues; she having observed how those of her sister, the church, were daily invaded by secular hands."] The university hath ever been so dutiful, as to own the church to be her mother.

Page 183, l. 10. ab imo. [105, l. 5]. "Farrar was consecrated bishop of St. David's, by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, endued with his pontificals."] The latter words are a translation of "pontificalibus indutus," which signifies

no other than being invested or attired in his episcopal habit.

Page 184, med. [108, l. 3]. "Bishop Farrar hearing of great corruption among those belonging to the chapter of the church of Carmarthen, and chiefly Thomas Young, chaunter, after archbishop of York, &c."] I suppose the chapter of the church of St. David's is here meant; for there was no such church at Carmarthen; and Young was at this time precentor of St. David's.

Page 208, l. 13 ab imo. [194, l. 7]. "Bishop Ridley, at his entrance upon the see of London, was exceeding wary not to do his predecessor Boner the least injury, but rather did many kindnesses to his mother, servants, and relations; he continued Boner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place."] In this last case Ridley could not give any evidence of kindness or unkindness; for Staunton held his place of receiver by patent for life.

Page 224, med. [240, l. 4]. "The council sitting at Greenwich, the bishop's, (Gardiner of Winchester), servants came, and desired that certain of them might be sworn upon certain articles for witness on his behalf. And if they might not be sworn, &c. And they were allowed."] From this relation any reader would imagine, that the bishop's servants desired that themselves might be sworn in behalf of their lord and master; whereas in the council-book, (from whence this matter is reported), it is plain that they desired that some of the privy counsellors might be sworn, or at least be obliged to declare upon their honour what they knew of the matter then in question, in favour of the bishop[e].

[e] [MSS. Council Book, A.D. 1550–1553. fol. 202. Privy Council Office. Original.]

Page 267, l. 21. [349, l. 13]. "This Scory, (bishop elect of Rochester), was at first preferred by the archbishop to be one of the six preachers at Canterbury, and always continued firm for the purity of religion, and endured trouble for it. He was a married man, and so deprived at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, fled beyond sea, &c."] Scory was so far from continuing always firm to the purity of religion, that in the beginning of queen Mary's reign he reconciled himself to the see of Rome, submitted himself to bishop Boner, made a formal recantation, and did open penance for his marriage; however, afterwards he resumed his former principles, when he had got beyond sea.

Page 270, l. 17 ab imo. [361, l. 4]. "All this I have related of this divine, (Dr. John Redman, who died in 1551), that I may in some measure preserve the memory of one of the learnedest men of his time; and lay up the dying words of a papist, signifying so plainly his dislike and disallowance of many of their doctrines."] I cannot imagine why Dr. Redman should be accounted or called a papist at the time of his death, who had all along lived, and then died, in the communion of the established church, and had but little before joined with the archbishop, and other bishops and divines, in compiling the book of Common Prayer. If because he had once held the popish doctrines concerning justification, the sacrament of the altar, &c.; with equal and for the same reason Cranmer himself, and all the bishops and eminent divines of that time, may be called papists: or if it was because he judged it unlawful for any priest to marry a second time, (as is related page 157, [38]), he therein followed the canons and received doctrines of the ancient church, and hath many learned and worthy divines of our own time and church concurring with him in the same opinion.

Page 274, l. 5 ab imo. [372, l. 3]. "The other was Richard 261
Turner, in former time curate of Chartham in Kent, and commonly called Turner of Canterbury, living in the family of Mr. Morice, the archbishop's secretary, who held the impropriation of that parsonage, and had presented this man to the vicarage."] It would be very ill for me, if the parsonage of Chartham were impropriate: it never yet was, and, as I hope, never shall be in the possession of any layman. Mr. Morice only held it at that time by lease of Richardson, the rector of it, with obligation to provide and pay a curate, which was this Turner.

Page 275, med. [373, l. 8]. "And this I judge to be that Turner, whom the archbishop nominated for Ireland, (to the archbishopric of Armagh), having lived long in his diocese, and so well known to him; and whom he had, I suppose, removed to Canterbury, to a prebend, or some other preferment there."] He never was prebendary of Canterbury.

Page 279, l. 5 ab imo. [383, l. 5]. "While king Edward was in his progress, (1552), some about his person, to make the better way for their sacrilegious designs, and to make the king the more inclinable to lay hands on the episcopal demeans, or at least to clip and pare them, buzzed about rumours, &c.——This sir William Cecyl, the secretary, who was now with the king, laboured to hinder; for he was a very great favourer, as of the reformed clergy, so of their estate and honours."] He gave but bad evidence of such favour to the clergy and estate of the church, when, many years after this, (the revenue of the church being then also much more diminished than it was at the time of this design), he tore away from the bishopric of Peterborough the far better part of the lands and revenues

wherewith it had been endowed; which he effected by procuring bishop Scambler to be translated from thence to Norwich[f]; which translation, by the baseness of that bishop, conspiring with the sacrilegious greediness of two potent courtiers, was the ruin of both those bishopries.

[f] ["Edmund Scambler, S.T.B. had the royal assent to his election" to the bishopric of Peterborough "Feb. 4, 156$\frac{9}{10}$, was consecrated the 16th of the same month, and was elected to" the see of Norwich "Jan. 5, 1584, and confirmed the 15th of the same month. He died May 7, 1594. ætat. 85." — Le Neve's Fasti, pp. 212, 239. See also Strype's Annals of the Reformat. vol. iii. pt. i. p. 481. ed. Oxon. 1824.]

END OF VOL. II.